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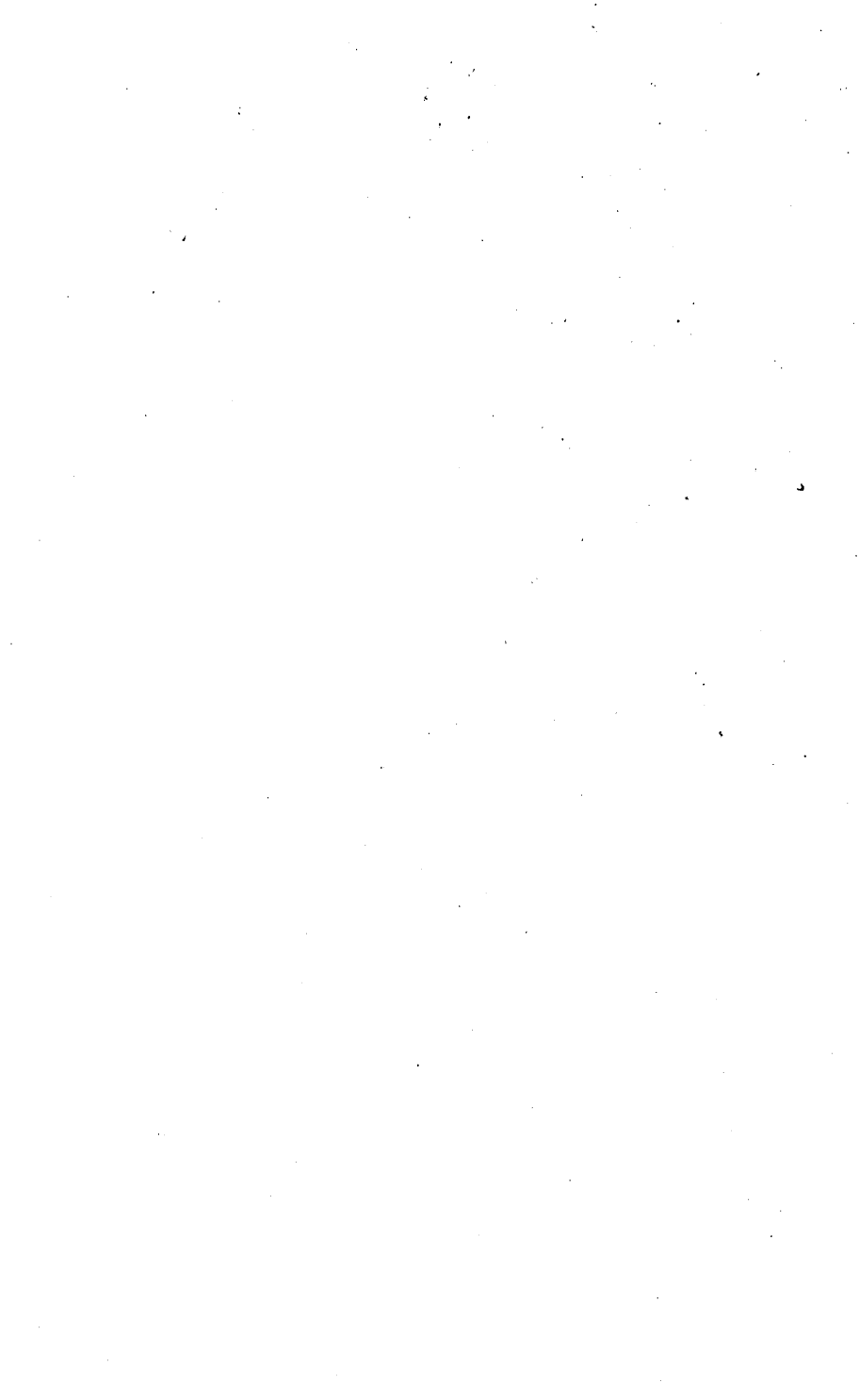
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A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ENQUIRY
INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE
THIRD GOSPEL

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A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ENQUIRY
INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE
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A CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL
ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF
THE THIRD GOSPEL

BY

P. C. SENSE, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

"A FREE ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL"

"THE VOICE OF ONE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS"

WILLIAMS & NORGATE
14 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON
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1901

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P R E F A C E.

IN my former work on the Fourth Gospel, I stated the historical grounds for the conclusion that the Christianity of Jesus was a Moral system as he established it ; but that it was changed into a Religious system in the second century. The beginnings of the change are indeed perceptible in the first century, even so early as in the writings of Paul, the first apostle of that name ; but its completion was effected in the second century. In the first half of the second century, numerous religious teachers sprang up in connection with Christianity, the chief of whom were Simon Magus, Cerinthus, Valentinus, Marcion, and Peter. Each of these teachers formed a religious system of his own, which was declared in a treatise or writing. Christian society became thus split up into numerous religious sects, who carried on fierce religious controversies amongst themselves. In the second half of the century, an attempt was made, which practically proved successful, to conciliate and amalgamate these warring sectaries. Irenæus appears to have been the leading spirit of this movement. The scheme adopted was the publication of Canonical Gospels, containing the declaration of one common or catholic faith, compiled of selections from the writings and doctrines of the chief contending sects. The eclectic religious system thus formed was the Christian Religion as we now have it. Historical presumption is in favour of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, being regarded as its founder, and not Jesus.

My critical and historical examination of the Fourth Gospel, which was the first published, evolved the fact that this gospel was compiled from the writings chiefly of Cerinthus, and to a less extent of Valentinus and others. A clue was thus obtained to the sources of the Canonical Gospels. They were compiled from the writings of the more successful religious leaders and sects. The Christian Religion was indebted for the Logos doctrine to Simon Magus, for the dove to Cerinthus, and for Paraclete or the Comforter to Valentinus. In my present volume, the Third Gospel has been subjected to close

critical and historical scrutiny. The historical materials being remarkably abundant, the results obtained are proportionally more assured. The Third Gospel, I find, was compiled from the writing used by the sect of Marcionites, known as the Marcionite Gospel, and from the writings of minor apostles known as the Apocryphal Gospels.

The site and date of publication of the so-called Marcionite Gospel were Pontus and the first half of the second century, *i.e.* before A.D. 150, and its author was Luke, Lucanus or Lucianus the Marcionite. I have been able not only to recover the Marcionite Gospel, but also to restore the text of the original or first edition of the Third Gospel, and thus a comparison between the two publications can be easily made. The preliminary chapters, from i. to iv. 15, of the Canonical Gospel were compiled from the apostolic writings known as Apocryphal Gospels; but the whole of the rest of it, with a few trifling additions and changes, consisted bodily of the Marcionite Gospel. The latter, in fact, with all its salient sectarian peculiarities, and even its clerical errors, was appropriated in the mass. The greater antiquity of the Marcionite Gospel is supported by the historical fact of its publication without title or author's name. The date of publication of the Canonical Third Gospel was between A.D. 168 and 177. Information regarding its compiler and site of publication is not available, but the historical presumption is that it was compiled at Alexandria by Pantænus, the first Master of the Christian school that had been established at that seat of Pagan and Jewish learning. The Third Gospel was originally published under the title and name of the Gospel of Luke; but all subsequent editions were issued as the Gospel according to Luke.

Being desirous of comparing my results with those of other workers in the same field, I selected Bishop Westcott's and Dr Hort's recension of the Third Gospel in their conjoint work called *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, 1881, and Dr Volckmar's *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 1852; the above being the latest recensions that I know of. The great divergence between my results and those obtained by these learned theologians induced me to examine our respective methods of investigation. In the *Introduction*, the companion volume of *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, Dr Hort, whose responsibility is shared by Bishop Westcott, explains his method. He expounds the principles of textual criticism, of which the chief are the following:—I. The use of documents of which the history is known and the authenticity certain. II. The restoration of corrupt texts is founded on their history. These primary canons I fully accept. I have strictly followed them in my investigation, and I regard them as indicating

the only safe means of restoring a corrupt text. I have been guided by the quotations and representations regarding the text of the ancient Gospel made by eminent Fathers of the Church, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and others, of the second and third centuries, who had the Gospel in their hands. But Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort repudiate, discredit and ignore these quotations, on the plea that the texts from which they were made were corrupt; and thus they vilify, set aside and reject the best historical evidence we possess. They have preferred to take as their standards the Codex Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, etc., which are derelict documents, the history of which no man knows, and their date is conjectured to be the fourth century or a little later, but which to my mind is more likely to have been the ninth century. Further, the history of the text has not been their guide, but the genealogy of documents, which they substituted for history. This is a process of research which is unintelligible to me. The genealogical method is as incomprehensible as the speaking in tongues, of which Paul said, οὐδείς γὰρ ἄκουει, translated by a popular nobleman, "No fellow can understand." Our two learned theologians, while professing to follow the principles of textual criticism which they enunciate, have simply ignored and perverted them in their pretended application. I must regretfully and sorrowfully confess that the procedure of Bishop Westcott and his late lamented coadjutor Professor Hort of Cambridge, in their recension of *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, appears in my judgment to be not only incompatible and inconsistent with, but also utterly repugnant to their great merits as scholars and gentlemen.

I doubt if many, or any, of the learned clergy are conversant with Dr Hort's *Introduction*. The Quarterly Reviewer, 1881, admits that he had not read it. The learned and reverend reviewer condemned *The New Testament in the Original Greek* on literary grounds, but he further accused the learned textual critics of resorting to "illicit logical processes." My condemnation of the Gospel according to Luke in Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament proceeds on critical, historical and moral grounds. These eminent theologians profess to follow the acknowledged principles of textual criticism, while in sad fact and reality they evade and pervert them. They have furnished the strange and saddening spectacle of two accomplished and honourable gentlemen combining together to devote, ostensibly as a pious and sacred duty, many years of mental toil and study to the elaboration of a deceptive scientific method of textual restoration, specially adapted for the concealment and conservation of the corruptions of the sacred text.

In his humorous essay on "Political Lying," Arbuthnot rallies the Whigs upon their practice of trying the people with "great swinging falsehoods," expecting that when these were once got down, anything may follow without difficulty. This was the method followed by Volckmar. His restoration of the text of the Marcionite Gospel proceeds on the basis of conformity with the swinging falsehoods regarding the doctrines of Marcion invented by Tertullian: viz., two gods hostile to each other; the dropping of Jesus from the sky on his thirtieth year of age; the phantom body of Jesus; his want of a mother, and such like. These falsehoods are not supported by history, and they are further contradicted by the Marcionite Gospel itself, which Volckmar himself candidly admits contains nothing of them; but they are discovered, he says, in the interpretation of the text! Such interpretation, it is manifest, depends on the mind of the interpreter. Hence Volckmar declares that the only true guide to the restoration of the Marcionite text is the *Zusammenhang* or connection, that is, the consistency of the text with Tertullian's falsehoods. The history of the text is thus reduced to a very subordinate position. I, on the other hand, while regarding Tertullian as our best historical authority for the *text* of both the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospels, consider his *interpretations* of the text (which Volckmar values and follows) as appropriate subjects for laughter, not worthy of the attention of a textual critic. With such opposite views on each side, the divergences between Volckmar's restoration and mine are perfectly intelligible. The folly of this learned textual critic attains its culmination in his restored text itself. Volckmar serves up the simple archaic Marcionite Gospel to his readers in the form of a modern book with title-page, and division into parts, sections and chapters, with appropriate headings. This is like a stage manager presenting to an admiring audience Cleopatra dressed in a Parisian gown with modern fashionable trimmings, and Mark Antony decked in a white tie and a swallow-tail coat! Volckmar's method for determining the original text of the Canonical Gospel is likewise founded on the "*innern Zusammenhang*," or inner connection; but he also takes into account the oldest witnesses. The latter are not the derelict codices which Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort have clung to, but Irenæus, Tertullian, Justin and the Clementine Homilies. Volckmar maintains a dead silence regarding the genealogy of documents!

My criticisms in the following pages of the works of Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort, of Volckmar, of Professor Sanday and of other theologians, are not necessary for the elucidation of my subject. But I have thought it desirable to give publicity to the literary

devices and wiles which I have detected, by which theologians have hitherto succeeded in suppressing historical truth, and in setting up the false in its place. The bulk of this book has been thereby increased, but I have endeavoured to reduce this inconvenience by printing in small type.

It is rather my misfortune than my fault that the history contained in this work differs largely from the current or conventional history of Christ, and of persons and things appertaining to him. I have felt obliged to reject much that is current in ecclesiastical history, because the early records give no support to it. I may curtly mention the following as examples of the historical errors I refer to.

I. Ecclesiastical history relates the miraculous conception, the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension of Jesus to heaven on a cloud. Paul, the first apostle of that name, was a contemporary of Jesus. He lived in the time of Jesus, and knew him after the crucifixion. Paul in his writings is silent regarding the miraculous birth of Jesus. His account of the resurrection clearly indicates that this was merely a *belief* entertained by him and others, but not by all Christians. Paul distinctly announces the death of Jesus in the words of 2 Cor. v. 16, "yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet henceforth know we *him* no more." Hence it is that there is no mention in his writings of the mendacious ascension of ecclesiastical history. The death of Christ may be approximately calculated from the chronology of the Epistles of Paul to have occurred in A.D. 57 or 58. Irenæus, the presumptive founder of the Christian Religion, was strongly impressed by the tradition prevalent amongst the elders in Ephesus that Jesus had attained old age; and he even endeavoured to introduce the fact into the Fourth Gospel. James, the writer of the Epistle, was also a contemporary of the Lord. He is silent regarding the miraculous birth and the resurrection, but alludes to the end or death of the Lord, v. 11, as known to his readers. The above two witnesses, being contemporaries of Jesus, make history. All other pretended testimony, not being that of contemporaries, is of no historical or critical value.

II. Ecclesiastical history acknowledges the twelve apostles as well as the apostles Matthias and Paul; but it ignores and suppresses all the other apostles of the first and second centuries, and all the Christian prophets. This is a gross historical misrepresentation of facts. The early Christian writers speak of contemporary apostles and Christian prophets; and the writings of numerous apostles and prophets of the first and second centuries have survived to our times.

The apostles of the second century were the inventors of the false

history of Christ ; and the Christian prophets were the creators of the dogmas, such as the general resurrection, the second advent, heaven and hell, etc.

III. The Canonical Gospels are falsely stated in ecclesiastical history to have been written and published in the first century by members of the twelve and their immediate followers.

IV. Ecclesiastical history represents Jesus to be the founder of the Christian Religion. This is a serious error. The Christian religion, as we have it, was constructed in the second century, long after the death of Christ. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, has the best historical claim to be regarded as its founder ; as good as Luther's claim to be the founder of the Protestant Reformation, as Cavour's of Italian Unity, and Bismarck's of the German Empire. Paul is sometimes said to have been the founder of the Christian religion, but he was a very remote source of it : his influence, when nearly spent, was renewed by Marcion in the second century.

V. Ecclesiastical history regards all individuals in the early centuries who bore the names of Paul and of the twelve as identical with the latter. In the first two centuries there were four Johns, three Peters, four Pauls and two Matthews. All these are regarded by theologians and ecclesiastical historians as constituting four, or at most five individuals. The confusion of facts, the anachronisms, the wrong estimation of writings and of events due to this error are serious, and the causes of much false history.

The painful circumstance connected with these errors in early ecclesiastical history is that they were not due, in most instances, to mistake or oversight, but rather to deliberate design and intention, in order to accomplish certain definite purposes, or to establish certain false beliefs. The perpetuation of these historical errors by modern theologians and ecclesiastics is unbecoming to scholars and gentlemen. The preservation of silence regarding them, and the pretence of ignoring the researches by which these errors have been brought to light, as little protect theologians from moral blame and social reproach, as the ostrich which buries its head in the sand saves its body from physical danger. So long as early Christian history is exclusively in the hands of ecclesiastics, whose interests are favoured by false history, the recognition and elimination of historical errors will be indefinitely postponed. When Society is roused to take as much interest in ecclesiastical as it does in general history, and laymen are encouraged to enter upon ecclesiastical researches, early ecclesiastical history will be purged from its errors, and as an inevitable logical sequence, Christian theology will be largely modified. By its apathy and indifference, Society has helped and contributed to

theological and ecclesiastical success in substituting the false for the true.

Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort regard the Masters of the Christian School of Alexandria as the custodians of the Gospels in the early centuries. There is no positive information on the subject, but historical presumption favours this conclusion. This function of the Alexandrian Masters was not, however, carried out as Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort pretend to believe, according to the modern conception of the preservation of originals; but according to the ancient Christian conception, which was parental or tutorial, and implied rectification, elaboration, amplification and beautifying of the Gospels by their hands alone. This is the only historical means of accounting for the changes clearly perceptible in the text of the Gospels at various periods, according to the quotations and representations of the Christian Fathers of the second and third centuries. All such changes were made by the hand and at the discretion of the Alexandrian Masters; and it may be remarked that, on the whole, they were wholesome, judicious and necessary for the correction of errors. But there were occasions on which the Alexandrian Masters appear to have been subjected to coercion. I have stated in my former work the historical grounds for the conclusion that the verses John xx. 21-23, on the subject of remission of sins, were introduced into the Fourth Gospel by the authority of Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus, obviously against the consent or concurrence of Origen, the Alexandrian Master of the day, who yielded to coercion. I have discovered a corresponding example, in the Third Gospel, of compulsion or outside influence exerted on the Alexandrian Masters, in Luke xvi. 9. The clause, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," existed in this form in the Marcionite Gospel, as well as in the original Canonical Gospel, according to Tertullian. The clerical omission of the word 'not' in the former was not corrected in the latter; and in subsequent editions the omission was confirmed and strengthened by the addition of a corollary, which runs thus in our present Gospel, "that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." This addition can be traced to Irenæus, for Tertullian does not quote it. There is evidence, stated in the proper place in the following pages, that the Alexandrian Masters of the day, Clement and Origen, disapproved of the passage; and it is plain that the text in this case, being inconsistent with its context, was not determined according to their judgment. The passage, as it has come down to us, asserts an immoral sentiment, which is a scandal to Christianity. Commentators are unable reasonably to explain it away. The full Marcionite text of the verse, sup-

plying the omission, was, "Make *not* to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," which is a wholesome and sound moral precept. In both these examples of coercion exercised upon the discretion of the Alexandrian Masters, in one case by Irenæus, the strong-minded but unscrupulous Founder of the Christian Religion, and in the other case by two notorious ecclesiastical knaves in high positions, the objects to be obtained were of an immoral character.

There are several mysteries in the Christian Religion still extant, such as the general resurrection, the second advent and others, but the most remarkable of all is the mystery of the Eucharist, in which bread and wine become the flesh and blood of Christ. In the course of the ages, a few, very few of the Christian mysteries have become submerged or obsolete. Among these count the Millennium, the mystery declared by the Christian prophet Enoch, which was abandoned by the Church in the third century. The ancient mystery of the second advent, which was announced by Paul, or some unknown Christian prophet contemporary with him, was materially modified as to its incidence in the second century. The mystery of eternal damnation, probably declared by Enoch, may be said to have been practically abolished by Christian society in the nineteenth century. In the course of my researches, I have fallen upon an abandoned Christian mystery, which prevailed from the second to the seventh century. The Christian prophet and apostle John, the author of the Apocalypse, or Revelation, who dates from the second century, declared the mystery of the Incised Lamb, or Lamb with the throat as if cut, ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον (Rev. v. 6), '*agnum tamquam occisum*' (Vulgate). The meaning of the mystery appears to have been the mysterious identity of the Incised Lamb with the Crucifixion, or Jesus upon the Cross. Like the Eucharist, it was a mystery of transformation; the Lamb was the type of Christ, and the Knife took the place of the Cross. It is a remarkable fact that, for five centuries, the picture or statue of the Incised Lamb represented the Crucifixion in Christian Art, and no other was admitted into the churches. In other words, the Crucifixion was practically abolished in the Christian churches for five centuries, while the mystery of the Incised Lamb was in the ascendant.

The facts collected in the following pages are all to be found in the historical records, to which references are given. None of them are hypothetical. The views and conclusions formed by me are the natural inferences to be drawn from the facts. I have not been deterred from making just and reasonable inferences from facts because such inferences are contrary to prevalent notions or beliefs. In matters of history I do not recognise the authority of Bishops,

theological Professors or Theologians generally ; but I pay regard to the facts stated by writers who were contemporary or nearly contemporary with the facts. I do not, however, depreciate the value and advantage of learning because I have had the unfortunate experience of seeing learning made subservient to falsehood. I respectfully invite the attention of the Editors of the great organs of public opinion to the conclusions that I have come to on the facts. Books of this nature in the region of theology rarely receive fair play. But I trust the Editors of Reviews will confide the scrutiny of my facts and inferences to men who, besides being scholars, are also gentlemen who have a regard for the truth. If the Public will not examine and adjudicate, I have no court to appeal to.

21st May 1901.

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E R R A T A.

Page 204, line 4 from bottom in text, *for* "A. V. and R. V. has," *read* "have."

Page 299, note 1, line 5, *for* "Eucharists" *read* "Eucharist."

Page 304, line 17, *after* "readings," *read* "were," instead of "was."

Page 304, footnote, line 1, *for* "Codex Beza," *read* "Bezaë."

Pages 517, 535, 538, *for* "Minutius," *read* "Minucius."

PLAN

1. Introduction
2. Theoretical Framework
3. Methodology
4. Results
5. Discussion
6. Conclusion

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE THIRD GOSPEL.

CHAPTER I.

THE DATE OF THE GOSPEL OF LUKE. APOSTLES OF THE SECOND CENTURY WHO BORE THE NAME OF PAUL. LITERARY IMMORALITY OF THE FATHERS IN THE SECOND CENTURY. ECCLESIASTICAL NOODLEISMS. VALUE OF HUMOUR IN THEOLOGICAL CRITICISM. THE ANACHRONISMS IN THE GOSPEL.

THE first and most important step in the investigation of the origin of the Third Gospel is to ascertain the date of its composition and publication. I have been unable to find the least trace of the gospel prior to the second half of the second century, and I have no ground for forming any reasonable presumption that it existed prior to this period. It is, my opinion, founded on the experience I have gained in the course of my investigations, that the enquirer must not be exigent in demanding strong and salient proof of any fact, whatever may be its importance, in early Christian history. With regard to the important historical question whether Jesus had undergone a judicial trial prior to execution or had been simply lynched by the Jewish mob, and upon the solution of this question rested the authenticity of facts stated in all four gospels, and which fill many graphic pages of the history of Jesus, I have been obliged to be content with an indirect statement, but bearing on the subject, written for no historical purpose, made by Paul, the apostle of the first century, that the "princes of this world, had they known it, would not have crucified the Lord of glory" (1 Cor. ii. 8). Upon this simple expression I grounded the presumption that such high personages as Pilate the

governor, and Caiaphas the high priest, are indicated by the word 'princes,' and that these great functionaries assisted at the execution of Jesus only in the discharge of their judicial and magisterial offices, and I was obliged, in the utter dearth of information on the subject in pagan and Christian writings of the first century, to accept Paul's incidental remark, as a corroboration, the only one available, of the evangelical narrative. Although disposed not to be exacting, I have not succeeded in discovering any statement, even an indirect one (excluding interpolations), in the Christian writings of the first century and first half of the second, on which I could reasonably ground a presumption that the Third Gospel was in existence during this prolonged period of the Christian era. Justin Martyr was the last writer of this period, and he gives his own date in chapter xlv. of his *First Apology* as A.D. 150. The next Christian writer whose works have survived is Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher and a man of learning, whose date is given as about A.D. 177; he gives no hint from which may be gathered that the Third Gospel was known to him. The first notice of the Gospel in Christian literature occurs in the great work of Irenæus *Against Heresies*. In chapter xxvii. 2 of the first book, in speaking of the heretic Marcion, Irenæus says that Marcion mutilated the Gospel according to Luke by removing from it the generation of the Lord, and by putting aside much information regarding the teaching of the Lord. In subsequent passages of the same work, Irenæus has much to say about the Gospel according to Luke; and there can be no doubt that the Third Gospel was an authorized publication and in general currency amongst Christians at the date on which he wrote. This date can be approximately ascertained from his own work. In Bk. III. iii. 3, he says that Eleutherus, the twelfth bishop of Rome, "now holds the inheritance of the Episcopate." The Episcopacy of Eleutherus, Bishop Lightfoot states, extended from A.D. 175 to A.D. 190. The testimony of Irenæus, which of itself is sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical, is corroborated by that curious document known as the Muratorian fragment. Bishop Westcott gives an interesting account of this document in an appendix to his work on the Canon of the New Testament. Its date is supplied by itself in the allusion made in it to Hermas, the author of the work called *The Shepherd*, who, it states, wrote this book very recently in our times, when Pius, his brother, occupied the chair of the Church of Rome. Bishop Westcott—and he is supported by Bishop Lightfoot—thinks that the date cannot be placed much later than 170 A.D. Other learned men assign a later date. Some parts of the passage referring to Luke are unintelligible, but the portions that are intelligible supply a satisfactory account. As the Muratorian

fragment will be referred to later on, I copy the original and Bishop Westcott's correction for the information of the reader.

Tertio Evangelii librum secundo
Lucan lucas iste medicus post
acensum xpi. cum eo paulus
quasi ut juris studiosum secun-
dum adsumsisset numeni suo ex
opinioe concriset dnm tamen
nec ipse duidit in carne et ide pro
asequi potuit ita et ad natiuitate
johannis incipet dicere.

Tertium Evangelii librum secun-
dum Lucan Lucas iste medicus
post ascensum Christi cum eum
Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum
secundum adsumsisset nomine
suo ex opinione conscripsit :
Dominum tamen nec ipse uidet
in carne, et idem prout assequi
potuit, ita et a natiuitate Johannis
incepit dicere.

Assuming the correctness of Bishop Westcott's transcript, the passage may be thus translated : Luke the physician, *whom* Paul had taken with him after the ascension of Christ, *quasi ut juris studiosum secundum*, wrote the third book according to Luke, of the Gospel in his own name according to rumour ; but he himself saw not the Lord in the flesh, *et idem prout assequi potuit*, and so he began to speak from the nativity of John. Bishop Lightfoot offers a conjectural emendation of the second unintelligible clause (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 189, foot-note), as follows : "*et idem, prout assequi potuit, ita posuit*," the translation being then, "and so placed the same as he could follow." I think Bishop Lightfoot's translation of this emended clause, "And he too [like Mark] set down events according as he had opportunity of following them (see Luke i. 3)," is perhaps objectionable, as it has the appearance of being a mode of fabricating evidence. His free translation of the final clause, "So he began his narrative from the birth of John," is perhaps likewise objectionable, as it looks like a mode of destroying or weakening documentary evidence, as I shall hereafter show (p. 103). A further corroboration will be found in the letter of the persecuted Church at Lyons and Vienna in Gaul to the Church in Asia and Phrygia, which Eusebius quotes in full in his *Ecclesiastical History* (Bk. v. i). The date of this letter is given by Bishop Lightfoot as A.D. 177 (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 259). After the testimony of Irenæus and of the Muratorian fragment, it might reasonably be accepted that the allusion to Zacharias found in the letter of the Gallican Church was taken from the Third Gospel. One of the martyrs is compared to the elder Zacharias, who had "walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless," which is the exact phraseology of Luke i. 6.

The facts above stated, namely, the entire absence of indications

that the Third Gospel was known in the first hundred and fifty years of the Christian era, and the first appearance of the Gospel in Christian history in the second half of the second century, justify the conclusion that the Gospel was written and published in the latter period. But we are met by puzzling statements repeatedly made by Irenæus in his great work *Against Heresies*, that Luke was a companion and fellow-labourer of Paul, the apostle of the first century, who disappears from history before A.D. 60 or thereabouts, more than a hundred years before we find any trace of Luke and his Gospel in Christian literature. Irenæus further makes the puzzling statement that Luke, besides writing the Third Gospel, was also the author of the Acts of the Apostles, and in this work describes from personal knowledge and experience the doings and travels of the Apostle Paul and others of the twelve apostles. In the present stage of my enquiry, I am unable to test the accuracy of these statements by reference to the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, which Irenæus states were both written by Luke (Irenæus, III. xiv. 1). But Irenæus does not limit his references to the writings of Luke in proof of his statements, but also refers as authority to the writings of the Apostle Paul. From this writer Irenæus quotes as proof of his statement that Luke the Evangelist was not "merely a follower, but a fellow-labourer of the apostles," *i.e.*, the twelve, the following passages, which we know are taken from the Epistles in the Canonical New Testament which are attributed to the Apostle Paul of the first century: "Demas hath forsaken me . . . and is departed unto Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. Only Luke is with me" (2 Tim. iv. 10, 11). "Luke, the beloved physician, greets you" (Col. iv. 14). I may remark here that the Muratorian fragment speaks of the author of the Third Gospel as "the physician whom Paul had taken with him after the ascension of Christ"; and there can be no doubt that the author of the Muratorian fragment was of the same belief as Irenæus, that Luke was a companion and fellow-labourer of Paul, the apostle of the first century. If Luke, the author of the Third Gospel, which we hear of for the first time towards the close of the second century, be the same as the companion and fellow-labourer of Paul, he must have been of marvellous longevity. Irenæus means, and definitely makes the statement, that the Third Gospel was written by Luke while sharing Paul's labours, and that Paul actually used the Third Gospel. But my careful and friendly investigation of the Christian literature of the first century and half of the Christian era, enables me to say that there are no traces of the Third Gospel to be found during the whole of this prolonged period of Christian history. Had I perceived anything

on which I could found a reasonable presumption that the Third Gospel was known at this early period, I should have gladly availed myself of it: for my chief interest in this investigation is the discovery of historical fact. Nor am I aware of any other enquirer who has discovered traces of the Gospel in the period that I have indicated; although I am fully awake to the extraordinary fact that a vast number of persons of considerable erudition and of high academic and ecclesiastical status, seriously and passionately declare that they have found very clear and unmistakeable evidences of the Third Gospel from the earliest times.

My conclusion then is that Irenæus' statements regarding the antiquity of the Third Gospel and the relations of its author to the Apostle Paul of the first century are erroneous and groundless. Passing over for the present the proofs he adduces from the Acts of the Apostles, in which work the name of Luke does not appear, an examination of the proofs which he seriously brings forward from the Epistles of Paul convinces me that his statements spring from sheer error and great simplicity of mind! There is nothing in the simple mention of the name Luke, or of Luke the physician, in the Epistles of Paul, to indicate the slightest connection with Luke the Evangelist. There were certainly many more people in the apostolic and post-apostolic age who bore the names of Paul and Luke than in the present day: and it is essential that proofs of identity of the individuals who bore the names should be forthcoming. But such proofs Irenæus does not bring forward, for the simple reason that he had none. If it be admitted that Paul the apostle of the first century had a companion and fellow-labourer of the name of Luke (but of that there is no proof whatever), it remains to be proved that that companion was the Evangelist Luke. Of this essential proof and verification of identity there is an absolute absence in Irenæus' writings. Further, the two Epistles which Irenæus quotes, Second Timothy and Colossians, were not the writings of the Apostle Paul of the first century, but of apostles who bore the common Christian name of Paul, who lived and wrote in the second century. The office and name of apostle was continued into the second century: at what period of the second century it became extinct I have not been able to ascertain.¹ The ancient document, called the

¹ Allusion is made to the extinction of the order of apostles, and of their supersession by the presbytery, in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, Bk. ii, 28 (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, p. 60), a work written either in the second half of the second century or in the third century, but largely interpolated later. "Let also a double portion be set apart for the presbyters as for such who labour continually about the word and doctrine, upon the account of the Apostles of our Lord, whose place they sustain, as the counsellors of the bishops and the crown of the church. For

Didache, which was discovered by Bishop Bryennios in 1875, and published eight years afterwards, and dated by Bishop Lightfoot in the first or beginning of the second century, establishes the fact that the office and name of apostle existed at that period. This document speaks of apostles, prophets, and teachers, but the distinction between these offices is not clearly indicated, and I conclude that they were practically identical. Bishops and deacons are also mentioned, and from the deprecatory tone in which they are spoken of, I draw the inference that they were regarded as discharging subordinate functions; and it is further stated that they also performed the service of the prophets and teachers (ch. 15). It should be clearly understood that this document is called simply, *The teaching of the Apostles*. Bishop Lightfoot's translation of the simple Greek words *Διδακή τῶν ἀποστόλων*, which head his Greek text, as "The teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles by the Twelve Apostles," which he places at the head of his English translation in the abridged edition of the *Apostolic Fathers*, is unjustifiable, misleading and deceptive, even though he explains in his introductory remarks that the heading of the manuscript is, "The teaching of the Twelve Apostles"; but the designation of the work is "The Teaching of the Apostles" in several ancient writers who refer to it. The *Epistles of Ignatius*, according to Dr Lightfoot, were written in the early years of the second century; but it must be admitted that the corruptions, and it is not possible in our days to decide definitely and accurately and to the satisfaction of all what passages or clauses are interpolations or genuine, are of a later date than the original writing. The object of the extensive interpolations made in these letters, I believe, was to magnify the office of the bishops and the presbytery, and thereby to pave the way to the complete supersession by the presbytery and bishops of the order of apostles instituted by Jesus himself. The references to contemporary apostles are fairly numerous in these complex letters, and I note them down in the order in which I find them in Bishop Lightfoot's translation of the *Ignatian Epistles*. "The company of those Christians of Ephesus who moreover were ever of one mind with the apostles in the power of Jesus Christ" (Eph. 11); "Council of the Apostles"

they are the Sanhedrim and senate of the Church. If there be a reader there, let him receive a single portion, in honour of the prophets, and let the singer and the porter have as much." I conclude the order of apostles and prophets was extinct when this was written. Lucian, in his account of *Proteus Peregrinus*, which, if not a true history, is founded on facts, states that this rogue and knave was appointed a Christian *prophet*: *προφήτης καὶ θεασάρχης καὶ ξυναγωγέως καὶ πάντα μόνος αὐτὸς ὢν*, being prophet, theosarch, chief of the assembly or ecclesia or church, and himself singly all things. Lucian wrote in the second half of the second century.

(Magnesians, 6); "ordinances of the Lord and of the Apostles" (ditto, 13); "I salute in the divine plenitude after the apostolic fashion" (Trallians, .1); "be ye obedient also to the presbytery, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ" (ditto, 2); "College of Apostles" (ditto, 3); "I should order you as though I were an apostle" (ditto, 3); "from the bishop and from the ordinances of the Apostles" (ditto, 7); "Refuge in the Gospel as the flesh of Christ and in the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church. Yea and we love the prophets also, because they pointed to the Gospel in their preaching and set their hope on him and awaited him" (Philadelphians, 5); "the Prophets and the Apostles and the whole Church" and "the beloved Prophets in their preaching pointed to him" (ditto, 9). "Follow your bishop as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect, as to God's commandment" (Smyrneans, 8). The subject of second century apostles, prophets and teachers is discussed more fully in p. 84, ff. of my previous work on the Fourth Gospel, in which by way of distinction I called the second century apostles stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles, because they received remuneration for their services. It is my conviction that the second Epistle to Timothy, and the Epistle to the Colossians, from which Irenæus quotes the name of Luke, and of Luke the physician, in proof of his statement that Luke the Evangelist was a companion and fellow-labourer of Paul, the apostle of the first century, were written by second century stipendiary apostles who happened to bear the common name of Paul. There is no question that the Second Epistle to Timothy was written by an individual of the name of Paul, who was an apostle of Jesus Christ, as he himself states in ch. i. 1, and repeats in verse 11. The Epistle contains sufficient evidence within its own contents which indicates that the writer possessed influence and authority in the church such as would be naturally exercised by a person holding an apostolic position. But the same contents also point to the fact that the writer was a stipendiary apostle of the second century. In the first place, we know that Paul, the apostle of the first century, became a Christian when he was of mature age, but our author describes himself to be a hereditary Christian, serving God from his forefathers, i. 3, and he further says that he personally has had experience of three generations of Christians, as he calls to remembrance the "unfeigned faith" of Timothy, a full grown man, of his mother Eunice, and of his grandmother Lois, i. 5; and that he was an aged man is confirmed by the statement made in ch. iv. 6 and 7. Then he speaks of the "putting on of hands," which was a second century ritual, i. 6. He also urges Timothy to do the work of an 'evangelist,' iv. 5; as I have pointed out in my

previous work on the Fourth Gospel, there were no evangelists in the first century, in the days of Paul the Apostle, but there were tons of them in the second century, if we are to regard the innumerable pious story books that were produced in the second century as 'Gospels': and some score or more of them are known to us only under that name. Timothy is represented as well instructed as a child in the "holy scriptures," iii. 15: these holy scriptures can hardly be regarded as limited to the Jewish scriptures, but the meaning of the expression must be extended to include Christian holy scriptures, as they are said "to be able to make wise unto salvation which is in Jesus Christ." The expression 'holy' points to Canonical or sacred Christian Scriptures; and this inference will carry us very deep into the second century, even to the second half of it. There are various admonitions, such as "shun profane and vain babblings," ii. 16; "avoid foolish and unlearned questions," ii. 23; references to religious disputes, and to men who held other religious opinions, who are described in uncomplimentary terms, although they preserved "a form of godliness," i. 15, ii. 17, iii. 1-7, iv. 3, 4, all which point to second century times, circumstances, and mode of speech. The keen eye to the main chance, "the husbandman that laboureth must be first partaker of the fruit," ii. 6, is peculiarly a second century characteristic. The apostles in the second century accepted remuneration; and so far as I can make out, the remuneration, which was practically the tenth part of the gains, money included, of the members of the Christian community (see *Didache*, ch. 13), was handsome.¹ The first century apostles were not remunerated; and this contrast between them has induced me to differentiate the former as stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles. The first epistle to Timothy is of much the same character as the second, and the two epistles were doubtless written by the same person. The peculiarities pointed out in the second epistle are even more marked in the first. Two great vices of the second century, ecclesiastical greed and acrimony towards persons who did not fall in with the orthodox views, are well brought out. "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour²: . . . for the Scripture saith,

¹ I gather from 1 Thess. ii. 6 and 7, written conjointly by three stipendiary Apostles of the second century, that these apostolic functionaries were rather costly, to the extent of being burdensome, to the Christians of the second century, exactly as are their successors to the Christian communities of the nineteenth century. The word 'glory' employed in verse 6 is a splendid euphemism for "ten per cent. and a little over." "6. Nor of men sought we glory, neither of you, nor yet of others, when we might have been burdensome, as the apostles of Christ, 7. But we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children."

² The double pay to be given to presbyters is confirmed by the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Bk. ii. 28. See foot-note 1 on page 5.

Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn : and, The labourer is worthy of his hire " (1 Tim. v. 17-18). Very sound and wholesome admonitions are administered to rich members of the Christian community : "that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate ; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life " (1 Tim. vi. 18, 19). No admonitions are administered to the poor members of the Christian community in this epistle, and generally they are left out as not of much account ; this was not a characteristic of Paul the apostle of the first century. Aversion of feeling towards persons of different religious views is displayed in ch. i. 5-7, iv. 1-3, vi. 20, 21. It seems to me probable that the chief party aimed at in these passages is Marcion, the heretic of the second century. The concluding passage is unmistakeable : "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane *and* vain babblings and antitheses of a falsely named Gnosis (or philosophy)." It is as certain a fact as the battle of Waterloo that Marcion wrote a work in which he drew up a series of antitheses between God as portrayed in the Old Testament, and God as presented by Jesus, and to this work the name of Antitheses was given. One refrains from attempting to fathom the unspeakable fatuity of theologians who translate the concluding clause of verse 20 thus, "oppositions of science falsely so called," in the Authorised Version, and "oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called," in the Revised Version. Antithesis is a Greek word, which has been adopted by the English language for centuries, and is to be found in every English dictionary as in every Greek lexicon ; the meaning of it is exactly the same in both languages, and is understood by every English schoolboy. I will admit, if required, that the meaning of the passage was not perceived by the translators of the New Testament in 1611 : but it will be hard to yield a similar concession on behalf of the ecclesiastical *savans* who revised the translation in 1881. One is moved to commiserate the unfortunate position in which theologians find themselves from the advances of modern criticism and examination of the Scriptures. Modern enquirers, when not holding ecclesiastical offices, or discharging religious functions, are not deterred by any irrelevant considerations derived from the desire to preserve appearances, or to maintain ancient and respectable ecclesiastical fictions, from giving expression and force to the results of their investigations. There is not the shadow of a doubt that the aged and influential Apostle Paul of the second century, who wrote the Canonical Epistles to Timothy, was a contemporary and opponent of Marcion :

and hence it happened that both these Epistles were excluded from the Canon of Marcion. A further confirmation of the late date of these Epistles are the references to the ecclesiastical offices of Bishop, 1 Tim. iii. 1; Elder, v. 17; and Deacon, iii. 10, and even of novice or neophyte, iii. 6, all of which were unknown to the Apostle Paul of the first century, and are never mentioned in his own Epistles. The mention of the Antitheses of Marcion in the First Epistle to Timothy does not necessarily imply that the writer of it was living all along simultaneously with Marcion; it admits of implying that he wrote late in the life of Marcion or even after the death of the latter. And this inference added to the inference from the fact that the writer alludes to the holy Scriptures, including the sacred or canonical writings of the New Testament, will carry the date of the Epistles of Timothy into the second half of the second century. And we may finally conclude that the office of Apostle was not extinct before the second half of the second century, from the fact that the writer of the Epistles to Timothy bore the title and exercised the power and influence of an Apostle.

In my former work on the Fourth Gospel I devoted some space to the subject of the authorship of the Epistle to the Colossians, from which Irenæus quotes his proof that 'Luke the physician' was a companion and fellow-labourer of Paul, the Apostle of the first century. The Epistle contains some expressions which we know were current among the Gnostic Christians of the second century, but of which we have no knowledge in the first century. These are "thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers" (i. 16, ii. 10, 15), and "fulness" or *pleroma*, a Gnostic technical term (i. 19, ii. 9). The plainest proof of second century date is to be found in the fact that Paul the Apostle, who wrote the Epistle, declares himself to be a deacon of the Church. This word, the Greek of which is *διάκονός*, is translated 'minister' in the Authorised Version and Revised Version, but such translation is deceptive and not justifiable. A deacon was a distinct and well-recognised grade in the Church in the second century, in common with presbyter or elder and bishop, and the technical expression should be retained in the translation. The author calls himself a deacon in Col. i. 23, "Whereof I, Paul, am made a deacon," and he repeats the statement in verse 25. In both passages the Authorised Version and Revised Version deceptively and unjustifiably substitute the word 'minister' for deacon. His associates, Epaphras, i. 7, and Tychicus, iv. 7, were also deacons, erroneously translated 'ministers' in the Authorised Version and Revised Version. Now, Paul the apostle of the first century was not a deacon; these ecclesiastical

grades had not been created in his days, for he makes no mention of them in his genuine epistles. The Apostle Paul of the first century certainly uses the word *διάκονός* very frequently, but it is clear that he employs it in the general and untechnical sense in which it was used by all Greek writers of the period, including the pagan or classical writers. Thus he calls the Roman ruler *διάκονός θεοῦ*, rightly translated, minister or servant of God, in Rom. xiii. 4, and it would be amusing to translate the word in this passage by the technical expression *deacon*. In Rom. xv. 8 he applies the word to Jesus Christ, and again in Gal. ii. 17, and it would be preposterous to translate the word in these passages 'deacon of the circumcision' and 'deacon of sin' respectively. In 1 Cor. iii. 5 he applies the expression conjointly to himself and Apollos, and again conjointly to himself and his fellow-labourers, in 2 Cor. vi. 4; but he clearly uses it in the same sense of servants or ministers in which he applies the word in 2 Cor. xi. 23, xi. 15, to the servants or ministers of Christ and of Satan respectively. If he had been a deacon, he had the opportunity of so declaring himself in Rom. xv. 16, where he writes, "That I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles"; here instead of using the word *διάκονόν*, he has *λειτουργόν*, the general sense of both words being the same. It looks like a special act of Providence that Paul abstained from the use of the word *διάκονόν* in this passage; or otherwise theologians would have pounced upon it in support of the theological fiction that the Epistles written by stipendiary apostles of the second century were the writings of the Apostle Paul of the first century. Another providential abstention of Paul is the passage in 1 Cor. iv. 1, "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ," in which he uses the neutral word *ἐπηρέτας*, which is rightly translated as ministers. It veritably looks as if Paul had the foresight so to write of himself as to enable the 'anxious enquirer' of a subsequent age to distinguish his genuine writings from those of other men who might accidentally bear his name.

The common peculiarities of the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians indicate their common authorship; and I believe they were all three written by a stipendiary apostle Paul of the second century, who held also the office of deacon. The *Didache*, as I have already pointed out, gives us the historical information that, in the beginning of the second century, bishops and deacons, though apparently holding subordinate positions, also exercised the office of apostles, prophets and teachers. In the Epistle to the Ephesians the apostolic writer declares that he was a deacon (iii. 7), but omits to call himself either apostle or deacon,

though he claims fellowship with bishops and deacons in the Epistle to the Philippians. In the latter, mention is made of a fellow apostle Epaphroditus, who, if he be the same as Epaphras named in Col. i. 7, was also a deacon. The apostle Epaphroditus is, by the anomalous and deceptive system of translation systematically pursued in the Authorised and Revised versions, degraded into a 'messenger' or errand boy, or commissionaire. In the Revised Version is a marginal note to the passage (Phil. ii. 25), "Gr. apostle"; but why is the Greek word ἀπόστολον not translated apostle in the text of the English translation? These three Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians were preserved to us by Marcion in his Canon; and from the verbal peculiarities to be found in all of them I infer that their apostolic author was an apostle and deacon of the Church of Marcion, which dates from the second century. There are statements of doctrine and of fact to be found in these three Epistles which are puzzling, as they are opposed to what I have been able to ascertain were Marcion's doctrines, and they further clearly point to the Apostle Paul of the first century as the writer. The clue to these puzzling statements is found in the certainty that these epistles were edited, *i.e.* altered and interpolated, by a member of the Orthodox Church. I have not yet succeeded in discovering clear evidence of the identity of the editor, and so few are the records of this dark period of Christian history, when the Canon of the New Testament was constructed, that I almost despair of ultimate success. But in the great dearth of literary talent existing at this period in the Orthodox Church, suspicion points to the learned pen of Clement of Alexandria: the only man in that period who, in my judgment, possessed the capacity to transform the contents of the epistolary writings of the great heretics of the second century into instruments of orthodoxy. Thus, with the powerful aid of the unopposed preaching and teaching in the churches and schools, has Christendom been deceived for over seventeen centuries. The editor, whoever he was, accomplished his sacred task with the sanction of the Church, upon principles which, however much they have been palliated, defended, and even applauded as laudable by modern writers of high ecclesiastical and academic status, reveal an abyss of literary immorality of almost incredible baseness: literary immorality of a nature which was despised and spurned by contemporary pagan writers. I hesitate to speak at present with full assurance, from the mere glimpses of the black vista of the literary immorality of the Fathers of the Church of this period that lies before me. I beg the reader will regard my observations on the Canonical Epistles as provisional and tentative, as I have not yet completed my investigation of these scriptures. I

further desire to say that the above remarks are limited to the Fathers of this period, who were the artisans employed by the Church to state or give canonical form to the theology of Ecclesiastical Christianity. They are not applicable to the earlier Fathers, to Clement of Rome, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and others, who were honest men innocent of literary immorality; and they are not designed by me to include the later Fathers.

I have referred to eminent theologians who declare that they have found evidences of the existence of the Third Gospel in the earliest times. To the proofs brought forward by Irenæus, which all or almost all these eminent theologians accept as unanswerable, they add the mention of the name of Luke in verse 24 of the Epistle to Philemon. This Epistle professes to be written by Paul and Timothy, and was clearly written by the same Paul, apostle and deacon of the second century, who wrote the Epistle to the Colossians. There are five persons mentioned in the former Epistle—Onesimus, verse 10, Epaphras, verse 23, Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas and Lucas, verse 24, who are all mentioned in the latter Epistle, ch. iv. 9, 10, 12, 14. It is certainly an ancient document, and was included in the Canon of Marcion. The only question that occurs to my mind on the point is why Irenæus omitted to mention the Luke of Philemon; and the answer to that question involves the important subject of the constitution or contents of the Canon of the New Testament in the second century. Was this Epistle to Philemon included in the Orthodox Canon in the time of Irenæus, in the second century?¹ The fact that Tertullian, at the beginning of the third century, and Epiphanius, in the fourth century, found it in the Canon is no proof that it had been introduced in the second century, if there be reasonable ground to exclude it. It has not entered into the minds of the eminent theologians, who endorse and extend the proofs given by Irenæus, to endeavour to verify the identity of the Luke of the Pauline Epistles with Luke the Evangelist of the Third Gospel. Until evidence of identity is produced, these alleged proofs are worthless. I have given evidence that Paul, the apostle of the first century, does not mention Luke the Evangelist, and that the writers of the Epistles erroneously attributed to him were second century stipendiary apostles of the same name.

In addition to the proofs stated by Irenæus, which they have extended, without, however, supplying the necessary addendum of

¹ The Epistle to Philemon is absent in the Codex Vaticanus, hypothetically alleged to be the oldest Codex of the New Testament that has survived to our days. Bishop Westcott tries to make out that the Epistle to Philemon was quoted by Ignatius (c. 107). See *Canon of New Testament*, p. 48, note.

proof of identity, modern theologians bring forward other proofs of the early date of the Gospel according to Luke. The most remarkable of these proofs is one, which, so far as I know, is peculiar to the theologian who wrote the Introduction to the Gospels in the *Speaker's Commentary*, viz., the late Dr William Thomson, Archbishop of York, 1878. Dr Thomson quotes Acts xxviii. 30: "Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came to him." This unpromising statement in Dr Thomson's learned judgment indicates, or rather, to use his own words, "seems to prescribe a limit of time later than which the Gospel (of Luke) cannot be." My mind is unable to follow the learned argument which gives living voice and meaning and persuasive force to a passage which seems to me utterly irrelevant to our subject. I am unable to perceive what connection there is between the duration of Paul's tenancy of a hired house, and the reception by him of people in general, and the date of publication of the Gospel of Luke. Those who possess a better understanding than I can claim, will doubtless be sensible of the power of Dr Thomson's argument which has failed to impress me. "It is argued," he says, "that if the later events of St Paul's career had then transpired, the Evangelist who had been relating, with remarkable fulness, the preceding events, would have continued to treat the following incidents in the same manner. This would give for the Acts the date of about A.D. 64, *i.e.* about the end of the second year of St Paul's imprisonment; and that of the Gospel might perhaps be placed about A.D. 62" (*Speaker's Commentary: Introduction to the Gospels*, p. xliii). I am unable to answer the learned argument of the Archbishop, or to deny the accuracy of his conclusion, simply because I do not understand him. I have been in this unfortunate position before, when I could not understand the argument of an opponent; and have always on these sad occasions found silence a more prudential and urbane course than vituperation and abuse. Gentlemen of the law are also said to be occasionally in this predicament; for it does happen at times that the most unpromising materials have been invested with value and point, by forensic genius, so as to become evidence that has convinced learned judges and intelligent juries; and to be unimpeachable because nobody else could understand the subject. Cases of this kind are recorded in the Law Reports. The most remarkable is that of Mrs Bardell *v.* Pickwick, reported in the *Pickwick Papers*, edited by "Boz," ch. xxxiv. This was a case of breach of promise of marriage. The evidence on which the learned judge and intelligent jury ultimately decided against the defendant was on first presentation of a most unpromising nature: it consisted mainly of the contents of a missive from the defendant,

in which he wrote :—" Mrs Bardell, chops and tomato sauce." The talent and rhetoric of the learned counsel, Serjeant Buzfuz, extracted from these edible substances convincing proof of a breach of promise. Such intellectual power is not widely diffused. There is a certain similitude between the chops and tomato sauce of Serjeant Buzfuz and the tenancy of Paul's house and his reception of people of Archbishop Thomson ; with this remarkable difference between the two learned gentlemen, that while Serjeant Buzfuz clung to his argument to the bitter end, Archbishop Thomson, directly he had propounded his argument, and clinched its point, withdraws it and declares : " This, however, cannot be sustained." The mind is lost in wonderment in attempting to understand why then did the learned Archbishop put forth his argument.

The favourite and most generally employed proof of the antiquity of the Gospels, including Luke's Gospel, is that the quotations from unspecified or unknown religious writings found in the works of Christian authors of the second century, correspond to passages now found in our Canonical Gospels. For example, in Justin Martyr's *First Apol.* xix. occurs this remark : " For we know that our Master, Jesus Christ, said, that ' the things that are impossible with men are possible with God.' " This saying of Jesus is to be found in these very terms in Luke xviii. 27. Again, the same author in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, ch. cv., says, " For when Christ was giving up his spirit on the cross, He said, ' Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit,' as I have learned from the memoirs." This utterance of Jesus is found in these very terms in Luke xxiii. 46. These appear to be the only two passages of Justin Martyr which exactly correspond with Luke. There are many more passages in Justin which are very similar but more or less variant in terms, with passages in Luke : and there are further passages in Justin which are repetitions of each other, but which are not repeated in exact terms, and differ from each other almost as much as they differ from corresponding passages in Luke. These variations may perhaps with justice be attributed to *memoriter* quotations in which Justin's memory was at fault. These passages are brought forward as proofs that the Gospel of Luke existed in Justin's time, they being quotations from that Gospel. The error in this reasoning is the one sometimes made of putting the cart before the horse. It must first be proved that the Gospel of Luke existed in Justin's days ; and after that demonstration—and there is the rub—there will be no difficulty in fairly considering the Gospel of Luke as the source of these passages. This is a sample of the numerous proofs of this nature which theologians have accumulated from various early Christian writers, chiefly of the

first half of the second century; such proofs being exceedingly sparsely found in first century writings. In the absence of the preliminary proof of the pre-existence of the Gospel of Luke all such proofs are worthless; just as the proofs furnished from the similarity of names are worthless when not accompanied with proof of the identity of the individuals bearing the same names. Professor Sanday brings forward a loose demonstration of the antiquity of the Gospel of Luke, derived from its asserted priority of date to the Marcionite Gospel. But he does not furnish any proof of the date of the latter. The statement in his work, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 235, that "in the year A.D. 140 Marcion possesses a gospel which is already in an advanced stage of transcription," is a pure assumption, and indicates that Professor Sanday had not formed a high estimate of the intellectual qualities of his readers. I should have been glad if the learned Professor had supplied reasonable data for fixing the date of the Marcionite Gospel. Justin Martyr, whose date is A.D. 150, makes no mention either of the Canonical or Marcionite Gospel, and I have failed to find any proof of the existence of the Canonical Gospel in the first half of the second century. My experience in the course of these investigations, in which so little assistance can be derived from the surviving writings of antiquity, has prepared me and even forced me to accept even the most indirect proofs of events; but even any such are wanting in this question of the exact date of the Marcionite Gospel. These are all the proofs of the antiquity of the Gospel of Luke that I have been able to gather from the writings of theologians to whose works I have had access; if there exist others, I am unaware of them, as I have not found them in the course of my investigations.

Perhaps it will not be generally satisfactory to dismiss these proofs, advanced by theologians of great eminence and dignity, without specially showing that they are of no value. If similarity of names and of texts or passages be of sufficient force to prove the antiquity of a Canonical Gospel, similarity of names and of material must also be sufficient to prove the antiquity of a building. In this comparison the passages of the text must be regarded as equivalent to the material or bricks of a building. Let us imagine a controversy on the antiquity of St Paul's Cathedral in London, a highly respectable party of learned men maintaining that the Cathedral was in existence during the Roman occupation of England. In proof of this statement the learned men pick out from the walls of the Cathedral, not a couple or three dozen, but several cart-loads of Roman bricks. These bricks, they argue, in terms of great eloquence and force, are clear proofs that the Cathedral was built

in Roman times. When told that Wren built the cathedral—but about that fact the learned men raise no question, but fully admit—and that Wren was only heard of at a later age, they dispute the latter fact and maintain that Wren flourished in the Roman period. They produce evidence that I-wren-æus, commonly written Irenæus, was a well-known Christian bishop of the second century, when Britain was actually a province of Rome: and they argue that the similarity of the names “seems to prescribe” that the date of the cathedral cannot be set down as later than the second century, as Iwrenæus or Irenæus was the builder. Archæologists are unlikely to be impressed by arguments of this nature. They are aware, from their personal investigations, that Roman bricks abound in England, being the débris of the edifices and fortifications erected by the Romans during their occupation, and that such bricks have been used for centuries, and even at the present day, in the construction of buildings of all sorts in modern England. The argument from the presence of Roman bricks in the walls of the cathedral being disposed of, archæologists are unlikely to discuss the further argument from the similarity of names. The above is the nature of the cognate considerations which induce me to reject as foolish the arguments of theologians on the subject of the antiquity of the Gospel according to Luke. Texts like those which Justin and others quote, abounded in the first half of the second century, in the religious story books put forth by stipendiary apostles and prophets and teachers, and also by founders and members of divergent Christian sects; and they were used by Justin and other writers of the first half of the second century, just as they were likewise used by Luke and other evangelists in the second half of the second century. I have devoted some space in my previous work on the Fourth Gospel to the discussion of the sources from which Justin Martyr and other early writers derived their evangelical information and the texts they quoted. These sources were the writings of the stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles and prophets, who were accredited officials of the orthodox Church.

The learned employment of foolish and sophistical arguments of the nature of those referred to above, is a form of noodleism which, in our days of advanced knowledge and civilisation, is, I believe, peculiar to theologians. One is surprised to find such arguments put forth with the eloquence and earnestness of conviction by men of undoubted erudition, who occupy positions of responsibility in the Churches and Universities. It is painful to reflect upon the melancholy fact that the chief living exponents of the view that the antiquity of the Third as of the other synoptic Gospels, is proved, or

'seems' to be proved, by the similarity of texts found in the earlier Christian writings with texts in these Gospels, are Dr Westcott, Bishop of Durham, and Dr Sanday, Professor of Theology at Oxford. The most important work of the former prelate and scholar, which has passed through six editions within the last half century, is his great work on the *Canon of the New Testament*. Two-thirds of this learned composition are mainly occupied with an exposition of the force and value of the remarkable coincidences to be found in the earlier Christian quotations with passages of the Gospels. Four hundred and seven pages, out of five hundred and eighty-four, of exquisite English, written with faultless elegance by the hand of a master of language, are practically devoted to the illustration of a silly and worthless proposition. Professor Sanday's work on the *Gospels in the Second Century* proceeds on the same lines. Columns of coincidences of texts are drawn up, like troops on a field of battle, to prove the antiquity of the Gospels: cart-loads of Roman bricks ostentatiously displayed to prove the antiquity of London churches! I trust that I shall be excused giving expression to my regret that these learned gentlemen had not applied their great talents and mental qualities to subjects of literature and natural science rather than to theology. Personally they would not, perhaps, have attained their present great eminence and financial success, but society and mankind would have benefited by their labours. I am rejoiced to be able to state that this particular form of theological noodleism is not universal among theologians. Bishop Lightfoot's masculine intellect rejected it. He placed his faith in the antiquity of the Gospels, not on similarity of texts, but upon the testimony of the Fathers, and mainly of Irenæus, whose "honesty," he erroneously thought, "is beyond the reach of suspicion." (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 269.) Other Theologians do not employ it as a staple proof, but as a subsidiary one, in support of the testimony of Irenæus and others.¹

The longevity of theological noodleisms is a most remarkable feature in our Western civilisation. While noodleisms in other branches of knowledge and mental activity (excepting perhaps the Law) have

¹ I find the following remark on this subject in Volckmar's *Das Evangelium Marcions*, p. 185:—"An sich kann kein Citat Justin's . . . wenn es auch noch so sehr mit Lucas stimmte, mehr beweisen, als dass die betreffende lucanische Stelle überhaupt schon *materiell* vor Justin oder zu M's Zeiten existirt hat, und so kann dessen bestimmteres Zeugniß nur subsidiär durch das bei Justin vorliegende seine Ergänzung finden." *In itself* no citation of Justin's, although it should correspond very closely with Luke, can prove more than that the passage of Luke in question had generally existed as material before Justin or in Marcion's times, and so its more certain testimony can only subsidiarily find its complement (*i.e.*, what is necessary to complete its evidence) only through what lies before Justin.

become practically extinct, theological fatuities have gathered strength in the ages, and are now, in an era of enlightenment, flourishing in even greater vigour than they enjoyed in a remote age of comparative ignorance. The initial noodleism of the resurrection from the dead, confined originally to the ignorant disciples of Jesus, is now the conventional belief of millions of the most educated peoples of the world, and the real genuine belief of millions more of simple people. The honest noodleisms of the first century, as well as the dishonest and mercenary fabrications of the second century, have manifestly thriven *pari passu*. This has not been the case in other districts of human thought and knowledge. The sciences, astronomy, chemistry and others, history, geography, were in former ages as full of foolishness as ecclesiastical theology. Chemistry is popularly understood to have originated from a pure noodleism, the attempt to convert the baser metals into gold and silver, *i.e.*, to convert one element into another. But this primary chemical folly has been definitely abandoned, and though the science of chemistry has greatly extended and now covers a vast area of assured facts and achievements, there is no trace to be found in it of the original noodleism from which it is supposed to have sprung, or of any other of a more modern date. History has a close analogy to ecclesiastical theology, as they both depend for their facts on human testimony. History, at least after ecclesiastical Christianity had fully established itself, was replete with the most amusing noodleisms, to the illustration of which Buckle has devoted an interesting chapter (*Civilisation in England*, ch. vi.). It is most significant that Buckle attributes the abundance of extravagances that sprung up as history in the Middle Ages mainly to the circumstance that the writing of history fell into the hands of priests and theologians. Speaking of the causes of the corruption of the history of Europe in the Middle Ages, he says: "The most powerful of all was, that history became monopolised by a class of men whose professional habits made them quick to believe, and who, moreover, had a direct interest in increasing the general credulity, since it was the basis upon which their own authority was built" (vol. i. p. 283, 2nd edition). During many centuries, it appears it was believed, without one thought of doubt, that the French nation was descended from Francus, whom everybody knew to be the son of Hector, and that our own people, the Britons, came from Brutus, whose father was no other than Æneas himself. It was the general belief that Paris, the capital of France, was called after Paris, the son of Priam, because he fled there when Troy was overthrown. The French town of Tours owed its name to being the burial-place of Turonus, one of the Trojans; the city of Troyes was actually built

by the Trojans, as its etymology clearly proved ; Nuremberg was called after the Emperor Nero, and Jerusalem after King Jebus, a man of vast celebrity in the Middle Ages, but whose existence later historians have not been able to verify. The Gauls were derived from Galathia, a female descendant of Japhet, according to some, or from Gomer, the son of Japhet, according to others. Prussia was called after Prussus, a brother of Augustus, Emperor of Rome ; Silesia had its name from the Prophet Elisha, from whom the Silesians descended. The town of Zurich, in Switzerland, was unquestionably built in the time of Abraham. The gipsies sprung immediately from Abraham and Sarah ; the Saracens from Sarah. The Scotch certainly came from Egypt, for they were originally the issue of Scota, who was a daughter of Pharaoh. It was well known that the town of Naples was founded on eggs. The Tartars naturally proceeded from Tartarus, "which some theologians said was an inferior kind of hell, but others declared to be hell itself." The Turks were identical with the Tartars ; "and it was notorious, that since the Cross had fallen into Turkish hands, all Christian children had ten teeth less than formerly ; an universal calamity, which there seemed to be no means of repairing" (p. 285-288). Buckle proceeds to detail the interesting and amusing contents of the *Chronicle of Turpin*, written by Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, the *History of the Britons* by Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Monmouth, and other great works of historical noodleism. All these follies and silly extravagances have been since eliminated from history. It ought not, however, to be regarded as marvellous or unaccountable that theology has not participated in the purifying process that other branches of human knowledge have undergone. Theology has been and is exclusively in the hands of ecclesiastics ; laymen, except such as possessed the qualifications and fulfilled the tests required by ecclesiastics, not being allowed, and in fact not caring to meddle with it. If history had remained in the hands of ecclesiastics,¹ as theology has, it would necessarily have retained its mediæval character. Theology cannot afford to sustain a purifying process. If the ineptitudes which abound in theology be carefully picked out and eliminated, the residue will not suffice to provide a living for the clerical crow. The venerable irrationalities of theology, grown respectable and mellowed in their folly from the force of age, are essential to provide a revenue for ecclesiastics. The maintenance of the archaic fatuities and irrationalities of theology becomes therefore the primary and most important duty of learned theologians. Unfortunately the duty and obligation do not stop there, but they

¹ Ecclesiastical history is still in the hands of ecclesiastics to a very large extent, and hence it is unreliable and full of suppressions and saponification of facts.

extend to the protection and vindication of the base forgeries of sectarian gospels and writings perpetrated under the cognisance and instigation of the Church in the second half of the second century. All this is not as it should be. The residue of theology, after noodleisms of all kinds have been removed, though meagre in quantity and incapable of providing a living to the clergy, is of appreciable value for the moral advantage and elevation of society and mankind. The clergy would be at liberty to provide for their worldly wants by employing their talents and exertions in secular fields of labour. The original apostolic idea was to preach the Gospel, to solace the afflicted, to visit the sick, etc., gratuitously, but to earn one's living by secular industry. "For we, ourselves, besides our attention to the word of the Gospel, do not neglect our inferior employments. For some of us are fishermen, some tent-makers, some husbandmen, that we may never be idle" (*Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. 63; Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xvii., 2nd part, p. 92).

I have not committed these thoughts to paper from a spirit of careless frivolity, but rather from a thorough and solid historical conviction that the fundamental beliefs of ecclesiastical Christianity are essentially archaic noodleisms, whose date or chronology can be approximately ascertained with accuracy. Of the three propositions which constitute the basis of ecclesiastical religion, the Miraculous Conception, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, not one of them owes its origin to Jesus himself. Paul, the apostle of the first century, the first Christian writer we are acquainted with, was ignorant of the Virgin Mary and of the Ascension. The very statements which Paul makes regarding the Resurrection, in which he undoubtedly believed, prove that the Resurrection, instead of being a physical fact, had no existence. That Jesus was unquestionably seen alive after the Crucifixion is a fact that most effectually disproves that he had died on the Cross, and hence there could have been no Resurrection, which implies precedent death. If any person had understood and believed that a friend had died, and continued in that belief for a few days or weeks; and then he, or some of his friends on whose veracity he could rely, beheld the dead friend alive and walking about, he would surely not be justified in concluding that the friend had risen from the dead. The belief in the Resurrection, on the very statements set forth in the writings of Paul and in the Gospels, is a self-evident noodleism, which was actually rejected by some of Paul's saints and by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (see my previous work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 204 ff.) and which was not an essential article of belief even at the end of

the second century (Irenæus, v. xxxi.). The Virgin conception, which was unknown in the first century, originated in the second century, and was certainly the invention of the stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles and prophets, as I have shown in my former work on the Fourth Gospel. This proposition was not, like the Resurrection, a noodleism originating from simplicity and honest error, but a deliberate and fraudulent fabrication constructed to play upon the simplicity and ignorance of the multitude. The third proposition, the Ascension, was three centuries in incubation before it acquired its present complete form of ascension on a cloud (see p. 199 and 280 ff. of my work on the Fourth Gospel). Such theological noodleisms are unworthy of continuance in an age of enlightenment. They are inharmonious with the intelligence of the people of the nineteenth century, and inconsistent with the knowledge which the development of the natural sciences has provided us. They should be dismissed from the intellectual life of the nineteenth century in common with the historical and scientific noodleisms of the Middle Ages. The men and women who have occupied themselves directly or indirectly in unveiling and condemning theological noodleism in its manifold varieties have rendered good service to the cause of humanity. The process of extinction, however, is exceedingly slow and tardy in its operation, though there can be no rational doubt of its ultimate triumph. The discovery of the means of accelerating the process, and of successfully applying them, is very desirable. The application of satire and ridicule to theological noodleisms will, I think, be largely efficacious in achieving their extinction. I believe that it was due to the humour of Lucian that the foolish incident of the returning dove at the Crucifixion was withdrawn from Christian theology: that no other theological noodleism has been suppressed by the force of ridicule during the last seventeen centuries may be attributed to the circumstance that no man of genius dared to make the attempt without serious personal danger. Rabelais dared not; Paschal limited his consummate powers of ridicule to the casuists, and Dean Swift to the politicians. Molière's humour was directed against the foibles of the clergy, and Voltaire's wit, though not without result, was associated with obscenity. The necessity of making money was an effectual restraint on our modern humorists, all poor men, for it is unlikely that so long as the present veneration of theological noodleisms prevails, the ridicule of them will be popular and lucrative, however efficacious it may be in their suppression. The power of ridicule in theological discussions was fully appreciated by the early Fathers. Irenæus used it in his controversies with the Gnostics on religious subjects; and two of his sallies

have the cling of Rabelais (*Ad Heræ.*, i. iv. 4 and xi. 4). Tertullian employed it brutally, dishonourably, and ruthlessly against Marcion in criticising his Gospel, forgetful of the fact that ridicule is a two-edged sword so that the smiter in smiting may smite himself. There are numerous minor noodleisms in the Gospels and sacred writings of the New Testament, which are well worthy of humorous criticism. The extraordinary argument of Paul, in expounding the doctrine of the Resurrection, derived from dead seed germinating, is an appropriate subject for ridicule¹ (1 Cor. xv. 36). In the numerous commentaries, sermons and other religious writings of the present day, are extraordinary explanations and statements which it is discreditable

¹ Paul's arguments are difficult to follow, and after accomplishing the task of understanding them, one is not filled with admiration. His arguments and conclusions are not good for all time. Take his arguments for covering the heads of women, in Church I suppose (1 Cor. xi. 4-16); not one is of the least value: even verse 14 about a man having long hair, is not universally applicable. The ancient Greeks wore long hair; the custom had probably changed amongst the Corinthians in Paul's days. Amongst the Sikhs both men and women do not cut their hair; the men have naturally longer hair than the women; long hair is the glory of the men, as amongst the Spartans. These arguments of Paul govern the custom among Christian women of wearing bonnets in church and in other public assemblies. I have attempted below to apply them, with apologies to St Paul, to a cognate subject, the wearing of female garments by the clergy, and of male garments by women (1 Cor. xi. 4-16). Every man praying or prophesying, having his legs enveloped in a frock, dishonoureth his legs. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her legs enveloped in trowsers dishonoureth her legs. For that is even all one as if she were masculine, and he were feminine. For if the woman wear trowsers, let her also ride a horse astride: but if it be a shame for a woman to ride a horse astride, or a broomstick, let her wear a frock. And if the man wear a frock let him also wash the saints' feet: but if it be a shame for a man to wash the saints' feet, or knit socks, let him wear trowsers only. For a man indeed ought not to wear a frock, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man. For this cause ought the woman to have power in her legs because of the Houyhnhnms, and the man to have power in his elbows because of the Yahoos. Nevertheless neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man, in the Lord. For as the woman is of the man, even so is the man also by the woman; but all things of God. Judge in yourselves: is it comely that a woman pray unto God in trowsers, and a man in a frock? Doth not even custom, which is second nature, teach you that if a man cover his legs with a frock, it is a shame unto him. But if a woman cover her legs, it is a glory to her, for her frock was given her for a covering. But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God, except the Roman and Anglican Churches.

Paul's peculiar mannerism of phraseology is a fair subject for mirth; and it does at times mislead commentators. An ordinary person suddenly attacked with colic would exclaim, "What a belly-ache I have got!" Paul would have described the same infliction in the following terms:—"In the twinkling of an eye, like a thief in the night, I was crucified in my bowels in the Lord, *by whom and through whom all things were made*, yea in the greater regions thereof; and bowing down to the earth, I glorified the Lord in faintings, groanings, and tribulation in a holy spirit." A theologian would probably explain such a passage wide of the mark. The clause in italics is an interpolation made by some ecclesiastical rogue: but on the strength of it many a stout commentator would deduce the divinity of our Lord, and be scandalised if told that Paul simply meant to speak of an attack of colic.

to the common sense of the community should escape the lash of criticism. The prevalence of theological noodleisms in the present day is largely owing to the laxity and remissness of critics. A false sense of veneration for sacred subjects, or perhaps a less respectable motive, appears to determine the action of reviewers and critics, in deterring them from exposing, condemning, disapproving, and holding up to public ridicule the numerous ineptitudes, sophisms, and follies which fill our religious writings. A heavy moral responsibility rests upon our literary magistracy, upon whom in great measure depends the purification of our national literature, for their neglect of a great public duty. They have allowed, without a word of disapproval and dissent, the religious noodleisms of a remote age to gain strength and increased currency in an age of enlightenment. So far back as the beginning of the third century, Tertullian, an eminent Father of the Church, publicly declared that the death of a god was absurd, that the resurrection from the dead was impossible, and the ascension was incredible: but because these subjects were absurd, impossible, and incredible, they were worthy of belief. Not one individual of the many competent persons who now enter upon the work of criticism in our first class reviews has considered it his duty to condemn and hold up to public reprobation, the immorality of the corollary of the African theologian, and to declare that the multitude ought not to be encouraged to put faith in things absurd, impossible, and incredible. In the performance of this manifest public duty, they would have the support and countenance of many of the most eminent leaders of modern thought.

The solicitude of theologians on the subject of the antiquity of the Gospels is needless, misplaced, and without adequate foundation. That most delightful of essayists, Professor Max Müller of Oxford, has explained why. From the comparative study of all religions, it has been ascertained that in no religion have the Sacred Books been written down by the founder or by others during his lifetime, nor, with the single exception of the Qurân of the Mahomedans, even during the lifetime of any of his followers. "It must be admitted," says the learned Professor, "that the authenticity of Mahomed's teaching is much better established than that of the Logia of Christ, or the Sūtras of Buddha." He gives a warning against exaggerating the importance of Sacred Books. They are certainly a *sine quâ non* for the student of religion, and there is no historical evidence that brings us so near to the founders of any religion than the Canonical Books. But there is hardly any independent contemporary evidence, for to the outside world a nascent religion does hardly exist. "During the first generations, a new religion has a purely subjective existence;

it lives in the thoughts and conversation of the original disciples, and so long as the first teacher and his disciples are alive, there is no call for anything else." It is in the second, or even the third generation, that the first necessity for anything written is felt. There is no supply till there is a want felt or demand, and the demand, in the Professor's opinion, comes from mothers who feel the want of manuals for the instruction of children; and it is to the demand of mothers, he believes, that Sacred Books, and particularly the Gospels, owe their origin. The Professor considers that it is a great advantage that the Sacred Books of religions have not been written by their founders, but by their later followers: "Because whenever the spirit of truth within us protests against certain statements in these books as unworthy of the high character of the founders of these religions, we can claim the same liberty which even the ancients claimed with regard to the fables told of their gods, namely, that nothing could be true that was unworthy of the gods." Max Müller expresses surprise at the efforts that are made by theologians to make it probable that the Gospels were written before the end of the first century at least, when individuals were alive who took part in the events that are recorded in them. His advice to theologians regarding their real interests in the Gospels, and their proper and reasonable line of conduct, is so apposite that I shall quote it in his own words. "It seems to me that if that could be done we should lose far more than we should gain. As it is now, it is always open to us to say, whenever we read of anything that is incredible or unworthy of Christ, as we conceive Him, that it came from His disciples, who confessedly had often failed to understand Him, or that it was added by those who handed down the tradition before it was written down, and who thought that the more miraculous they could render the true works and wonders of Christ, the more they would raise Him in the eyes of the multitude. The true interests of the Christian religion would be better served by showing how much time and how many opportunities there were for human misunderstandings to creep into the Gospel story, just as many stumbling-blocks have been removed by a critical collection of the innumerable various readings that crept into the text of the New Testament after it had been written down" (*Chips from a German Workshop: On the Proper Use of Holy Scriptures*). I respectfully commend Professor Max Müller's remarks to the thoughtful consideration of the writers in our great reviews and journals of criticism. Surely the time has arrived when an absurd, impossible and incredible mythology should be separated from its antique and fraudulent association with the Christianity of Jesus.

While I am convinced that the Gospel according to Luke was unknown to Christians before the second half of the second century from the uncontrovertible fact that it is not mentioned by any writer prior to that period, there are proofs contained in the Gospel itself which clearly indicate to my mind that the work was written at that epoch. These proofs are statements made in the Gospel which are manifest anachronisms, which cannot be attributed to an early writer. In the present prologue of the Gospel, the writer states that he undertakes to set forth in order these things which are believed amongst Christians, "even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers [or servitors] of the Word" (Luke i. 2). There is no doubt of the genuineness of the concluding words of the passage (see page 100). I understand the writer to mean that the beliefs were delivered by the eye-witnesses and personal agents of Jesus. The word *Logos*, or Word, in this context has a personal reference to Jesus himself, not to the general Gospel or *logia* of Jesus. I do not understand it to mean eye-witnesses of the preached Gospel, or ministers of the preached Gospel, but eye-witnesses and ministers of the Lord himself. This plain meaning of the expression *Logos*, the Word, in this passage does not suit the views of modern theologians, who are long-sighted, but it suited ancient theologians, who were short-sighted, or rather less long-sighted. There can be no doubt that Irenæus understood the passage in the sense which the context plainly indicates, that the persons referred to were the twelve Apostles who were eye-witnesses and ministers or servants of the Lord. Irenæus says: "Thus did the apostles simply, and without respect of persons, deliver to all what they had themselves learned from the Lord. Thus also does Luke, without respect of persons, deliver to us what he had learned from them, as he has himself testified, saying, 'Even as they delivered them to us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word'" (*Ad Her.*, III. xiv. 2). Irenæus was a contemporary of the writer of the Canonical Gospel, and hence was a better judge of what the word *Logos* in the passage was designed to signify, than nineteenth century theologians can be presumed to be. I observe that the translator of the passage in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library prints Word with a capital W, while in the New Testament a small w is employed. In this passage modern theologians have had recourse to the powers of misinterpretation. The Right Reverend W. B. Jones, D.D., Bishop of St Davids, thus comments on this passage in the *Speaker's Commentary*: "The Apostles had been eye-witnesses of the events which were the matter of 'the word' preached, and thus became 'ministers of the word.' 'The word' is not used in the

higher signification which the term bears in the writings of St John ; it simply means the Gospel." Other commentators follow in the same strain, but not one of them to my knowledge attempts to explain why the 'Word' in Luke i. 2 should be now understood to mean the general Gospel, and not the Lord himself: when all of them, being learned men, must be assumed to be aware that the most eminent of second century theologians, Irenæus, a learned bishop of the Church, and a most competent judge on this question, expressly states that the Lord himself, and not the general Gospel, is the meaning of 'the Word' in this passage. The scholiast in Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary* remarks: "'The Word' is used in its more general Pauline sense (as, e.g., 1 Cor. i. 18; ii. 4) as equivalent to 'the Gospel,' not in the higher personal meaning which it acquired afterwards in St John (1 John ii. 14)." This comment was probably written when the writer was not in a clear state of mind, for the references given from the First Epistle to the Corinthians do not contain 'the Word' in question, and in the reference to 1 John ii. 14 the expression of 'the word of God' is not understood by any clear-minded theologian to mean the Lord personally. Paul never uses 'the Word' to indicate Jesus. This is a sad example of the system of tergiversation of interpretation largely prevalent amongst theologians, to suit their purposes, when inconvenient consequences are apt to result from the reception of the natural sense of an expression or passage, the sense which the author meant and his contemporaries understood. It certainly has left a very unpleasant impression on my mind that my investigation, which I have made with impartiality, with complete disinterestedness, with personal indifference on which side the historical truth lies, for the result, whatever it may turn out to be, would not benefit or inconvenience me by the value of a halfpenny, has lowered the moral character of theologians in my estimation. It is singular that my impartial investigation of the use of the expression 'the Word' in Luke i. 2 and 1 John i. 1 has led me to form the conclusion that the meaning of the expression in the former passage is not such as modern theologians misrepresent it for unstated reasons of their own, but such as an ancient theologian, a contemporary of the writer of the present Prologue of the Gospel, accurately represents it to be ;¹ and that the expression in the latter passage, though correctly represented by modern theologians, had undergone a transmutation under the hands of some unscrupulous theologian of the second century.

¹ Origen also regarded the expression Logos, or the Word, in Luke i. 2 to mean the Lord personally, but I cannot now find the passage. Athanasius also, I believe, took this view, but I have not read that Father.

Throughout the surviving Christian writings of the first century I have failed to discover the application of the expression 'the Word,' or Logos, to our Lord, with the single exception of 1 John i. 1. This remarkable solitary exception, however, furnishes another example of the literary immorality that was the rule amongst the later second century theologians. When we reflect upon the fact of the great prevalence of literary immorality in the second century amongst the most eminent theologians, we may be excused from harbouring the suspicion that 1 John i. 1 had undergone transmutation in the hands of an editor. I think Clement of Alexandria was the editor, and I have reason to believe that he changed the original expression employed by the writer of the so-called First Epistle of John into the form in which it has come down to us, 'the Word of life,' without, however, having changed its application to our Lord. As I have pointed out in my former work in the Fourth Gospel, p. 7, the expression 'Life' was applied to Jesus both by the writer of the Epistle and by Cerinthus, the author of the Fourth Gospel. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the expression 'the Word' was applied to Jesus only three times in the Canonical writings as they were in the second century, viz., in the Fourth Gospel i. 1 and 14, and in Luke i. 2, and nowhere else. I have attributed the introduction of the expression into the Fourth Gospel to Valentinus in the second century. In the Revelation as it has come down to us, the expression Logos, or Word of God, as the name of Jesus, occurs in ch. xix. 13, and there are other passages in which the same expression may be considered as applicable to Jesus. Regarding the occurrence of the expression Logos, or Word, in the Revelation, I must refer to the testimony and criticism of this writing delivered by Dionysius, the learned Bishop of Alexandria, in the second half of the third century, quoted by Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.*, vii. 25). This learned and most competent critic points out the similarity between the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John in the expressions and precepts employed and inculcated in both. He says there is a great deal about *the life*, the *light*, and a number of other things in both, and he concludes by observing that there is one and the same complexion and character in the Gospel and Epistle. But in regard to the Revelation, he emphatically states: "Very much otherwise and alien from this is the Apocalypse; neither touching, nor resembling them in the very least, so to speak, not even containing a syllable in common with them." Ἀλλοιοτάτη δὲ καὶ ξένη παρὰ ταῦτα ἢ Ἀποκάλυψις, μήτε ἐφαπτομένη, μήτε γειννῶσα τούτων μηδενὶ σχεδόν, ὥς εἰπεῖν, μηδὲ συλλαβὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ κοινὴν ἔχουσα. It may be inferred from this very clear and

definite statement that the Logos, or Word, was not in the text of the Revelation in the second century, before the date of Dionysius; and its occurrence in our codices is another example of the unspeakable literary immorality that was prevalent in the Christian Church. I have expressed my suspicion that Clement of Alexandria had transmuted the expression "word of life" in 1 John i. 1 in exercising editorial revision according to the immoral usage prevalent in his time of altering the text of an author according to the needs of orthodoxy. But Clement of Alexandria did not edit the private correspondence of Irenæus, and it must be inferred that the text of the latter was not transmuted. Bishop Lightfoot remarks that Irenæus "was a diligent letter-writer, interesting himself in the difficulties and dissensions of distant Churches, and more than one notice of such letters is preserved" (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 267). A private letter of Irenæus to his friend Florinus is quoted by Eusebius (*Ecl. Hist.*, v. 20), from which I extract the following passage: "And whatsoever things he had heard from them [*i.e.*, from the Apostle John, and the rest who had seen the Lord] about the Lord, and about his miracles, and about his teaching, Polycarp, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, would relate altogether in accordance with the Scriptures" ¹ (Lightfoot's Translation: *Essays on S. R.*, p. 97). I should have preferred to write Life of the word. In a footnote to this passage Bishop Lightfoot remarks: "τῶν ἀποπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Λόγου. I would gladly translate this 'the eye-witnesses of the Word of Life' (compare 1 John i. 1), as it is commonly taken: but I cannot get this out of the Greek order. Possibly there is an accidental transposition in the common text. The Syriac translator has 'those who saw with their eyes the living Word.'" The sense of literary honour which influenced Bishop Lightfoot in retaining the Greek order in his translation, had no influence on Clement of Alexandria, or whoever the editor or editors were, in restraining him or them from changing the order of the Greek words in the original First Epistle of John. *Experto credite.* I have no doubt in my mind that Irenæus derived his expression 'Life of the word' from the original First Epistle of John before it had been revised so as to form a link with the Fourth

¹ The Rev. C. F. Crusé, A.M., Assistant Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, who is the translator of Eusebius in Bohn's Library, thus renders this passage: ". . . As he had received them from the eye-witnesses of the doctrine of salvation." He ought to have translated literally; but Professor Crusé often errs on this point. His translation of Eusebius is on the whole very good. I regret to say that the reverend translators of the writings of Irenæus in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library translate the passage 'Word of life' (see vol. ii. p. 159), from which I can only conclude that the combined literary morality of these learned clergymen was inferior to Bishop Lightfoot's sense of literary honour.

Gospel, on which the base and false assertion was founded that the Apostle John was the author of both writings. Thus is removed the only exception that I have been able to find in the Christian writings of the first century to the fact that the expression Logos, or the Word, was never applied to Jesus in the first century. There cannot be a reasonable doubt that the original expression in 1 John i. 1 was the 'Life of the Word,' as the next verse proceeds to say that the Life was manifested, not the Word was manifested: the expression Life, as I have elsewhere shown, was applied to Jesus in the first century writings, but not the expression Logos, or the Word.

The epithet Logos, or the Word, came into use amongst orthodox Christians somewhat late in the first half of the second century. The writer of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, dated by Bishop Lightfoot A.D. 120-140, does not use the expression, and it is singular that he applies the expression Spirit to Jesus where a later writer would perhaps have used the expression Word (Luke ix., xiv.). Justin Martyr (A.D. 150) is the first Christian writer who applied the expression Logos, or the Word, to Jesus. But he does not say whence he derived it, and I have failed to find his source. It is likely that he obtained it from the Memoirs of the Apostles, which were both Jewish and Greek Gnostic writings, and the Logos was a Gnostic or Greek metaphysical conception. Justin applied his Logos knowledge in a way that was opposed to the teachings of some of the Memoirs of the Apostles, for he distinctly states that it was the Logos that came upon the Virgin and overshadowed her and nothing else, whereas the Memoirs of the Apostles interpreted the Spirit and power of God to be the Holy Ghost (*First Apology*, xxxiii.). Minor heresies of this nature were not in the second century considered of much importance, so long as their propounders abstained from creating new churches, and thereby drew away members and converts from the orthodox Church, thus diminishing the apostolic and episcopal tithe, or ten per cent., which all members of the Church were exhorted to pay from their produce and earnings. In the second half of the second century we find all writers whose works have come down to us speak of the Logos; and hence I conclude that the expression had become common and general in the Christian community in that epoch. There is no room for doubt that the source of the expression at this period was the Canonical Fourth Gospel. The use of the expression Logos in Luke i. 2 hence furnishes a clear proof that the Gospel was written in the second century; because the use of the word would be an anachronism in the first century, and perhaps not strictly orthodox or canonical, but having a soupçon of heresy, in the first half of the second century.

If it be permissible to assign a motive for the strange dissent of modern theologians from the meaning of Luke i. 2 current amongst second and third century theologians of the first rank, it might perhaps be said to be a desire to remove from the contents of the Gospel a very strong proof of its late composition. I ought, I think, to remark that I do not remember reading any statement of opinion on the meaning of Luke i. 2 made by our leading theologians, Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott. It may possibly be that such omission by them was accidental, as opportunity did not occur for giving expression to an opinion on the subject. But it is quite conceivable that these learned and influential prelates designedly abstained from giving expression to an opinion which they entertained in opposition to the present orthodox interpretation of Luke i. 2.

The employment of the word *Logos* as an epithet for Jesus in the Gospel of Luke clearly indicates the date of that work to have been the second century. There is a passage in Luke bearing on the attitude of prayer which is also, in my judgment, an anachronism which indicates the date of composition of the Gospel. The passage is xxii. 41: "And he [Jesus] was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast, and kneeled down and prayed." Now, kneeling was not the attitude of prayer in the first century, but it became so late in the second century, when it was introduced and began to be practised by Christians. Jesus, however, was not an ecclesiastical Christian, but a pure Jew, and kneeling was not the attitude of prayer amongst the Jews in his times. In the parable of the Pharisee and publican (Luke xviii. 10-14), the Jewish attitude of prayer is correctly represented as standing. The Pharisee in the days of Jesus was a most punctilious observer of the Law, and he is represented as standing and praying to God. If there was any other attitude more impressive, more indicative of deep devotion, the Pharisee would have adopted it. The erect attitude, so far as I have been able to ascertain, was the immemorial attitude of prayer amongst the Jews. There are passages, however, in the Old Testament which have seriously puzzled me. At the inauguration of the Temple, Solomon is represented as praying to God. In 1 Kings viii. 22, it is said: "And Solomon stood before the altar of the Lord in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands towards heaven; and he said, O Lord, the God of Israel," etc., and he prayed to verse 53. In verse 54 the chronicler says: "And it was so, that when Solomon had made an end of praying all this prayer and supplication unto the Lord, he arose from before the altar of the Lord, from kneeling on his knees with his hands spread forth toward heaven." He is

thus represented as rising from an attitude at the end of the prayer which he had not assumed at the beginning of the prayer or in the course of it. The same solemnity is thus represented in 2 Chron. vi. 12: "And he stood before the altar of the Lord in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands: (for Solomon had made a brasen scaffold, of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had set it in the midst of the court; and upon it he stood, and kneeled down upon his knees before all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands towards heaven;) and he said, O Lord, the God of Israel," etc. The parenthetical clause in this passage introduced a modification of the attitude at first asserted; Solomon stood before the altar and spread forth his hands; and having done so, he kneeled down and spread forth his hands. These two passages in Kings and Chronicles appear to me to have been tampered with, and hence are not trustworthy. On the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, Ezra is represented on a solemn occasion to have fallen upon his knees and spread out his hands unto the Lord (Ezra ix. 5). Daniel "kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed" (Dan. vi. 10). And the Psalmist sings, "O come, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord our Maker" (xcv. 6). I do not know how Jewish Rabbis interpret these passages, but this attitude of prayer is not prescribed by the Levitical Law. I do not, however, think the attitude of kneeling spoken of in Jewish writings is the same as that spoken of in Christian writings. It is difficult to find a word to indicate the difference, but I should describe the attitude not as kneeling, but as sitting on the heels, preliminary to prostration. The Gospels of Matthew and Mark, which were compilations from Jewish sources, indicate the attitude of Jesus at prayer with chronological accuracy; Matthew says "fell on his face and prayed" (xxvi. 39); Mark says "fell on the ground and prayed" (xiv. 36). The Gospel of Luke, being compiled by Greeks of the second half of the second century, speaks of the attitude of prayer in the term that had come into use, and indicated the attitude of prayer at that time beginning to be adopted by Christians, or already partially adopted. The difference in the words used in the Septuagint, *ὀκλακῶς ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα* (1 Kings viii. 54), and *κάμπτων ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα* (Daniel vi. 10), and those employed by Luke (xxii. 41), *θεῖς τὰ γόνατα*, indicate a difference in the attitude.¹ The Christian

¹ The Greek expressions for the Christian attitude of prayer were *τιθέναι τὰ γόνατα* and *γόνυ κλίνειν*. *ὀκλακᾶν* and *κάμπτειν ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα*, *γόνυ πετεῖν*, and perhaps some others, indicate the Pagan and Jewish attitude of kneeling, or rather of sitting upon the heels. The employment of the former is a good index of the chronology of writings: these expressions are not to be found in any Christian

attitude of kneeling was unknown to the populace in the first and second centuries: its adoption caused public surprise and wonderment, and an amusing conjecture was hazarded by pagans of the baser sort as to its intent and purport. It was not employed in any religion that prevailed in those times or previously, except the Mithraic religion, which was a mystery and practised in secret, and its followers were bound by solemn vows not to disclose its rites and mysteries. The pictorial illustrations of Mithraic worship and ceremonial are the only ones in all antiquity which exhibit the Christian attitude of kneeling (see *Lajarde's Atlas ; Recherches sur le culte de Mithra*). As the Mithraic religion was more ancient than the Christian, it is justifiable to conclude that the attitude of kneeling adopted by the latter in the second half of the second century was derived from the more ancient religion. Some influential convert must necessarily have betrayed the secret and introduced a Mithraic attitude of prayer into his new religion. Of all the pagan converts at this period, Clement of Alexandria, a learned Greek philosopher, was perhaps the most important and influential. He was appointed the head of the catechetical school at Alexandria about A.D. 189. He admits that he had been initiated in the pagan mysteries; for, he says, "If you have been initiated, you will laugh the more at these venerated fables of yours. I proclaim openly the things that have been kept secret, not being ashamed to declare what you are not ashamed to worship" (*Protreptikos, or Exhortation to the Hellenes*, ii., sect. 14). It is possible that Clement was the person who introduced Mithraic ideas and ceremonial into the Christian religion; and if so, his conduct was in no wise reprehensible, apart from the dishonour of divulging what he had vowed to keep secret; but the evidence is not conclusive. I believe the new attitude of prayer was introduced in the second half of the second century, but I have not succeeded in fixing its exact date. The first mention of it in Christian literature is in *Hermas* (v. 2, 1), in *Luke* (xxii. 41), and in the *Acts of the Apostles* (vii. 60; ix. 40; xx. 36; xxi. 5), published at this epoch. It is not spoken of in any Christian writing of the first century, excluding interpolations and misinterpretations, or of the first half of the second century, and in none of the writings of the second half of the second century, except *Hermas*, *Luke* and *Acts*. *Justin Martyr* (A.D. 150) describes the simple ritual of baptism and Eucharist, but does not mention the kneeling attitude of prayer. In his account of the Sunday assemblies of the Christians, he says that after reading the "Memoirs of the Apostles or

writing prior to the second half of the second century, when kneeling was introduced into Christian ritual.

the writings of the prophets" and the exhortations of the president (who was manifestly neither apostle, prophet, bishop, presbyter, or deacon), "we all rise together and pray" (*First Apol.*, lxvii.). There can be no doubt that up to this period standing was the Christian attitude of prayer. In an ancient work (*Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthod.*, cv.), erroneously attributed to Justin Martyr, but certainly written after the Nicene Council, is a reference to a lost work of Irenæus (c. 190) *On Easter*, in which the practice of kneeling was referred to. A curious custom then prevailed of not kneeling on Sunday and on Pentecost; which means that on the most important and frequent assemblies for worship kneeling was not practised by Christians. (See Stieren, *Fragmenta Irenæi*, vii.; Ante-Nicene Christian Lib., *Irenæus*, vol. ii.; *Lost Writings*, vii. p. 162.) Tertullian, at the beginning of the third century, speaks of the practice of kneeling as fully established, but with certain restrictions, namely, kneeling was prohibited on the day of the Lord's resurrection and during Pentecost. It appears, further, that a dissension on the subject had arisen, on account of a few who abstain from kneeling on the Sabbath (*On Prayer*, xxiii.¹) I understand from this that kneeling was not permissible on Easter Day and Whitsuntide, and that a few refrained from the practice on Sundays. I conclude from the above statements that the practice of kneeling at prayer had originated and taken root in the second half of the second century. In the Canons of St Peter, Archbishop of Alexandria, who flourished at the close of the third and beginning of the fourth century, we find fasting was not permitted on Sunday; and further, in Canon xv.: "But the Lord's day we celebrate as a day of joy, because on it he rose again, on which day we have received it as a custom not even to bow the knee." Zonaras comments on this Canon as follows: "But on the Lord's day we ought not to fast, for it is a day of joy for the resurrection of the Lord, and on it, says he, we ought not even to bow the knee. This word, therefore, is to be carefully observed, 'we have received,' and 'it is enjoined upon us according to the tradition.' For from hence it is evident that long-established custom was taken for law. Moreover, the great Basil [fourth century] annexes also the causes for which it was forbidden to bend the knee on the Lord's day and from the Passover to Pentecost. Read also the sixty-sixth and the sixty-ninth Apostolical Canons" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xiv., *Methodius*, etc., p. 322).

¹ This dispute was settled in Tertullian's own days. In another passage he writes: "We count fasting or kneeling in worship on the Lord's day to be unlawful. We rejoice in the same privilege also from Easter to Whitsunday" (*De Corona*, iii., Ante-Nicene Christian Library; *Tertullian*, vol. i. p. 336).

From the above statements, it follows that the practice of kneeling was fully established amongst Christians in the third century, but was prohibited on Sundays and Whitsuntide, both in public worship in church and in private devotion at home, and that on these occasions the ancient attitude of standing at prayer was resumed. By the Nicene General Council, which consisted of "318 holy Fathers gathered together at Nicea" in A.D. 325, "for the purpose of determining the faith which had been attacked by Arius and his followers," and which was presided over by Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Hosius of Corduba, the Bishop of Rome being represented at it by the priests Vitus and Vicentius, the following Canon was enacted: "XX. Because there are some who kneel on the Lord's day, and even in the days of Pentecost; that all things may be uniformly performed in every parish, it seems good to the holy Synod, that prayers be made to God standing" (*Definitions of the Catholic Faith and Canons of Discipline of the First Four General Councils of the Universal Church*. James Parker & Co., Oxford and London, 1867). These Canons were legalised in England by Act of Parliament, 1 Elizabeth, I. 36, and unless this Act has since been repealed, kneeling in Anglican Churches is an illegal posture in the present day. But the fact that it was authorised in the Prayer-Book, a statutory writing, effectively legalises it. It is remarkable that the kneeling attitude of prayer has never been adopted by any other religion. At the present day this posture during prayer is peculiar to the Christian religion, in all its manifold varieties. The Mahomedan attitude of prayer is diverse, being the erect attitude, the posture which I can only describe as sitting, or resting the body, upon the heels, and prostration with the head to the ground; in this matter Mahomedanism appears to have imitated the Jewish and pagan postures of worship. I should perhaps add that the very ancient attitude of prayer, standing, is by no means extinct amongst Christians: standing is still regarded as an attitude of prayer; and in the Church of England and, I believe, in many dissenting churches, the officiating clergyman does not always kneel while offering public prayer, but goes through his office in the erect attitude; and some observe the ancient Christian practice of extending or raising the hands during prayer,¹ and even the pagan practices of extending and folding certain fingers which were adopted

¹ "But we commend our prayers to God, when we pray with modesty and humility, with not even our hands too loftily elevated, but elevated temperately and becomingly; and not even our countenance over-boldly uplifted. The sounds of our voice, likewise, should be subdued; else, if we are to be heard for our noise, how large windpipes should we need" (*Tertullian On Prayer*, xvii., Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xi.; *Tertullian*, vol. i. p. 191).

in later and more corrupt times. This manipulation of fingers by the clergy had a sacred significance in the pagan mysteries and in the Jewish religion ; but we moderns, poor realistic creatures that we have become, regard the explanations given of them by learned men as not fit to be mentioned in respectable society. (See *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism*, by Thomas Inman, M.D., Plate IV., figures 5 and 6, and their explanation on page 4.) These fingerings should be prohibited, the symbolism being obscene. They are not sanctioned by the Rubric of the Church of England.

In Luke xxiii. 56, the statement, "and they [the women] returned, and prepared spices and ointments, and rested the Sabbath day according to the commandment," is another anachronism which points to the second half of the second century. We do not know of the use of spices and ointments by the Jews at funerals ; but we do of the Christian practice, which I can trace no further back than the second half of the second century. Tertullian alludes to it in his *Apologeticus*, xlii. : "We certainly buy no frankincense. If the Arabians complain of this, let the Sabæans be well assured that their more precious and costly merchandise is expended as largely in the burying of Christians as in the fumigating of the gods." Again, in his treatise on *Idolatry*, xi. : "If the self-same merchandises—frankincense, I mean, and all other foreign productions—used as sacrifice to idols, are of use likewise to men for medicinal ointments, to us, also, over and above, for solaces of sepulture, let them see to it." Minucius Felix, whose date was the second half of the second century (see footnote on p. 517), also refers to the Christian practice. Cæcilius, the supporter of Paganism, objects to the Christians : "You do not wreath your heads with flowers ; you do not grace your bodies with odours ; you reserve unguents for funeral rites ; you even refuse garlands for your sepulchres—pallid, trembling beings, worthy of the pity even of our gods" (ch. xii.). I should remark, however, that the word 'ointments' in Luke xxiii. 56 is not directly guaranteed by either Tertullian or Epiphanius (see p. 226) as existing either in the ancient Canonical or in the Marcionite Gospel ; but I do not feel justified in expunging it. In the verse following, xxiv. 1, the women are represented as bringing the spices only which they had prepared, without any mention of ointments.

It has struck me as remarkable that our commentators usually abstain from giving information to their readers regarding the manners and customs of the Jews, and of early Christians. The cause cannot be the want of interest in such subjects either on the part of theologians or of their readers ; nor can the former learned gentlemen be reasonably accused of ignorance of the subject. I

attribute their silence to a prudential motive, the undesirability of disseminating information on historical subjects which may prove inconvenient. Readers who are provided with the information that the Jewish and Christian attitude of prayer in the first century was standing, and the practice of kneeling came into use amongst Christians as late as the close of the second century, will be liable to enquire why Jesus assumed an attitude of prayer which was unknown in his days and not practised by Jews, but was practised by Christians only in the second half of the second century. The result of such an enquiry will most certainly lead to the conclusion that the chronicle of Luke was a late compilation, and that the attitude attributed to Jesus was an anachronism, misplaced in association with events which took place in the first century. This is a very serious accusation: it means that the learned gentlemen who are the depositories of theological wisdom withhold information and suppress historical facts when the latter are inconvenient. A more serious accusation than this has actually been charged to them: that of falsifying historical facts to suit their purposes. There can be no question that ancient theologians have been guilty of both these offences; but it is a most serious consideration for us that theologians of the present day, the highest dignitaries in the Churches and Universities, are similarly accused.¹

¹ In the proceedings of the recent ecclesiastical court, presided over by the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for the ecclesiastical and voluntary trial and examination of ritualists in the Church of England, I have been struck by the circumstance of the singular suppression of historical facts by the parties engaged in litigation on both sides, the side of the complainants as well as of the defendants, and the still more surprising circumstance that the judges failed to direct attention to the suppression. All the parties, the complainants, defendants, and the two arch-episcopal judges, appeared conjointly to concur in the suppression of historical facts, which it is preposterous to believe are unknown to them, all of them being gentlemen possessed of considerable learning. The question of the use of incense in the Churches occupied the court for several days: and there was a considerable pouring out of learning. There was a concurrence in the evidence that the use of incense extends back to 'the earliest times.' By the earliest times, the public would naturally understand from the earliest historical times, from the earliest times to which historical accounts extend. If this be the meaning of 'the earliest times,' it is singular that neither the contending parties nor the judges appeared to regard the first three centuries as included in the term 'earliest times': but they apparently limited the term to the fourth century, a very corrupt period in the history of the Church, in which not only incense, but the worship of Mary, the wearing of female garments and the shaving of the head by officiating clergy, and a variety of other pagan ceremonials and practices, were introduced into Christian worship. The fact that incense was not in use in the Christian churches in the first three centuries was, apparently by tacit league of the contending parties and the judges, entirely left out of account and not mentioned in the proceedings. It would be preposterous to charge the ecclesiastical savants engaged as complainants, defendants, and judges, of ignorance of the writings of Tertullian, an eminent Father of the Church in the third century. The passages already quoted in the text prove that the burning of incense was not a Christian practice in his days. So intense was Tertullian's objection to incense that he maintained that it

Apart from these anachronisms which indicate the late date of the Gospel, there is the direct statement made in the latter that there were numerous antecedent writers on the same subjects that are treated in the Gospel. In Luke i. 1 is the statement, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of

was idolatry for a Christian even to keep a shop in which frankincense was sold ; and that hence a Christian who sold frankincense should be expelled from the Church. As a trainer of gladiators or a public pander would neither be admitted nor retained in the Church, he contended that a dealer in frankincense should be dealt with similarly. The passage is remarkable, and is well worth modern consideration. Tertullian at the beginning of the third century says: "Since debauchery is prohibited to me, I hold out nothing of help or connivance for that purpose to others. Since I have separated my own flesh from the brothels, I acknowledge that I cannot exercise the trade of pandering, nor any business of that kind, for the sake of others. So also the interdiction of homicide shows me that the trainer of gladiators also is excluded from the Church ; nor does one not do by himself what he lets out to be done by others. Here is a much more apposite subject for judgment. If a contractor for public victims should come over to the faith, will you permit him to continue in that trade ? or if one of the faithful should undertake to transact that business, will you deem that he should be retained in the Church ? I think not, unless one shall dissimulate regarding a dealer in frankincense too ; surely the provision of blood pertains to some, of odours to others. If before idols were in the ages, idolatry still unformed was perpetrated by these wares, if even now almost without an idol, the work of idolatry is carried on by the burning of odours, the seller of frankincense is an entity of greater importance even than demons : for idolatry without an idol is easier than without the merchandise of the dealer in frankincense. Let us question the conscience of faith itself : with what mouth will the Christian frankincense merchant, if he pass through the temples, spit and blow out the fuming altars, for which he himself has made provision ? with what consistency will he exorcise his own alumni (the demons), to whom he presents his own house as a store-room ? . . . No art, therefore, no profession, no trade which administers either to the equipping or making of idols, can be without the title of idolatry" (*De Idolatria*, xi.). Such may be regarded as the sentiment of the Christian Church with regard to incense in the centuries preceding the fourth. The desire of the Romanising Anglican clergy, I take it, is to revert to the doctrines and practices of the Roman Church prior to the Reformation, during the corrupt period extending from the fourth to the sixteenth centuries, overlooking the first three centuries. The desire of the Protestant Churches is to revert to the doctrines and practices of the second and third centuries. The Romanising clergy hence ignore the history of the Church in the first, second, and third centuries, and the Protestant Churches the history of the Church in the first century. The object of the author in this work and in his prior work on the Fourth Gospel is to direct attention to the history of Christianity in the first century, the purest period of its career, with the hope of restoring into use and practice the moral system of conduct which alone Jesus instituted and is responsible for, and of aiding in the suppression of the absurd, impossible, and incredible mythology which was invented in the second century.

P.S.—After the above remarks had been written, the decision of the two Archbishops on the use of incense in the Churches was published. They decided against the use. The fact of the disuse of incense in the early Church was disposed of in a few words. "Incense was not used for fully 300 years from Apostolic times, and to make the primitive Church the model for the Church of England was certainly part of the purpose which the Reformers cherished. It would be a strong reason for keeping incense in use could it be shown that it dated from Apostolic times. There were three reasons for omitting the use of incense—the desire for greater simplicity, conformity of the office of Holy Communion to the original institution, and the desire for reviving the ways of the primitive Church."—*The Standard* of 1st August 1899. Decision against incense and lights of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.

those things which are most surely believed among us." As theologians assert that the Gospel was written in the days of Paul, *c.* A.D. 60, by Luke his companion, they are bound to give us some information regarding these numerous writers of evangelical history in the days of Paul. Our modern theologians shirk this task, and their speculations on the subject, as they cannot be characterised as expressions of the truth, may be justly described as suggestions of the false. Says one: "The many *may* have included St Matthew and St Mark, but we cannot say" (Ellicott). Says another: "This does not refer to the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark, although these were probably already in existence, but rather to a variety of imperfect accounts of our Lord's words and acts, taken down from the lips of those who had been 'eye-witnesses and ministers of the word,' but not yet gathered into a sufficiently complete and orderly history. It seems probable that St Luke had not seen St Matthew's or St Mark's Gospel" (Walsham How). Says a third: "It is evident that the *many* writers here spoken of cannot be *confined* to the other Evangelists. It is also evident from verse 2 that they cannot include Evangelists *who were also Apostles*"; and he proceeds to say that Luke does not here refer to St Matthew, and it is questioned whether he includes St Mark, although he either used the former, or more probably some of the documents on which it was based; and with more certainty he used the latter Gospel largely in his narrative. "There are points of resemblance to the so-called Gospel of the Hebrews, but there can be no reference to other apocryphal writings, which are of far later date, and in no way answer to St Luke's description. What he asserts is that many writers had undertaken to construct an orderly narrative, founded on the teaching of the eye-witnesses of the Word" (*Speaker's Commentary*). An ancient theologian, whose knowledge of early Christian literature was considerable, and greater than that possessed by any modern, *viz.*, Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, in the second half of the fourth century, gives us his notion of who are the many writers referred to in Luke's preface. In quoting this passage from the Gospel, he mentions the names of some of the antecedent undertakers (*ἐπιχειρητὰς*) of evangelical history, *viz.*, "Cerinthus, Merinthus, and others" (li. 7), and in the next but one preceding paragraph he gives us the names of the others, the full list being: Cerinthus, Ebion, Merinthus, Cleobius or Cleobulus, Claudius, Demas, and Hermogenes, "who," he adds, "have loved the life here, and have left the way of truth," *i.e.*, were heretical (ch. ix.). *Petavius*, vol. i. pp. 427, 428. Cerinthus was a writer of the close of the first century, or rather the beginning of the second. Ebion was the founder of the sects called

after his name; and one peculiarity of these sects being that they accepted the opinions of Cerinthus, it follows that their founder was a writer chronologically subsequent to Cerinthus, that is to say, of the first half of the second century. (See *Iren.*, i. xxvi. 2). We are on sure ground with regard to these two writers, whom Epiphanius includes among the many who were antecedent to Luke. Of Merinthus, Cleobius,¹ and Claudius we know nothing. Regarding Merinthus, Epiphanius says he does not clearly know whether he was not the same as Cerinthus, for the Cerinthians were also called Merinthians; but whether there was another besides him called by that name, an assistant and associate of his, he confesses, is known only to God (xxviii. 8; *Pet.*, i. 115). Demas and Hermogenes² may have been the individuals named in 2 Tim. i. 15 and iv. 10; and in that case their date is also the second century, as there can be no doubt of the chronology of the epistles to Timothy as writings of the second century. (See ante, p. 7, ff.) These are the writers antecedent to Luke named by Epiphanius, whose knowledge of early Christian literature was greater than that possessed by modern theologians; and I may venture to make the same remark regarding his superior honesty and simplicity. The ancient bishop makes no suggestions of the false with regard to Matthew and Mark; and he was unacquainted with any Christian writer or writers who were contemporary with Paul whom he could mention as writers of evangelical narratives, and he does not even hint at the possible existence of such writers. In this connection I may refer to the immense narrative literature of the second century spoken of by Irenæus, "super hæc autem inenarrabilem multitudinem apocryphorum et perperum scripturarum, quas ipsi finxerunt, asserunt ad stuporem insensatorum, et quæ sunt veritatis non scientium litteras" (*Ad Her.*, i. xx. 1). In addition, they bring forward, for the bewilderment of the senseless, an unspeakable multitude of apocryphal and spurious writings, which they themselves have made, and which are of the truth of *men* ignorant of letters, *i.e.*, regarded as the truth by illiterate men. The above are stated by Irenæus to have been heretical writings, but there can be little doubt that the so-called orthodox writings were numerous enough and of much the same general character. It was from these writings that the Third Gospel was compiled; and the story of Judas was probably appropriated by the Marcionite Luke or Lucanus from one of these writings, and thus introduced into the evangelical

¹ Eusebius mentions a second century sect called Cleobians, from their founder Cleobius (*Ecl. Hist.*, iv. 22).

² Eusebius alludes to the heresy of Hermogenes, against which Theophilus, the author of *Autolytus*, c. A.D. 168, wrote a work (*Ecl. Hist.*, iv. 24).

biography. This, however, is only a conjecture, founded upon the fact that Judas was not an orthodox *dramatis persona* during the first one hundred and fifty years of the Christian era. What modern theologians rashly, falsely, and foolishly strive at, is to ante-date literary events by more than a hundred years, and to transfer to the middle of the first century the literary activity that prevailed at the corresponding period of the second century.

One grand fraud or falsehood requires to be bolstered up by the fabrication of others.

Bishop Ellicott, in his "Essay on the Apocryphal Gospels," in *Cambridge Essays*, 1856, alludes to the views of Grotius, Grabe, Mill, Jones, and others, that the Gospel according to the Hebrews, oftentimes called the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, the Gospel of the Egyptians, and even, he says, he might add, the Gospel of the Ebionites, might have been among those alluded to by Luke. Bishop Ellicott admits that the Gospel of the Hebrews "might have been composed prior to St Luke's Gospel," though he won't "go to the full length of assigning to it an ante-Lucan existence" (*op. cit.*, pp. 164, 165). The theologians who expressed the views above noticed are of a by-gone age: and their opinions are not found repeated in our modern Commentaries and Introductions. In Bishop Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary* there is no notice of them. In the comments on Luke i. 1-4, we find the remark that "the 'many' *may* have included St Matthew and St Mark, but we cannot say." This *may* not be a *suggestio falsi*; but common fairness ought to have included the Gospel of the Hebrews as an ancient document that several learned critics and divines have determined might have been used by Luke. My investigations which will be found in Chapter X. have convinced me that not only the Gospel according to the Hebrews, but other Apocryphal Gospels were used by the compiler of the Third Gospel. The proofs that the former were of prior date are very strong and convincing, and as parallelisms between these Apocryphal Gospels and the Canonical are sufficiently numerous, the logical conclusion is that the Canonical writer made use of the Apocryphal Gospels. I regret that I have not been able to consult the theologians above named, whose works are difficult to procure.

CHAPTER II.

THE THEOLOGICAL VIEWS OF MARCION. UNTRUTHS OF TERTULLIAN REGARDING THEM.

NEXT in importance to the date of the Canonical Gospel according to Luke, is the subject of the relation of this Gospel to the Marcionite Gospel. In my previous work, I demonstrated from facts of history that the Fourth Gospel was an enlargement and modification of the original work of Cerinthus. The assertion that the Third Gospel was an enlargement and modification of the Gospel originally used by Marcion for his Church has been the subject of discussion during the whole of the past century. I have carefully and patiently investigated the question; and in spite of the preconception which I had entertained during my past life, the force of the facts which I have ascertained in the course of my researches has compelled me to change the view that had been impressed upon me. I am now convinced from the facts that I have ascertained that the Canonical Gospel of Luke was a piracy. Several circumstances have combined to produce this revulsion of opinion; but the one circumstance that perhaps more than any other single one first made a strong impression on my mind, was the singular mistake made by the pirate of taking from the original sectarian Gospel more than was prudent. The folly of importing passages from the Marcionite Gospel which contradict, or are not in agreement with the evangelical history fabricated in the second century, and which Marcion rejected, has supplied the strongest proofs of the piracy perpetrated. This fact of internal evidence is stronger and more convincing than the circumstantial fact that the Marcionite Gospel was published without a title and author's name (see p. 132), and both facts together are irresistible as evidence.

Before entering upon the main investigation of the relation between the two Gospels, it is desirable and perhaps necessary to premise an account of Marcion and of his theological views. The first Christian

writer who speaks of Marcion is Justin Martyr, who says that he was a native of Pontus, and was living in his days (A.D. 150), and was teaching that there was another God greater than the Maker of heaven and earth, and another Christ than the one preached by the prophets. This teaching was already widespread "in every race of men," and many, believing that Marcion was the only one who knew the truth, laughed at the orthodox Christians (*First Apology*, xxvi. and lviii.). Irenæus, towards the close of the century, gives a fuller account of Marcion. He says that he was the successor of Cerdo (a follower of Simon Magus), who came to Rome during the episcopacy of Hyginus (A.D. 139-143, Milman). Cerdo taught that the God of the law and prophets was not the Father of Jesus; because the former was known, but the latter was unknown; the former was just, but the latter good. This doctrine of Cerdo was amplified by Marcion, who taught that the God of the law and prophets "was a doer of evils, desirous of wars, capricious and inconsistent with himself"; that Jesus came from that Father who is above the Jewish God, who was the maker of the world, and was manifested in the form of man in Judæa; that he abolished the law and the prophets, and all the works of the God who made the world. Marcion further curtailed the Gospel according to Luke, removing everything written in it regarding the generation of the Lord, and further removing much from the doctrine of the words of the Lord, in which the Lord declared that his Father was the maker of the universe. Further, Marcion persuaded his followers that he was better informed or more veracious than the apostles who delivered the Gospel; and that he himself delivered to his followers, not the whole Gospel, but a part of it. And finally he removed from the Epistles of Paul, the Apostle, all that the Apostle said about the God who made the world being the Father of our Lord, and also all the prophecies regarding the coming of the Lord which the Apostle quoted (*Ad Her.*, i. xxvii. 1, 2).

The above information comprises all that the Christian writers of the first century—Justin, who was a contemporary of Marcion, and Irenæus, also a contemporary, but who outlived Marcion—have transmitted in their works. We are justified in concluding that all that was most important in the teaching and action of Marcion, so far as was known to these two writers, was set down in their works. Justin published a separate volume in refutation of Marcion's views, but this work has not survived to our days. Irenæus likewise had in mind to write a special work on Marcion's heresy (III. xii. 12), but he does not appear to have carried out this intention. It would, however, be preposterous to think that any important part of the teaching of

Marcion had been omitted in Irenæus' great work, specially written against heresies, in which he devotes considerable passages to the discussion and refutation of Marcion's views and to the exposure of his alleged literary frauds on the Gospel according to Luke and the Epistles of Paul.

The absence of contemporary writings on the subject of the heresies that arose in the second century, either by the promulgators of these heresies or their adherents, or by pagan writers, is a great difficulty in the way of the historical student. There are no easy means of finding a corroboration of the statements of orthodox writers, who have naturally written from their point of view, and may unconsciously have coloured their representations or even consciously and deliberately have misrepresented their professional opponents. Both Justin, an honest writer, and Irenæus, a dishonest one, concur in attributing to Marcion the doctrine of a duality of Gods, or rather of another God. In the absence of the only work attributed to Marcion, *The Antitheses*, in which he is said to have drawn contrasts between the God of the law and the prophets, and his own God, the Father of Jesus Christ, we are unable to judge whether the Jewish God and the Christian God were in Marcion's theology distinct Gods; or whether merely the Jewish representation of God was, in Marcion's judgment, inaccurate and defective, and not applicable to the Christian God, whose presentation by Jesus was nobler and more worthy of Him. I think the recovered Marcionite Gospel, which is the only one that Marcion recognised, may be cited in support of the latter view, to show that Marcion acknowledged but one God, who was the same God worshipped by the Jews and the Christians. We can find no trace of two Gods in the Marcionite Gospel, in which no distinction or division is made in the God spoken of. Justin probably misunderstood Marcion, while in the case of Irenæus he also may have similarly been deceived, but at the same time he saw the opportunity the misunderstanding offered of discrediting Marcion with the Christian community. Justin not only speaks of Marcion as upholding two Gods, but also two Christs or Sons; and here his misunderstanding is apparent; while Irenæus, who found it professionally advantageous to maintain the misunderstanding of two Gods, thought it advisable not to push the misunderstanding too far, and hence dropped the two Christs.¹

It is immaterial to our investigation what may have been the doctrine

¹ I do not find any reference to two Christs in the writings of Irenæus, except in the passage in which he wilfully misrepresents the view of Cerinthus: the Christ that suffered on the Cross, and the Christ that flew away from the side of Jesus. I do not remember any reference to two Christs made by Irenæus in connection with Marcion's theology.

of Marcion on the subject of the unity of God ; but it is necessary to enquire into the nature of the views entertained by Marcion of the person of Jesus. On this subject Justin gives us no information beyond the statement that Marcion denied Christ who was preached by the prophets, and announced another Son (*First Apol.*, lviii.). Perhaps Irenæus' account throws light upon Justin's statement, and enables us to see what the latter writer meant. Irenæus charges Marcion with removing from the Canonical Gospel "all things which were written concerning the generation of the Lord." I think these two statements of the second century theologians mean fundamentally the same thing. Justin, knowing nothing of the Gospel of Luke, had knowledge only of the memoirs of the Apostles, or the preaching and writings of the stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles and prophets. These preachers spoke of a Son procreated in some metaphysical way, on which Justin differed in opinion from the apostles and prophets ; but born of a virgin, on which point Justin agreed with the apostles and prophets. This virgin generation, or parthenogenesis, as naturalists call it in the case of bees, wasps and small flies, Marcion rejected. Hence Justin, honest man, came to the logical conclusion that Marcion's Christ, the son of human parents, was another Christ, but not the Christ preached by the apostles and prophets, the son of the Virgin Mary and some metaphysical male agent about whom Justin and the ten per cent. apostles and prophets did not agree.¹ These ancient theologians are very deep, and require considerable cogitation to interpret. Marcion, applying his commonsense to the preaching of the stipendiary prophets and apostles, rejected the preposterous stories fabricated by them in connection with the birth of Jesus, and did not admit them into the Gospel written for his Churches. With the exception of this simple fact, that Jesus was born after the natural manner of human beings and of other creatures of high organisation, and not after the manner of insects, such as bees, wasps, and minute flies,² I do not find in the works of these two contemporary theologians of the second century, Justin and Irenæus, who are our only real sources of history on the subject, any further exposition of Marcion's Christology. In Irenæus' refutation passages, however,

¹ Justin's metaphysical agent was the Word, that of the apostles and prophets was the Holy Ghost (*First Apology*, xxxiii.).

² See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiii. p. 146, Insects. "In the bee, ant, many gall-flies, some *Lepidoptera* and (as is now known) also some *Coleoptera* and insects of other orders, females are capable of producing fertile eggs without any contact with the male, and the produce of these eggs is frequently male. This property varies considerably in details. . . . Of all the marvels in the history of insects, this is the most astonishing; no wonder that the assertions of R. Wagner (the discoverer) were met with incredulity from the best physiologists until abundantly confirmed by others, and in other species."

I find certain questions submitted for the serious and pious consideration of the 'spiritual disciple.' Among others which are not now relevant, he states the following subjects for thought: "Why did he [*i.e.*, Jesus] acknowledge that he was the Son of man, if he did not undergo that generation which is of man? . . . How, again, when he was not flesh, but appeared as a man, he was crucified, and blood and water came out from his pierced side? And what body have the buriers buried, and what was that which rose from the dead?" (Bk. iv. xxxiii. 2). These questions are pure conundrums, which no person whose knowledge of Marcion's doctrines and conduct is limited to the information which Irenæus has supplied, can understand. With regard to the first question, there has been no information given that Marcion taught that Jesus was not born, but only that he had removed the apostolic second century account of the birth of Jesus from his Gospel, and we know this was an account of parthenogenesis. The second and third questions are simply incomprehensible. The great work of Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, consists of five books, and we have no knowledge of how they were published, whether simultaneously or separately in succession as they were composed; and in the latter case what intervals elapsed between the publication of individual books. If they had all been published simultaneously, at the period mentioned by Irenæus, *i.e.*, during some period of the episcopacy of Eleutherus (A.D. 175-190), and if this period happened to have been the earlier years of the bishop, the subjects offered for reflection to 'spiritual disciples' would have been absolutely unintelligible to the general Christian community, though possibly they may have been professionally suggestive to ecclesiastical students, or 'spiritual disciples.' If the fourth book of Irenæus, which contains these propositions for reflection, had been published at a later and more protracted period after the death of Marcion, which is stated to have taken place not much later than A.D. 165,¹ it is probable that the curious theological speculations of other sectaries and of the more prominent apostates from Marcion's original views, as the latter are stated by Justin and Irenæus, may have thrown light on the unintelligible subjects for enquiry and thought that Irenæus suggested. In this case the suggestion to employ the speculative vagaries of other sectaries and of those of apostate followers, formulated after the death of the master, to refute or rather to disparage the doctrine of Marcion, which was taught in the Churches which he

¹ The writer of the article on Marcion in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Professor Adolf Harnack, says: "When he died is not known; but his death can scarcely have been much later than the year 165." I have not been able to find any statement on the subject made by Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott.

founded and which were formidable rivals to the orthodox Church, is one that does not recommend itself as justifiable in an honourable opponent, but which inherently condemns both author and hearers as men of inferior moral character.

There happened to be about the end of the second century a 'spiritual disciple' of the name of Tertullian, a member of the legal profession, recently converted from paganism, in whose mind the suggestions of Irenæus took root, and, like the mustard seed of the parable, grew into a great tree, with immense branches and exuberant foliage, under whose shade one ancient,¹ but most modern theologians, have, like innocent birds, taken shelter. Tertullian, a lawyer of considerable literary ability, undertook the refutation of Marcion in the beginning of the third century, and the exposure of the alleged fraud committed by the great heretic on the Gospel according to Luke. I have related above, strictly in the terms employed by Justin Martyr and Irenæus, the views which these ecclesiastical writers declare to have been the doctrines of Marcion, and the conduct of Marcion with respect to the Gospel of Luke, which Irenæus denounced. This conduct consisted in the removal from the Gospel of everything relating to the birth of Jesus, and we know from the perusal of the Gospel which has survived to our days, that the passages removed recounted the manner of the extraordinary birth of Jesus from a virgin. The reader will be hardly prepared from the history of Marcion as stated by Justin and Irenæus, his contemporaries, for the new development of his doctrine at the hands of Tertullian the lawyer in the third century, the announcement of which will, I think, produce the emotion of amused surprise. As the only reasonable alternative to the view of the virgin birth of Jesus rejected by Marcion, Tertullian, with all the force of forensic eloquence, attributes to Marcion the doctrine that Jesus descended at Capernaum, at the mature age of thirty, direct from heaven, thoroughly equipped, in full uniform, as it were, in cocked hat, booted and spurred and brass-bound!

The Marcionite Gospel did not begin, as the Canonical Gospel did, with the story of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, and of the immaculate conception by the Virgin Mary, but the preliminary chapters were wanting. Its beginning was with the first clause of the third chapter and the 31st verse of the fourth chapter, thus:—"Now in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, he came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and was teaching them on the Sabbath day." Tertullian stoutly contends that this passage means that Jesus made his

¹ Hippolytus is the only ancient writer who refers to the Tertullianic theory which is stated below. Most modern theologians make capital out of the theory, to their shame.

first appearance on earth at Capernaum, where he descended from heaven. As a sample of forensic and theological argumentation it is incapable of being surpassed for its audacity. Serjeant Buzfuz and Archbishop Thomson are thrown into the shade.

Tertullian, besides attributing the doctrine of two Gods to Marcion, amplified this doctrine to include two heavens, writes: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius [Marcion] states that he descended into the city of Galilee, Capernaum; of course from the heaven of the Creator; to which he had previously descended from his own. What sort of order was there, that he was [not¹] described as previously descending from his own heaven to the Creator's? For why should I not reprove those things which do not fulfil the fidelity of an ordinary narrative, always defective from mendacity. Plainly have things been once said, which we have already gone over elsewhere; whether descending through the *heaven of the Creator*, and in fact hostile to him he could have been admitted by him, and thence transmitted to the earth equally his. But now I demand the remaining order of the descent, holding that he had descended. For it would seem that he had appeared anywhere is hypothetical. To appear means a sudden unexpected view, which would at once direct the eyes against that which quickly appeared. But to have descended when it is effected, is seen and comes under the eyes: in fact, it also makes an order. And so one is forced to enquire, in what state of body, in what form, with what swiftness or moderation, also in what time of the day or night he descended. Besides, who saw him descending, who reported *it*, who vouched *it*? a thing certainly not to be easily believed from one vouching it. It was shameful that Romulus had Proculus as the assertor of his ascension to heaven; but the Christ of God did not find an announcer of his descent from his heaven; as *if it was* not so both the one ascended, as well as the other descended in the same ladder of falsehood."²

¹ I have added 'not,' as I think the sense of the passage required it. Without the 'not' which I have added the passage is nonsense. The 'not' was by clerical error omitted by the scribe.

² Tertullian in this passage followed the suggestions and the example of Irenæus, and attributed to Marcion the views of Valentinus and other Gnostics, that God abided in a Pleroma or heaven, and hence that each of Marcion's Gods dwelt in a different Pleroma; so that Jesus in descending to earth from the Pleroma of the Good and greater God, had to pass through the Pleroma of the Just and inferior God. In his account of Marcion's doctrine Irenæus does not attribute this view to him, nor does Justin. To verify my translation, I quote the Latin original: Anno quinto-decimo principatus Tiberiani, proponit eum descendisse in civitatem Galilææ Capharnäum; utique de cœlo Creatoris; in quod de suo ante descenderat. Ecquid ergo ordinis fuerat, ut prius de suo cœlo in Creatoris descendens [non] describeretur? Cur enim non et ista reprehendam, quæ non implent fidem ordinariæ narrationis; deficientis in mendacio semper? Plane semel dicta sint, per quæ jam alibi retractavimus: an descendens per Creatorem, et quidem adversus ipsum potuerit ab eo

The argumentative form in which Tertullian makes his statement, and the admixture of the latter with the strange assertion of the two heavens from and through which it is inferred that Jesus must have descended, rather obscure the sense ; but there can be no doubt that Tertullian declared that Marcion's doctrine was that Jesus descended upon earth a full-grown man at Capernaum, and that he did not go through the stage of human birth. Elsewhere in his writings Tertullian states this doctrine very clearly.¹ In his first book, *Against Marcion*, ch. xix., he attributes to the heretic the view : "In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Jesus Christ deigned to drop from heaven, a saving spirit ; but I do not care to investigate in what year of the elder Antoninus the dog-wind exhaled from his Pontus the salvation of Marcion who so willed it." In the following passage, very coarsely expressed, there can be no mistake that Tertullian attributed to Marcion the strange doctrine that Jesus had not been born. "But how should he be liable to shame, who is not capable of it? *one who* was not coagulated in the womb, be it of a virgin, or of a woman ; and if not from seed, yet, according to the law of bodily substance, from the fluid of a woman ; not considered flesh before formation ; not called a *fœtus* after assuming shape ; not liberated after a torture of ten months ; not poured on the ground with the filth from the *cloaca* of the body by a sudden concussion of pains ; not beholding the light with tears and the first wound of his retaining-cord ; not copiously washed ; not medicated with salt and honey ; not having now consecrated the covering of sepulture in his clothes ; nor afterwards rolled in dirt upon the lap ; eager for the breasts ; long an infant, presently a boy, and slowly a man ; but put forth from heaven, at once full-grown, at once complete, immediately Christ, spirit, moral perfection and God to that extent."²

admitti, et inde tramitti in terram æque ipsius. Nunc autem et reliquum ordinem descensionis expostulo tenens descendisse illum. Viderit enim sicubi apparuisse positum est. Apparere, subitum ex inopinato sapit conspectum, qui semel impigerit oculos in id quod sine mora apparuit. Descendisse autem, dum fit, videtur, et subit oculos ; de facto etiam ordinem facit. Atque ita cogit exigere, quali habitu, quali suggestu, quonam impetu vel temperamento, etiam quo in tempore diei noctisve descenderit. Preterea quis viderit descendentem, quis retulerit, quis asseveraverit ; rem utique nec asseveranti facile credendam. Indignum denique ut Romulus quidem ascensus sui in cælum habuerit Proculum affirmatorem ; Christus vero Dei, descensus de cælo suo sui non invenerit annuntiatorem ; quasi non sic et ille ascenderit iisdem mendacii scalis, sicut et iste descendit." *Adv. Marcionem*, iv. 7.

¹ See his treatise *De carne Christi, or on the Flesh of Christ*.

² Cæterum, quomodo ille erit obnoxius confusionis, qui eam non capit ? non vulva, licet virginis, tamen feminae, coagulatus ; et si non semine, tamen, ex lege substantiæ corporalis, ex feminae humore : non caro habitus ante formam : non pecus dictus post figuram : non decem mensium cruciatu deliberatus : non subita dolorum concussione cum tanti temporis cœno per corporis cloacam effusus ad terram : nec statim lucem lachrymis auspicatus, et primo retinaculi sui vulnere : nec multum ablutus : nec sale et melle medicatus : nec pannis jam sepulturæ

I find it hard to think that Justin and Irenæus could have omitted to state in their notices of Marcion their contemporary, the extraordinary and picturesque doctrine that Tertullian, some thirty or forty years after the death of Marcion, attributes to the latter. I feel myself unable to think it, and my deliberate conclusion is that this alleged doctrine was a fabrication of Tertullian the lawyer and theologian. It is not possible to imagine that Irenæus would have let slip such a glorious subject for exercising his Rabelais wit.¹ I find, further, the most direct contradictions of Tertullian's statements in the Gospel which Marcion provided for his Churches. In sect. xxiii. of the recovered Marcionite Gospel, a scene is introduced in which the mother and brethren of Jesus are mentioned. In sect. iii. occurs the statement, "and he came to Nazareth where he had been brought up, and where he had been in the habit of attending the synagogue." The village, surprised at the excellence of his discourse in the synagogue, exclaimed in surprise, "Is not this Joseph's son?" And then Jesus uttered the expression, "No prophet is accepted in his own country." It is impossible to believe that Marcion could have declared the doctrine that Jesus descended from heaven at Capernaum a full-grown man of thirty years of age, and yet have introduced into his Gospel statements regarding his father, mother, and brethren, and his native village in which he had been brought up. Further, we find in sect. lxxxiii. of the Marcionite Gospel, a report made to Pilate that Jesus was a Galilean, and that hence this governor sent him to Herod as belonging to his jurisdiction. The legal status of Jesus manifestly depended upon his birth in Galilee. Besides these direct statements in the Marcionite Gospel clearly declaring the birth of Jesus, we know that Marcion followed the theology of Paul, whose Epistles formed part of his religious repertory. The descent from the sky formed no part of Paul's theology, and hence it is unfair and unhistorical to attribute it to Marcion. Tertullian, in *Anti-Marc.*, v. 4, quotes Gal. iv. 4 thus: "But when the time came to be fulfilled,

involucrum initiatus, nec exinde per immunditias inter sinus volutatus, molestus uberibus, diu infans, vix puer, tarde homo: sed de cælo expositus, semel grandis, semel totus, statim Christus, spiritus, et virtus, et Deus tantum (*Anti-Marcion*, iv. 21). I am indebted to the translator of Tertullian in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library for the translation of the word *pecus*, which I should have otherwise rendered 'little animal,' instead of 'foetus.' I hardly think the praiseworthy effort of this learned gentleman to tone down the coarseness of the original has been more successful than mine, although I have closely adhered to the Latin. I notice that he has differently translated the concluding word 'tantum,' and renders the final clause thus, "simply spirit, power and god." In this form the meaning is that Tertullian attributed to Marcion the view that Jesus was God; which I do not find consistent with the other passages of Tertullian on this subject.

¹ Irenæus does not fail to notice the Gnostic view that Jesus was born, but not Christ the Saviour, who descended upon Jesus of the dispensation (*de dispositione*), after his baptism, in the form of a dove (*Iren.*, iii. x. 4).

God sent his son," without the words following in our received text, "made of a woman, made under the law." These words may be considered as wanting in both the Marcionite and Canonical copies, for Tertullian does not say there was a difference of text; they have the look of an interpolation, and may be omitted without the text being a penny the worse. They cannot be regarded as existing in one copy and not in the other; they existed either in neither or in both. This rational inference is supported by Epiphanius, who takes no notice of the passage. This passage cannot be put forth in support of the 'dropping from the sky' falsehood. The Epistles of Paul contain numerous interpolations introduced by editors, the chief of whom was Clement of Alexandria.

The sad fact is manifest that in his eagerness to disparage and refute Marcion, and to expose the fraud attributed to the latter, of clipping the Gospel according to Luke and the Epistles of Paul, Tertullian's zeal swamped his honesty and veracity. The work that Marcion wrote was, if not actually in his hands, available to him, and he abstained from quoting him in support of his statements. Instead of adopting this honourable course, he reverted to argument to develop Marcion's views. In Tertullian's opinion Christ ought not to have come suddenly, as he says Marcion makes him. He ought to have been previously announced. That is the rule. Everything is open to suspicion which goes beyond a rule (*Anti-Marcion*, iii. 2). It was a custom to say of people who were unknown, or who appear suddenly, that they came from heaven.¹ From sorry considerations of this nature Tertullian fabricated the doctrine which he imputes to Marcion, that Jesus descended from heaven at Capernaum, a full-grown man. One turns from the unscrupulous forger of this extraordinary doctrine to contemplate the intellectual condition of the readers whom he addressed. Lucian appears to me to have accurately taken the measure of the Christians of this period. He describes them as simple folk who were easily imposed upon by a clever rogue. In the Marcionite Gospel John the Baptist is introduced suddenly (sect. xix.), and Tertullian noticed the fact. He says: "Suddenly Christ; and suddenly also John. So are all things with Marcion" (*Anti-Marcion*, iv. 11). Why, then, did not Tertullian conclude that it was Marcion's doctrine that John the Baptist descended from heaven, clothed in "raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins"?

In a later writing, Tertullian trimmed his invented story of the

¹ In *Apologeticus*, x., Tertullian, speaking of the deification of men by the pagans, says: "Ex consuetudine humana qua ignoti, vel ex inopinato apparentes, de cœlo supervenisse dicuntur."

descent of Jesus from heaven. Besides this fabrication he attributed Docetism to Marcion, *i.e.*, that Jesus possessed a phantom body. In the later writing Tertullian gave his readers the choice of two views: either that Marcion assigned a direct descent from heaven to Jesus, or a phantom birth. Marcion omitted in his Gospel to speak of the birth of Jesus; hence Tertullian, the astute lawyer, drew the inference that Marcion's view of the appearance of Jesus on earth was either by direct stepping down from heaven, or a phantasmal birth! He says in the later writing, *De carne Christi* (ch. 1): Marcion, that he might deny the flesh of Christ, denied also his nativity; or that he might deny the nativity, denied also the flesh; of course in order that the nativity and the flesh might not in turns render and offer testimony to him, because there is no nativity without flesh, nor flesh without nativity. But further he who introduced the putative flesh of Christ could equally have invented a phantasmal nativity also, so that the conception and pregnancy and parturition of a virgin, and hence the course of the infant itself, were regarded as τὸ δοκεῖν [*i.e.*, semblance] and had deceived the same eyes, and the same senses, which the opinion of the flesh eluded.¹ It would hence appear that the astute intellect of the lawyer and theologian Tertullian could only account for the absence of a narrative regarding the birth of Jesus in the Marcionite Gospel by the fact that Marcion held the alternative views that Jesus dropped down from the sky or had a phantasmal birth: one or the other, and the devout Christian reader may take his choice. I shall show hereafter that the doctrine of Docetism did not originate till after the death of Marcion (see p. 60). These curious views attributed to Marcion, it is almost incredible to believe, are accepted on the authority of Tertullian by modern theologians, or rather a large number of them, including Dean Milman, the ecclesiastical historian, and Professor Sanday of Oxford, as historical facts. Marcion abstained from speaking of the birth and early history of Jesus, because there was no historical knowledge regarding Jesus before his public appearance as a teacher. Paul gave no information on this subject, and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews possessed none, for he compares Jesus to Melchisedec, "without father, without mother, having neither beginning of days nor end of life" (Heb. vii. 3),

¹ Marcion, ut carnem Christi negaret, negavit etiam nativitatem; aut ut nativitatem negaret, negavit et carnem: scilicet ne invicem sibi testimonium redderent et responderent, nativitas et caro: quia nec nativitas sine carne, nec caro sine nativitate. . . . Sed et qui carnem putativum introduxit, æque potuit nativitatem quoque phantasma confingere, ut et conceptus, et prægnatus, et partus virginis, et ipsius exinde infantis ordo, τὸ δοκεῖν haberentur, eosdem oculos, eosdemque sensus fefellissent, quos carnis opinio elusit (*De carne Christi*, ch. 1).

curious phraseology which can only be understood to mean that there was no history of Melchisidec beyond the fact of his encounter with Abraham. And that was the position of the history of Jesus; there was no knowledge of him before his public ministration.

To one who has studied Ecclesiasticism, it is not surprising that Tertullian's dishonourable fabrication of the doctrine of the descent of Jesus from heaven at Capernaum at the mature age of thirty, which he attributed to Marcion with the object of holding him up to ridicule and thereby to facilitate the reception of the opinion that he appropriated and mutilated the Third Gospel, has passed into that Mississippi of falsification which is current in literature as ecclesiastical history. The next Christian writer after Tertullian whose works have survived to this day, Hippolytus, repeats the story. He considered Marcion's views as a reproduction of the ideas of Empedocles, the two principles of Discord and Amity being regarded as the equivalents of the two Gods of Marcion; and he incoherently combined Greek philosophy with Tertullian's forgery and the Johannine theology in a most curious fashion, as in the following passage: "Marcion, following these *views*, altogether rejected the generation of our Saviour, deeming it absurd that under the form of the destructive Discord should have been born the Word who co-operates with Amity, that is to say, the good *God*; but that without birth in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar he came down from above, being intermediate between evil and good, to teach in the synagogues"¹ (Miller, vii. 31; see also Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Hippolytus*, vol. i. p. 299). Hippolytus, however, like Tertullian, contradicts the above statement in another passage in which he attributes docetic views to Marcion, and alleges that the latter assigned an apparent or seeming birth to Jesus: "Saying that he appeared as man, not being man, and as incarnate, *but* not incarnate, having appeared in seeming, enduring neither birth nor passion, but in seeming" (Miller, x. 19; Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Hippolytus*, vol. i. p. 384). Jesus thus had a birth, but a seeming or phantasmal one, and hence his descent from the sky at mature age is discounted. It will be shown hereafter (see page 60) that docetism originated after the death of Marcion, and hence did not and could not have entered into his theology. Tertullian's

¹ I may perhaps be permitted to point out, with a little feeling of amusement, that as Irenæus dropped the two Christs of Marcion of whom Justin complained, Hippolytus dropped the two heavens of Marcion, out of which Tertullian made theological capital. Origen gravely informs us that Celsus chaffed the Christians about the theomachies, which he compared to battles between quails, about the two sons of God, one the son of the Demiurge, and the other the son of Marcion's God (*Against Celsus*, vi. 74). This ridicule was probably the reason why the two Sons or Christs were dropped.

fabrication has been handed down through the ages, and at this day it is declared to be an axiomatic fact in ecclesiastical history by many, though not all theologians. Milman, I am sorry to say, gives credence and currency to the falsehood.

The latest writer of importance on the subject is Dr Sanday, the learned and able Professor of Theology at Oxford. In his work *The Gospels in the Second Century*, published in 1876, Dr Sanday accepts Tertullian's romance absolutely and completely. Referring to the researches of German scholars, he says that in Germany there "seems to be" an agreement in preferring the "hypothesis of a mutilated Luke." He continues: "Looking at the subject as impartially as I can, I am inclined to think that the case is made out in the main. The single instance of the perverted sense assigned to *κατέλθεν* [came down] in [Luke] iv. 31 must needs go a great way. Marcion evidently intends the word to be taken in a transcendental sense of the emanation and descent to earth of the *Æon* Christus.¹ It is impossible to think that this sense is more original than the plain historical use of the word by St Luke, or to mistake the dogmatic motive in the heretical recension. There is also an evident reason for the omission of the first chapters which relate the human² birth of Christ, which Marcion denied" (p. 219). While Tertullian's forgery is fully and completely accepted as a truthful statement by the distinguished Oxford Professor of Theology, who has even allowed it to influence his judgment upon the relations between the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels, I have been struck by the remarkable circumstance that a few eminent exponents of Marcion's theology have simply dropped Tertullian's story of the descent from the sky of the full-grown Christ in their accounts of Marcion. As Irenæus silently dropped the two Christs or Sons of Justin, and Hippolytus the two heavens of Tertullian, I now find Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott drop in silence the fable of the descent of the full-grown Christ which Tertullian invented. I have no recollection that Bishop Lightfoot has in his works repeated Tertullian's story. In his essays on the work entitled *Supernatural Religion*, in which he writes a great deal about Marcion and his doctrines, I do not find any mention of the heavenly descent. The inference I draw from this remarkable silence of the theologian, whom I regard as the greatest of his profession

¹ Dr Sanday has evidently misunderstood Marcion's theology, and has confounded it with that of Valentinus. Marcion did not deal with emanations or æons. The writer of the article on Marcion in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Dr Adolph Harnack, says that he ought not to be regarded as a Gnostic.

² The first chapters of Luke do not relate the *human* birth of Christ. They describe the insect-like birth of Jesus, or his parthenogenesis; while Marcion maintained, on the contrary, the human birth of Jesus from a man and woman.

this century has produced in England, is that he disbelieved in the truth of the story. There is no other rational conclusion I can form from the omission of a circumstance that has been supposed to be connected with the history of the great heretic for nigh seventeen centuries. Bishop Westcott, also, in his works, *The Canon of the New Testament* and *The Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, makes no mention of Tertullian's story. The omission, in two great works designed for the instruction of youth—and especially of youth destined for the ministry—of any notice of a historical fact current in modern theological literature, is surely significant. Can it be that these two great theologians, who were associated at the University of Cambridge in the teaching of theology, had come to a tacit agreement on the subject? One can imagine the two theologians laughing together in the privacy of their studies at the credulity of Christians, ancient and modern, in believing the fabrication of Tertullian that Marcion taught that Christ dropped from the sky at the mature age of thirty, equipped in the full costume of the period, and proceeded straight to the synagogue at Capernaum. The augurs of Rome were said to have laughed in private at the credulity of their pagan dupes. But although Bishop Westcott had absolutely dropped Tertullian's fable in his text, he nibbles at it in footnotes and appendices; and to my utter surprise I find he has made a falsification of Marcion's text, from which even Tertullian withheld his ruthless hand. I have already quoted the initial verse of the Marcionite Gospel (see p. 47) as given by Tertullian, but Bishop Westcott thus renders it: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar [God] came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and was teaching on the Sabbath day." To the word in brackets he appends the following footnote: "The Marcionites maintained the notion of a sudden and unexpected (subitum ex inopinato, Tertull., *l.c.*) appearance of the good Deity, to frustrate the designs of the God of the Jews" (*Introduction*, Appendix D., No. iv. p. 476, 8th edition). It is well to direct attention to the Bishop's statement that it was 'the Marcionites,' and not Marcion, who maintained the sudden appearance of the good Deity. On the strength of the views of 'Marcionites,' of whom there were some varieties, Bishop Westcott has felt himself justified in substituting the word 'God,' instead of 'He,' which was the word used in the text of the Gospel which Marcion delivered to his Churches. I wonder what would be the feelings of the venerable and amiable prelate if his own theological writings were dealt with in the same way. The Reverend Dr Momerie, for example,¹ is a clergyman of the Church of England

¹ The lamented death of Dr Momerie has occurred since the above was written.

who entertains special notions on the subject of the Trinity which do not coincide with the Trinitarian views of Dr Westcott. We will imagine that Dr Momerie had been an undergraduate at Cambridge, and had studied theology under Dr Westcott. What would be the prelate's feelings if he found a passage from his own writings interlarded between brackets with Dr Momerie's Trinitarian view in such a manner as to induce the reader to believe that the interlarded words expressed the bishop's own sentiments? The good bishop's righteous resentment and indignation would hardly be alleviated if he found a footnote to the passage, explaining that the Reverend Dr Momerie, a pupil of Dr Westcott's and a distinguished clergyman of the same Church of which he is a bishop, enunciated certain Trinitarian views. A very painful impression has forced itself on my mind during my investigations, that theologians in general in all ages have more or less a defect or feebleness of the moral sense. The defect was very considerable in the great theologians of the second half of the second century, whose names and achievements I have already indicated, who were prominent in Christian history as the men who gave shape to ecclesiastical theology, and who introduced and recommended to the Christian communities the forged sacred writings which are called the New Testament. The defect of the moral sense was so great in these ancient theologians that I believe all of them, in spite of their literary and theological eminence, would be blackballed and refused admission to any modern club that makes any pretence to the respectability of the moral character of its members. The defect is sufficiently salient in modern theologians, even of the foremost rank, as to produce a painful feeling of distrust in their statements of alleged facts, and in their translations of ancient texts. The sense of literary honour such as that which strengthened Bishop Lightfoot to resist the temptation to change the order of two Greek words, is, I am certain, not widely diffused amongst theologians. (See p. 29.)

Bishop Westcott's falsification of the text of the Marcionite Gospel is, in my judgment, a gross mis-statement, as, coming as it does from a learned writer who is careful and accurate, it must be taken to have been made with knowledge. The reference to Tertullian in Bishop Westcott's footnote leads me to conclude that the statement that God came down to Capernaum was derived by the bishop from Tertullian's writings. I have already quoted the initial verse of the Marcionite Gospel and Tertullian's comment thereon (p. 47). The Marcionite text is clearly there stated to be "that He came down," not God. The 'He' refers to Jesus, not to God. Epiphanius also thus gives the text of the Marcionite

Gospel. I regret to have to say that Bishop Westcott's falsification is not fair to Marcion; for a most important part of Marcion's theology consisted of the declaration of the manhood of Jesus, as against the God-manhood of the theology of the orthodox Church. It was Marcion's teaching that Christ was man and not God that more than any other point of his theology aroused the wrath and virulence of the orthodox theologians; and it was to overturn this portion of Marcion's theology, and to bring it into ridicule, that Tertullian resorted, after Marcion's death, to the base device of fabricating the descent from heaven at full age, and further of attributing to Marcion's Christ a visionary existence. Tertullian deemed the use of mere argument with misrepresentation and suppression, sufficient to refute Marcion's alleged doctrine of two Gods; but he did not deem argument sufficient to meet Marcion's view of the manhood of Christ, but considered it necessary for his purpose to fabricate untruths and thereby to bring in ridicule to supplement the force of his other vile instruments of refutation. There may be passages in Tertullian's writings which afford justification to the bishop's falsification, or rather to its implication that Marcion regarded Christ as God. Tertullian is not a clear writer in general, and may have passages which may be understood to imply that Marcion's Christ was God. In Bk. i. of *Anti-Marcion*, in which the subject of Marcion's God is discussed, I find two passages, in which such an implication is apparently made. In ch. xi. is one passage: "Dic mihi, Marcion, voluit deus tuus cognosci se quocumque in tempore? an ne alio proposito et descendit, et prædicavit, et passus resurrexit, quam uti cognosceretur?" "Tell me, Marcion, did your God desire to be recognised at any time? Has he descended, and preached, and having suffered, rose again with any other purpose than that he should be recognised?" Again, in ch. xiv. is another passage: "Postremo, te tibi circumfer, intus ac foris considera hominem; placebit tibi vel hoc opus Dei nostri, quod tuus Dominus ille Deus melior adamavit; propter quem in hæc paupertina elementa de tertio coelo descendere laboravit: cujus causa in hac cellula Creatoris etiam crucifixus est." "Lastly, carry yourself around yourself, consider man within and without: even this work of our God will be pleasing to you, which your Lord, the better God, loved; on account of whom he took the trouble to descend to these beggarly elements from the third heaven; for whose sake he was even crucified in this cell of the Creator." In these two passages, if understood literally, the sense is that Marcion's Christ was God himself; but such an interpretation would be a plain contradiction of what Tertullian writes elsewhere. He must be

taken here to have applied to God what refers to Christ, to have identified the agent with the employer, in the sense that what God did by an agent he did himself. Throughout Bk. iii., in which Tertullian discusses the subject of Christ being the Son of God, predicted by the prophets, and incarnate, he clearly discriminates between Marcion's God and his Christ of God. They were two different personalities, and Marcion's Christ was not God. I must definitely vindicate Tertullian from the charge of uttering the misrepresentation that Marcion made a God of Jesus Christ. He attributes to the Marcionites and to Marcion by name the opinion of the incredibility of an incarnate God; "*sed quoniam incredibile præsumpserant Deum carnem: quo magis Antichristus Marcion sibi eam rapuit præsumptionem*"¹ (iii. 8), and he winds up his argument, which will be presently more fully entered into, with the strange contradictions that Marcion's Christ was "*caro nec caro, homo nec homo: proinde Deus Christus, nec Deus*"; *i.e.*, flesh *but* not flesh, man *but* not man, and in like manner God-Christ *but* not God. I understand Tertullian to mean by this strange language that the orthodox view that Christ was flesh, man and God-Christ, was denied by Marcion, in whose theology he asserts Christ was neither flesh, nor man, nor God. Amongst the many untruths that Tertullian invented and gave currency to on the subject of Marcion's doctrines and life there was one truth which he permitted to remain undefiled, *viz.*, that Marcion did not make Christ a God. The recital of the truth regarding Marcion and his doctrines was exceptional in Tertullian's writings, so that the utterance of a truth by him on these subjects is very remarkable. I think that Tertullian abstained from perverting this doctrine of Marcion because he believed that it would in itself discredit the latter's theology in the minds of Christians, amongst whom at that period the idea of the divinity of Christ had taken deep root, and he employed his invention in piling ridicule upon Marcion's view. And in this remarkable fact of the existence of a truth in the midst of the mass of untruths invented and promulgated by Tertullian may be found an excuse or extenuation of Bishop Westcott's falsification of the Marcionite text. Tertullian affirmed that Marcion's Christ was not God; Bishop Westcott, disbelieving him, put into the Marcionite text the converse statement. A large manufacturer of untruths is not believed when he does speak the truth. Although Bishop Westcott's act may be palliated on these grounds, it is all the same unjustifiable and ought to be rectified.

¹ That is, But because they (the *quasi*-Marcionites) had assumed *it to be* incredible that God *is* flesh; so much the more the Antichrist Marcion seized this presumption for himself.

Besides the untruth of the descent of Jesus from the sky, in full dress, at the age of thirty, Tertullian further falsely attributed to Marcion the doctrine that Christ was a phantom or a visionary man. Of this statement I can find no corroboration in the writings of Justin or Irenæus, the contemporaries of Marcion; and hence it comes under the same suspicion and condemnation as the prior statement. I shall let Tertullian develop his second falsehood in his own polite and complimentary language. "The heretic [Marcion] must now cease to borrow poison from the Jew, the asp from the viper, as they say; let him henceforth vomit forth the virus of his own mind, claiming Christ *to be* a phantom. Except that this opinion will have other originators, the precocious and abortive *quasi*-Marcionites, whom the Apostle John pronounced to be Antichrists, denying that Christ had come in the flesh; and yet not that they might set up the law of another god, as they were noted for that also; but because they had assumed *it to be* incredible that God was flesh; by which the more the Antichrist Marcion seized it for himself, *being* clearly more suitable for denying the corporeal substance of Christ, who had represented his God himself as neither the author nor restorer of the flesh: *but* very good in fact, and in himself very different from the falsehoods and fallacies of the Creator. And so his Christ, that he might not lie nor deceive, and perhaps that he might in this manner be kept clear of the Creator, was not what he seemed and counterfeited what he was; flesh *but* not flesh, man *but* not man: and in like manner God-Christ, *but* not God. Surely why should he not have borne the phantom of God also?"¹ (*Ad Marc.*, iii. 8).

These two staple untruths, devised and promulgated by Tertullian, were inseparably linked together; the one was the correlative of the other. A phantom did not require to be born; hence Marcion's Christ being visionary, had no need of a nativity. If Marcion had bestowed a real human body on his Christ, that would necessarily imply previous birth. But as Marcion's Christ dropped from the sky a phantom or visionary man, there was no call for his being born on

¹ Desinat nunc hæreticus a Judæo, aspīs (quod aiunt) a vipera mutuari venenum; evomat jam hinc proprii ingenii virus, phantasma vindicans Christum. Nisi quod et ista sententia alios habebit anctores, præcoquos et abortivos quodammodo Marcionitas, quos apostolus Ioannes Antichristos pronuntiavit, negantes Christum in carne venisse; et tamen non ut alterius dei jus constituerent, quia et de isto notati fuissent; sed quoniam incredibile præsumperant Deum carnem: quo magis Antichristus Marcion sibi eam rapuit præsumptionem; aptior scilicet ad renuendam corporalem substantiam Christi, qui ipsum deum ejus nec auctorem carnis induxerat nec resuscitatorem: optimum videlicet, et in isto, diversissimum a mendaciis et fallaciis Creatoris. Et ideo Christus ejus ne mentiretur, ne falleret, et hoc modo Creatoris forsitan deputaretur, non erat quod videbatur, et quod erat mentiebatur; caro nec caro, homo nec homo: proinde Deus Christus, nec Deus. Cur enim non etiam Dei phantasma portaverit?

earth. Tertullian thus probed the very depths of Marcion's theology, and exposed to admiring Christians, listening to him with open mouths, the innermost movements of the heretic's mind. He says: "Totas istas præstigias putativæ in Christo corpulentia, Marcion illa intentione suscepit, nec ex testimonio substantiæ humanæ, nativitas quoque ejus defenderetur," etc. (*Ad Marc.*, iii. 11). All these tricks of a putative body in Christ, Marcion adopted with this design, that his nativity might not be furnished with proofs from the evidence of a human body. And again in the same passage: "Quod si verebatur Marcion, ne fides carnis, nativitatis quoque fidem induceret; sine dubio qui homo videbatur, natus utique credibatur." But if Marcion was afraid lest a belief *in a body of flesh* would lead to a belief of birth, without doubt one who seemed a man was of course understood *to have been* born. These two figments thus go together. The former being clearly a fiction, the latter must necessarily be the same. The Marcionite Gospel gives no support whatever to Tertullian's allegation that Marcion attributed a visionary body to Jesus; on the contrary, in sect. xci. of the Marcionite Gospel there is a very marked desire perceptible to divest Jesus of any supernatural character (see page 270). Throughout the Marcionite Gospel, Jesus is represented as a man in every respect the same as his fellows: eating, drinking, walking, sleeping, speaking, praying, and suffering alike; having the same mental emotions of indignation and apprehension of danger, the same physical sensation of hunger, and the same appreciation of feminine society as his fellow-men experienced in his time as well as in our days. In Luke xviii. 19, sect. lxiv. of the Marcionite Gospel, Jesus expressly repudiates the application to himself of the word 'good,' which was appropriate to God alone.

The singular sectarian theology which gave a visionary body to Jesus was called Docetic, and the sects that inculcated the doctrine were known as Docetæ. I have satisfied myself that the doctrine and the sects that maintained it had no existence in Marcion's days. I have failed to find any evidence of the existence of the doctrine prior to the closing years of the second century, many years after the death of Marcion, which is taken to have occurred not later than A.D. 165. Clement of Alexandria states that Julius Cassianus was the chief or founder, ἐξάρχων (*Strom.*, iii. 23, sect. 91). The date of Clement's book is usually given as between A.D. 193-202. There is no allusion to the Docetæ or to the docetic doctrine in the earlier books of Irenæus' great work, which, it should be remembered, was specially written to controvert prevalent heresies; and a reasonable inference from this remarkable omission is that the sects and the doctrine had

no existence when these books were written. In his third, fourth, and fifth books, written, I must conclude, at a later date than the former books, there are references to the doctrine in Bk. III. xviii. 6; v. l. 2, but not in connection with Marcion, and in the early and artistic suggestions recommended to the 'spiritual disciple' who would desire to refute Marcion. I have already quoted these (p. 46), and directed attention to the plain fact that there is no explanation or clue to the meaning of these singular suggestions to be found in Irenæus' earlier books, in which he discourses of Marcion and his doctrines—suggestions bearing on the unintelligible allegation that Christ possessed no flesh, and the curious interrogation what body was committed to the grave and rose again. It is plain that these suggestions were founded on the docetic doctrine, which must be historically presumed to have then originated. I infer from the statements of Clement of Alexandria and the omissions of Irenæus in his earlier books, that the docetic theology made its appearance towards the close of the second century, long after the death of Marcion, and that hence Marcion had no participation in it. Theologians, with few exceptions, make random statements on these subjects, which their readers have no means of verifying or checking; and thus currency and impunity are given to the dissemination of error, inherently discreditable to the promulgators, and unfair to historical personages.¹ The writer of the article on the Docetæ in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says: "Docetism undoubtedly existed before the time of Cassianus. . . . Traces of a Jewish docetism are to be found in Philo; and in the Christian form it is supposed to be combated in the writings of John, and more formally in the epistles of Ignatius." The reference to the assumed writings of the Apostle John is to the passage, "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ came in the flesh is not of God" (1 John v. 3). To suppose that this passage, written towards the close of the first century (c. A.D. 80), referred to a theological opinion of which we hear for the first time at the close of the second century (c. A.D. 190), after an interval of more than a hundred years, is very far-fetched. The epistles of Ignatius are in general unreliable for providing historical proof, as the dates of the various interpolations are difficult to ascertain. The two passages are: "But if it were as certain persons who were godless, that is, unbelievers, say, that He suffered only in semblance, being themselves mere semblance, why

¹ An error widespread among theologians is that any statement, however vague, that pain was not felt, is regarded as *docetic*. Thus some documents are pronounced docetic which are not docetic at all. History and chronology are falsified by this erroneous view, which, as it has been repeated frequently, is considered axiomatic.

am I in bonds?" (Trallians x.); and "Not as certain unbelievers say, that He suffered in semblance, being themselves mere semblance" (Smyrneans ii., Lightfoot's translation).¹ These two passages, expressed in identical terms, clearly do not refer to the theology of the Docetæ, who, though attributing a visionary body to Jesus, most certainly did not claim the possession of visionary bodies for themselves. The reference is to the Greek metaphysicians, the Idealists, who denied the existence of all matter, of every description, and hence denied the reality of the Crucifixion in the same sense in which they denied the reality of their own persons—everything being, according to their philosophy, not matter, but idea, or semblance. The above references exhaust the historical proofs brought forward by the Encyclopædic writer to show that docetism prevailed before the time of Cassianus, that is, earlier than the close of the second century. I am unaware that other writers adduce any further proofs, and I have failed to discover any in my investigation. Hence I feel justified in concluding that Tertullian was guilty of a breach of honesty, and of the deliberate fabrication of untruth, dishonourable to himself personally, and discreditable to the Church of which he was the avowed minister and instrument, in falsely attributing to Marcion a theological doctrine which did not originate till many years after Marcion's death. I should add that Hippolytus, the contemporary of Tertullian, in his incoherent reference to Marcion's theology, although he repeats the phantasy of the descent from the sky, and the phantom birth, refrains from attributing docetic views to Marcion. In the eighth chapter of his large work, *Refutation of all Heresies*, which is mainly devoted to the Docetæ and their heresy, Marcion is not spoken of as entertaining docetic theology.

The above exposition of the falsehood and dishonesty of Tertullian in deliberately misrepresenting the theological views of Marcion regarding the person of Christ, is not conjectural and presumptive, but positive and based on solid facts. The study of the Marcionite Gospel, which I have been enabled to recover from the Canonical Gospel by the aid of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, has rendered

¹ Εἰ δὲ ὡς περ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὄντες, τοῦτέστιν ἄπιστοι, λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν, αὐτοὶ ὄντες τὸ δοκεῖν, ἐγὼ τί δέδεμαι; (Trallians). The weakness of the sense of literary honour in clerical translators is apparent in the translation of the above passage from the Epistle to the Smyrneans, in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, when compared with that of Bishop Lightfoot. The former translate: "Certain unbelievers maintain that He only seemed to suffer, as they themselves only seem to be [Christians]" (*Apostolic Fathers*, p. 241). This deliberate falsification of the original is not due to ignorance of Greek, but to literary dishonesty, which is a feature of the ecclesiastical profession, from the second half of the second century to the present day.

plain the vast discrepancy between the statements of Tertullian and the actual facts of Marcion's teaching, as displayed in the Gospel which he delivered to his Churches. The Marcionite Gospel has enabled me to understand the great significance of the silence of Justin and Irenæus, contemporaries of Marcion, in their accounts of the latter, regarding the descent of Jesus from the sky at Capernaum, and his visionary body. The conclusion drawn from the representation of Christ in the Marcionite Gospel and from the silence of the contemporaries of Marcion, supported as it is by collateral circumstances, such as the non-existence of docetism in Marcion's days, is historically accurate, just, and reasonable; and justifies the opinion that Tertullian, in his treatment of Marcion, was unscrupulous and untruthful.

Though the above facts are, in my judgment, sufficient to condemn Tertullian's misrepresentation of Marcion's doctrines on the subject of the person of Christ, there remains another consideration to be spoken of, which is to my mind of great force. Both Irenæus and Tertullian concur in attributing to Marcion a reverence for Paul, the apostle of the first century, and for his writings; and there is no doubt that Paul was Marcion's model, guide and exemplar. Irenæus states that Marcion considered that Paul alone knew the truth (Bk. III. xiii. 1). In a most picturesque passage, Tertullian satirises Marcion for 'his apostle' Paul, while he displays to the reader a sad phase in his own character. "Wherefore, O shipmaster of Pontus, if you have never received in your ships stolen and contraband goods, if you have never diverted or adulterated your cargo (of course *you are* more careful and faithful in the things of God), I wish you would declare with what mark you have received the Apostle Paul? Who has stamped him with the character of a title? Who has passed *him* to you, who has put *him* on board, so that you can boldly disembark him, that he be not claimed by him who should produce all the instruments of his apostleship?"¹ 'He declared himself,' he says, 'to be an apostle, not from men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ.' Surely anyone can declare himself," and so on (*Anti-Marcion*, v. 1). Marcion admitted the four Epistles of Paul into his Canon, and the Marcionite Gospel was said by Irenæus and Tertullian to have been pirated for the express reason that it was written by Luke, who, they asserted, was a companion of Paul;

¹ This passage is felicitously rendered in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library: "I should be glad if you would inform us under what bill of lading you admitted the Apostle Paul on board, who ticketed him, what owner forwarded him, who handed him to you, so that you may land him without any misgiving, lest he should turn out to belong to him who can substantiate his claim by producing all his apostolic writings."

an assertion that I have already shown (p. 5 ff.) to be groundless. The Gospel of Marcion was written by Luke, Lucanus or Lucianus, the Marcionite, presumably under the instructions and supervision of Marcion himself (see Chapter IX.). Marcion's theology was a restoration of Paul's; and as the theory of the descent from the sky of a visionary body formed no part of Paul's theology, it cannot be regarded as having been inculcated by Marcion. This great heresiarch, obscured and bespattered as he has been by eminent ecclesiastics, stands forth as the most commanding figure in Christian theology of the second century. A wealthy man, carrying on a business as a shipowner, he is free from the suspicion of having occupied himself with religion from mercenary motives and a desire to retrieve a ruined fortune. He may have been born and been brought up as a Christian, but his early history is unreliable; his religious feelings revolted against the corruptions introduced by the stipendiary apostles and prophets, and chiefly against the foolish histories fabricated by them regarding the birth and early history of Jesus. Being unable to suppress these, he separated from the Church and formed a distinct religious community, not far divergent in general doctrine from the parent church. The chief distinction of his teaching was the absolute humanity of Jesus. He formed a collection of religious writings, consisting chiefly of the letters of Paul, the apostle of the first century, and also of letters from members, or rather apostles, of his community who held office in his church. To these were added a short biography of Jesus, compiled from documents which he believed to contain some correct representations of the teaching and history of the Lord, while he rejected those that he believed to be fictitious. There are various statements in the biography, such as raising of the dead, casting out of devils, multiplication of bread, which are now regarded as miracles and beyond the powers of humanity, but which were not so regarded in the second century by the multitude. The same capacity to perform miracles was ascribed to other men and even to women. Marcion abstained from adding his own writings to the scriptures which he delivered to his community. In the second half of the second century, all the sacred writings¹ of the Marcionite sect were appropriated by the parent church, and added to, altered and interpolated, so as to bring them up to the orthodox standard, with the

¹ These were the Marcionite Gospel and the following epistles in the order in which they are mentioned by Tertullian: Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, Romans, First and Second Thessalonians, Laodiceans or Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon. These epistles in Marcion's Canon were not, however, such as we find them now in the New Testament. They had undergone manipulation by an editor, who, I believe, was Clement of Alexandria.

exception, I believe, of the Epistle to Philemon, which was, however, subsequently also taken. With incredible audacity the parent church maintained that *all* these writings were originally hers, and that Marcion appropriated and mutilated them, for the purposes of his heresy. The champions of the Church in maintaining this daring proceeding were Irenæus and Tertullian. I have already exposed in my former volume the dishonourable conduct of the former ecclesiastic in connection with the appropriation of the writing of Cerinthus, which was finally worked up into the Gospel according to John. It is my laborious and melancholy task, in the present volume, to expose the dishonourable conduct, characterised by unscrupulousness and brazen falsehood, of both Irenæus and Tertullian, in connection with the appropriation of the Third Gospel, or Gospel according to Luke.

The facts above set forth, which I have ascertained to be veritable, will, I trust, have the effect of guarding my readers from allowing themselves to be befooled by Tertullian's untruths, and from perceiving mare's nests in the Marcionite Gospel, like the one Dr Sanday, the learned Oxford Professor of Theology, declares to exist in the initial verse of the Marcionite Gospel, and which mare's nest influenced his impartial judgment on the question of the relation to each other of the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels. The Oxford Professor was not the only one who has been deceived by theological preconceptions, but many others, amongst whom I may mention Bishop Epiphanius, who wrote a great, important, and valuable work upon Heresies. This learned bishop of the fourth century, who, however, it should be marked, is considered by Bishop Lightfoot¹ and others to have been an ecclesiastical noodle, having donned a large pair of theological spectacles, perceived in the Marcionite Gospel, not a single mare's nest, like the moderate and impartial Oxford Professor,² but a score; and it must be honestly admitted that the ancient bishop made a most diligent search,³ and his mind was on the alert for the least trace of mare's nests in the heretical Gospel. What appears to my mind to be most remarkable is that the big mare's nest perceived by Dr Sanday in the Marcionite Gospel was missed and not seen and not recorded by Bishop Epiphanius; and I think I may safely venture upon the statement that the broad-

¹ Dr Lightfoot calls him a "hopeless blunderer," and complains of the scores of blunders which deface his pages (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 269, 285).

² Dr Sanday, in his *Gospels in the Second Century*, mentions only the full-dress dropping from the sky, but no other application in vindication of Tertullian's statements.

³ Dr Sanday says of him: "Epiphanius especially often shows the most painstaking care and minuteness of detail" (*Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 210).

mind and hearty Oxford Professor has pooh-poohed and laughed at the insignificant mare's nests that the Greek bishop discovered in his pursuit of this branch of theological industry. The only explanation that presents itself to my mind of the discrepancy in the results obtained in their examination of the Marcionite Gospel by these two learned theologians is, that the Oxford Professor too credulously believed in the descent from the sky, but rejected, or considered as of little importance, the alleged docetism of Marcion; while the Greek bishop's mind was inordinately under the influence of the latter illusion, but estimated the other untruth at its real value. Lest my readers should make similar ludicrous mistakes, they are warned to cast off theological spectacles, and to rely upon their own common-sense, strengthened by the pious admonition, "Oh mihi, beate Martine!"

With the other untruths that Irenæus and Tertullian invented and promulgated regarding Marcion's doctrines and life, I ought, perhaps, not to concern myself at present, as they will hardly interfere with the elucidation of the main purpose of this work, which is the discovery of the source of the Canonical Gospel according to Luke. There is, however, another misdemeanour which they lay to the charge of Marcion, which may have a disturbing influence. Irenæus thus expresses it: "Abolishing the prophets and the law, and all the works of that God who made the world, whom he calls Cosmocrator"¹ (I. xxvii. 2). This is a tremendous charge, and attributes to Marcion the assumption of extraordinary legislative power and authority. I find in sect. lvi. of the Marcionite Gospel, a passage which apparently gives support to it: "The law and the prophets *were* until John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached." If this passage be taken to be the expression of Marcion's delinquency, one is at a loss to know why the passage is also found in the Canonical Gospel of Luke (xvi. 16). If it be objectionable against Marcion, it must be equally so against the parent church. Tertullian does not repeat the grandiloquent accusation made by Irenæus, but modifies it to a more moderate scope. He says: "The separation of the Law and of the Gospel is the peculiar and principal work of Marcion" (*Anti-Marcion*, i. 19). Reduced to these more modest dimensions, the alleged offence of Marcion may be accepted as true; for as a follower of Paul, who resented the intrusion of Judaism into Christianity, he adhered to the avowed opinion of his

¹ I hazard the conjecture that Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian accused Marcion of the view of two gods, because he applied the name Cosmocrator, or Lord of the Cosmos, or world, to God, and not Demiurge, which means artisan, and I believe was the designation of Greek magistrates, the two names being mistaken to indicate two gods.

master. In this matter also we find the parent church strangely doing what Tertullian seems to have considered wrong in Marcion. In the Paschal controversy in the second half of the second century, we find the Western Church, headed by Victor, the Bishop of Rome, in conflict with the Eastern Church, in consequence of the observance by the latter of the Jewish Passover. In fact we find the parent church to be very much under the influence of Marcion's ideas on this subject. So far as I am able to judge, the real offence of Marcion in connection with the law and the prophets, was not that he 'abolished' them, but that he deprecated the intrusion of the Jewish Law into Christianity, and of the application of Jewish prophecies to Jesus. The parent church eventually adopted the former view,¹ but strenuously from that period to the present day fought against the latter. Marcion boldly denied that the Jewish prophecies regarding the Messiah had any application to Christ, that the Messiah prophesied by the Hebrew prophets was a Jewish deliverer, but was not Jesus. Marcion respected the Jewish Law in its application to the Jews, as we must conclude from sects. vi. and lxx. of the Marcionite Gospel, in which Jesus directs lepers to go and show themselves to the priests, and offer for their cleansing what Moses commanded. He recognised the Hebrew prophets, as we find in sect. xix. a Hebrew prophecy quoted in full, and applied to John Baptist, to whom it was regarded by the contemporary Rabbis as applicable. Again he quotes Micah vii. 6 in sect. lxix., Luke xii. 53. It is impossible to reconcile these facts and statements recorded in the Marcionite Gospel with the statement of Irenæus, which must hence be regarded as a pure misrepresentation. In not perceiving the applicability of the Hebrew Messianic prophecies to Jesus, Marcion followed Paul, who nowhere states that Jesus was the subject of prophecy. The famous prophecy, alleged to apply to Jesus, "Behold a virgin shall be with child," is not to be found in the writings of Paul, who, in direct contradiction to the prophecy, says that Jesus was "made or born of a woman, made under the law,"² i.e., in accordance with the Jewish legal custom of marriage. These words, however, are under suspicion as interpola-

¹ See Tertullian's treatise called an *Answer to the Jews*, especially ch. iii. and vi. From the latter I quote the following passage: "There was to supervene a time whereat the precepts of the ancient Law and of the old ceremonies would cease, and the promise of the new law and the recognition of spiritual sacrifices, and the promise of the New Testament, supervene" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Tertullian*, vol. iii. p. 215.)

² This singular manner of referring to the birth of Jesus by Paul may be explained by the fact that Paul was aware that Jesus was the offspring of his mother by the brother of her deceased husband, which was legitimate under the Jewish law (see p. 125).

tions. In 1 Cor. xv. 3 and 4, are two passages in which the Hebrew Scriptures are stated to contain prophecies concerning Christ: "For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures." In these verses one perceives the facility with which interpolations of prophecy can be introduced, when the interpolator absolves himself from the duty of specifying the passages in the Scriptures. Modern theologians feel the weight of the burden thus cast upon them by the ancient interpolator,¹ and how they have executed the task thus thrown upon them may be seen from the references attached to these passages in the Reference Bibles. The nearest approach to Paul's statement that Christ died for our sins is in Isa. liii. 5: "He was wounded for our transgressions, *he was* bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed." There is no mention of death in this passage. In the further verse 8, Isaiah says, "He was cut off out of the land of the living," which implies death; which idea is further impressed in the following verse 9, "and he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death." In the margin, however, is the remark that the Hebrew word is 'deaths' in the plural; and this, in my judgment, throws a doubt on the correctness of the translation of the whole passage. A Hebrew-speaking Jew with a knowledge of English would probably translate differently. Even English translators differ amongst themselves. In the A. V. of 1611, verse 8 is translated, "He was taken from prison and judgment," which does not accord with the evangelical biography, as Christ is not said to have been cast into prison; in the R. V., however, the passage is rendered, "By oppression and judgment he was taken away," and thus the discrepancy is removed. The whole passage in Isaiah refers to the Jewish Messiah or the servant of Jehovah, and we have no authority in the writings of Paul to identify the Jewish Messiah with Christ. The Jewish rabbis never

¹ The Rev. Canon Evans, Professor of Greek in the University of Durham, who wrote the Commentary on First Corinthians in the *Speaker's Commentary*, does not attempt to indicate the passages in the Scriptures. His remarks are: "'According to the Scriptures,' i.e., of the Old Testament. Why does St Paul append this clause? Because in his time it was known to all that the man Jesus was slain on the Cross, but it was known comparatively to few that the same Jesus was the predicted Messiah who thus died for the sins of mankind in fulfilment of the prophecies." The commentator, in fact, looks at the difficulty full in the face, and passes it by with a remark for which there is no proof whatever to be found in Christian history. Justin Martyr (c. A.D. 150), a great prophecy-monger, is the first Christian writer who dealt in prophecies regarding Christ. All such prophecies date from the second century, and they were presumably ferreted out by the stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles.

sanctioned the identity, nor did the Christians of the first century perceive it. This concordance is the outcome of the ingenuity of later theologians, beginning with Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian. The other references given in Reference Bibles are wide of the mark, and it is folly to assert that they were prophecies referring to Christ, even if they be regarded as prophecies at all. For example, Hosea vi. 2, "After two days will he revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him," is given as the prophecy bearing on the second of the verses quoted from Paul that Christ was buried and rose on the third day. Theologians deal with their followers as if the latter were simpletons; and indeed they call them a 'flock,' and regard them as possessing the intellect of sheep. But such foolish appeals to prophecy cannot be accepted by sensible men and women, and they cannot deter them from regarding the words "according to the scriptures" as interpolations. Paul certainly knew no prophecy which predicted Christ; and Marcion, following him, was right in the rejection of the alleged predictions of the Hebrew prophets. There are no Hebrew prophecies bearing on Christ to be found in the Marcionite Gospel.¹

The statements of Irenæus and Tertullian regarding the abolition or separation of the law and prophets from the Gospel were made in order to justify their charge that Marcion removed from the Gospel of Luke everything that did not accord with his views. But as the converse statement that the orthodox Church added to the Marcionite Gospel what was necessary for its purposes may be made on corresponding grounds, I do not think this recrimination is of any assistance in settling the question of the priority of either Gospel. That question must be settled on altogether different grounds, and when the priority of either is definitely decided, the reason of the abridgment or enlargement will become apparent, and be a corroboration.

I attach to this chapter copious extracts from the writings of Justin Martyr and Irenæus, who were contemporaries of Marcion, and in

¹ The Oxford Professor of Theology, Dr Sanday, has allowed himself to be hoodwinked by Tertullian not only in the matter of the dropping from the sky and the visionary body of Jesus, but also in the subject of the rejection of Hebrew prophecy. He gravely states that Jesus sanctioned the very prophecies which Marcion rejected (*Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 364). The learned Professor has seized the wrong end of the stick. He ought to have shown that Jesus recognised the prophecies regarding his virgin birth and others of the like sort, which were the prophecies unknown to Paul and rejected by Marcion. It is to tilt at windmills, to fish up prophecies on general subjects. Dr Sanday largely parted with common-sense when he found a prophecy or "reference to a prophecy" in Jesus' address to Peter, "Thou shalt catch men." Justin Martyr was a diligent prophecy-monger, but he stopped short of this. Of prophecies of this description, I can easily find a dozen in the Scriptures to apply to Professor Sanday himself.

whose writings I can find no support for Tertullian's untruths regarding the dropping of Jesus from the sky in full costume at the mature age of thirty, and the visionary body of Jesus.¹ The reader who may wish to investigate the subject for himself will find useful the following references to the pages of the translation of Irenæus in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Vol. i.: 98, 118, 119, 124, 129, 240, 259, 263, 266, 292, 295, 301, 309, 314, 320, 372, 389, 390, 412, 474, 475. Vol. ii.: 7, 58, 64, 127. These are all the passages, and they are sufficiently numerous, in which the doctrines of Marcion are discussed or alluded to by Irenæus. In vol. i. p. 342, ii. p. 56, docetism is alluded to, but not in connection with Marcion. The extracts from Justin comprise everything that Justin wrote of Marcion, that has come down to us. I am responsible for the accuracy and fidelity of the translation of all the passages from Justin and Irenæus that follow this chapter. The texts that I have followed are those of Otto and Stieren respectively.

Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, has many notices of Marcion and of the numerous writers who discussed his heresy. But while he refers to the just and good Gods of Marcion, quoting from Irenæus (*Ecc. Hist.*, iv. 11), and vaguely to the alleged mutilations of the Scriptures, he makes no mention whatever of the theory of the dropping from the sky and of the docetism of Marcion, which Tertullian declared were prominent views of the heretic. Eusebius was acquainted with Latin, and quotes Tertullian, and it can hardly be supposed that the work of this author, *Against Marcion*, was unknown to him, though he never alludes to it. He informs us that the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian is "also translated into Greek," but he quotes from the Latin original or, as he says "word for word," κατὰ λέξιν (*ib.*, ii. 2). Marcion's heresy excited considerable commotion in his times, and numerous contemporary authors, who were mostly Asiatics and of the Asian or Eastern Church, wrote in refutation of it. Eusebius refers to the works of several of Marcion's antagonists, which were preserved in his times, fourth century, but have since perished. He refers to the book, *Against Marcion*, of no mean character, written by the accomplished Theophilus, author of *Ad Autolycum* (*ib.*, iv. 24); to the elaborate work of Philip, Bishop of Gortyna, of Irenæus, and of Modestus, who, beyond all others, thoroughly exposed the heresy (*ib.*, iv. 25). And he adds, many others have also written whose works were carefully preserved to his day. Amongst these he mentions elsewhere an Epistle addressed by Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, to the Nicomedians (*ib.*, iv. 23), and a work by Rhodo, a native

¹ Irenæus speaks of the putative body of Jesus, but he nowhere attributes this view to Marcion.

of Asia, and disciple of Tatian. All the above writers were contemporaries of Marcion, with the exception perhaps of the last, who wrote in the second century, but some years after the death of Marcion, as he speaks of the divisions that arose in the Church of the heretic. It is certainly remarkable that with all this amount of contemporary historical literature before him, Eusebius is silent on the picturesque theology which Tertullian attributed to Marcion. I have not found any allusion made by Eusebius to Tertullian's work, *Against Marcion*; but it should be remembered that Tertullian left the orthodox camp for the Montanist. I, however, recognise in Eusebius selections from the choice phraseology and vituperation of Tertullian, such as the "Mariner Marcion," and "sunk into licentiousness," etc. (*ib.*, v. 13).

While no writer of the second century has, as far as I can ascertain, attributed the theories of the dropping from the sky and docetism to Marcion, both theories were alleged against them by only two writers of the third century, viz., Tertullian and Hippolytus (see p. 53). Clement of Alexandria observes reticence on these subjects, but he objects to Marcion's views on matrimony; but on this point Marcion followed Paul (1 Cor. vii.; *Strom.*, ii. and iii.). Origen is also silent on the same subjects, but he refers to Marcion's view of the birth of Jesus. "Marcion, I suppose, took sound words in a wrong sense, when he rejected His birth from Mary, and declared that as to His divine nature He was not born of Mary, and hence made bold to delete from the Gospel the passages which have this effect" (*On John*, x. 4, Ante-Nicene Ch. Lib., add. volume, p. 384). The whole passage in this part of Origen's commentary gave him an opportunity for declaring the Tertullianic allegations regarding the descent from the sky and the docetism of Marcion; but he abstained from using the opportunity. In the first half of the fourth century, Eusebius did not attribute either view to Marcion; and in the second half, Epiphanius, who had also a good knowledge of the Marcionite literature, though he discovers several docetic mare's nests in the Marcionite Gospel, is silent regarding the dropping from the sky. The subject of Marcion's Gospel appears to have lost interest in the succeeding centuries, until the close of the eighteenth century, when the German theologians took it up, and awoke an interest in it which has steadily increased ever since.

It is to be remarked that of modern English theologians, Bishop Lightfoot is the only one who has persistently dropped the story of the descent from the sky, though it is to be regretted that he maintains the alleged docetism of Marcion. I have no recollection

of any allusion to the dropping from the sky in any of Bishop Lightfoot's writings. It is further to the credit of the great Anglican prelate that he has expended a few generous and influential words in vindicating the character of Marcion from the false and disgraceful aspersions of Tertullian (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, iv., Polycarp, p. 119).

EXTRACTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF JUSTIN MARTYR AND IRENÆUS
ON THE THEOLOGICAL VIEWS OF MARCION.

JUSTIN MARTYR (A.D. 150).

I.

Also a certain man Marcion of Ponticus, who is now still living, and teaching those who believe in him that some other god greater than the Demiurge is acknowledged; who in every race of men, by the co-operation of dæmons, has caused many to speak blasphemies and to deny God the maker of everything, but to agree that another God, as being greater, had done greater things than that.—*First Apol.*, xxvi.

II.

And, as we said before, the evil dæmons put forward Marcion, the man from [or of] Pontus, who even now teaches to deny God the maker of all heavenly and earthly things, and Christ his son who was preached¹ by the prophets, and announces some other God besides the maker of all things, and similarly another son; whom as alone understanding the truth, many believing laugh at us, having no proof whatever of the things which they say: but unreasonably, like sheep carried away by a wolf, they become the prey of godless doctrines and dæmons.—*First Apol.*, lviii.

III.

In his book against Marcion, Justin well says: I should not have believed the Lord himself, announcing another God, except our framer, maker and nourisher. But because from the one God, who hath made this world and formed us, and holds and administers all

¹ προκηρυχθέντα is incorrectly translated in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Justin (p. 57), 'predicted' by the prophets; the Greek word does not contain the idea of prediction or prophecy, but of proclamation or public announcement. Justin's reference is to the stipendiary or ten per cent. prophets of the second century; by their mistranslation, due to theological preconceptions, the Ante-Nicene translators mislead their readers, who are likely to form the wrong impression that Justin's reference is to the Hebrew prophets, who did not predict Christ at all, though theologically supposed to do so. Otto's edition is here followed.

things, the only-begotten Son came to us, fashioning his own substance in himself,¹ my faith towards him is firm and my love towards the Father immoveable, God bestowing both upon us.—*Irenæus*, Bk. iv. vi. 2.

IRENÆUS.

I.

And Cerdo, one of those who are on the side of Simon, receiving opportunity when he had come to Rome under Hyginus, who had the eighth place of the episcopate by succession from the apostles, taught that he who was announced God by the law and the prophets is not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the former was known, but the latter unknown; and the one was indeed just, but the other good.

But Marcion of Pontus succeeding him amplified his doctrine, shamelessly blaspheming him who was announced God by the law and prophets; saying that he was a doer of evils, desirous of wars, and capricious and inconsistent with himself. But that Jesus from that Father, who is God above the maker of the world, coming to Judæa in the times of Pontius Pilate the ruler, who was the procurator of Tiberius Cæsar, was manifested in the form of man to those who were in Judæa, dissolving the prophets and the law and all the works of that God, who made the world, whom also he calls the Cosmocrator. And besides this, cutting short the Gospel which is according to Luke and removing all things, which were written concerning the generation of the Lord, and removing many things from the doctrine of the words of the Lord, in which the Lord was clearly written down as confessing that his Father was the maker of this universe; and he persuaded his disciples that he himself was more veracious than are those who have delivered the Gospel, the apostles;² delivering to them, not the Gospel, but a small part of the Gospel. But similarly also he clipped the epistles of the apostle Paul, removing whatsoever was clearly said by the apostle concerning that God, who made the world, that he was the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and whatsoever the apostle calling to mind has taught from the prophetic writings predicting the coming of the Lord.—Bk. i. xxvii. 1, 2.

¹ I am at a loss how to understand and translate this clause, "*suum plasma in semetipsum recapitulans*." Justin had a strange notion that Jesus made himself, as I understand his argument in his *First Apology*, xxxiv.; that it was the Word, and not the Holy Ghost, who overshadowed his virgin mother. The Ante-Nicene Christian Library translates thus: "Summing up His own handiwork in Himself." See *Irenæus*, vol. i. p. 390.

² The apostles here spoken of are not the Twelve Apostles, but the stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles of the second century.

II.

But this man [Marcion], since he is the only one who has dared to clip the Scriptures, and shamelessly above all others to disparage God, we shall specially contradict, refuting him from his writings; and from those discourses of the Lord and the apostle, which are esteemed by him, and which he uses, we shall effect his overthrow, God helping.—Bk. I. xxvii. 4.

III.

For when they [the heretics] are confuted from the Scriptures, they are turned in accusation against the very Scriptures, as if they are not correct, nor are of authority, and because they are variously stated, and because the truth cannot be discovered from them by those who are ignorant of tradition. For it was not delivered by letters, but *viva voce*; for which reason Paul also has said: But we speak wisdom amongst the perfect; but not the wisdom of this world. And each one of them says that this wisdom, which each had discovered by himself, is in fact fiction, so that according to them the truth is rightly, sometimes in Valentinus, but sometimes in Marcion, sometimes in Cerinthus; then afterwards it was in Basilides, or even in him who disputes adversely, who can say nothing salutary. For each one of them perverse in every way, depraving the rule of truth, is not ashamed to preach himself.

When again we refer them to that tradition, which is from the Apostles,¹ which is preserved in the churches by the successions of presbyters; they are opposed to tradition, saying that they, being wiser, not only than the presbyters, but even than the apostles,¹ have found the pure truth. For *they say* that the apostles¹ had mixed up the things which are of the law with the words of the Saviour; and that not only the apostles,¹ but the Lord himself has made speeches sometimes from the Demiurge, sometimes from the intermediate place, and sometimes from the highest place; and that they, in fact, without doubt, without intermixture, and purely, know the hidden mystery; which indeed is most impudently to blaspheme their maker. And so it comes that they yield consent neither to the Scriptures nor to traditions.—Bk. II. I, 5.

IV.

For all, who are of evil mind, stirred by that legislation which is according to Moses, judging it to be dissimilar and contrary to

¹ Irenæus here means the stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles of the second century.

the doctrine of the Gospel, have not now applied themselves to enquire into the causes of the difference of each Testament. Since therefore they have been deserted by the paternal love, and are filled by Satan, being turned towards the doctrine of Simon Magus, they have withdrawn their minds from him, who is God, and have thought that they themselves have found out more than the apostles,¹ in finding another God. And that the apostles,¹ still entertaining *views* which are of the Jews, had announced the Gospel; but that they are purer and wiser than the apostles. Whence also Marcion and those who are from him have turned to the clipping of the Scriptures, indeed not recognising some at all, but curtailing the Gospel according to Luke and the Epistles of Paul, say that these alone are genuine, which they have shortened. But we, God granting, shall refute them, in another writing, out of those which are still preserved by them. But all the rest, inflated by the name of science, indeed confess the Scriptures, but they change the interpretations, as we have shown in the first book. And indeed those who are from Marcion at this moment blaspheme the Maker, saying that he is the doer of evils, having a more tolerable proposition of his beginning, saying that there are two gods naturally, distant from each other, one indeed good, but the other evil.—Bk. III. xii. 12.

V.

Again that they might remove the rebuking and judicial *power* from the Father, thinking it unworthy of God, and concluding that they had discovered a God without anger and good, they have said that the one judges and the other in fact saves; ignorantly taking away the intelligence and justice of both. For if he who is judicial is not also good, for rewarding those to whom it is due, and for reproaching those for whom it is needful, he will appear neither a just nor a wise judge. Again, the good *judge*, if he is only good, and not also one who tests those upon whom he may send his goodness; he will be outside justice and goodness, and his goodness will seem feeble, not saving all, if it be not made with judgment.

Therefore Marcion himself, dividing God into two, saying one is indeed good, and the other judicial, destroys God on both *points*. For he that is judicial, if he be not also good, is not God, because he is not God, to whom goodness is wanting; and again he who is good, if he is not also judicial, suffers the same as this, as it is taken away from him that he should be God. But how do they call the Father of all wise, if they do not assign to him a judicial *power*? For if

¹ The apostles here spoken of are not the Twelve, but the stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles of the second century.

wise, he is also a tester : but judicial *power* is inherent in the tester ; but justice follows the judicial *power*, that it may test justly ; justice calls forth judgment ; but judgment when it is made with justice will pass over to wisdom. Therefore in wisdom will the Father excel all human and angelic wisdom, because he is the Lord, and judge, and the just, and ruler over all. For he is good, and merciful and patient, and saves those whom he ought ; nor is good justly done wanting to him, nor is his wisdom lessened ; for he saves those whom he ought to save, and judges those worthy of judgment ; neither is justice unmercifully displayed, goodness certainly going before and preceding.—Bk. III. xxv. 2, 3.

VI.

For the Lord showing himself to the disciples that he himself is the Word, who imparts knowledge of the Father, and reproving the Jews who think that they have God, when they reject his Word, by whom God is known, said : No man knoweth the Son except the Father, nor knoweth anyone the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son has willed to reveal *him*. So Matthew has put it, and Luke similarly, and Mark the very same ; for John omitted this passage. But those who would be wiser than the apostles write it thus : No man knew the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and he to whom the Son willed to reveal *him* ; and they interpret *it* as if the true God was known to no one before the coming of our Lord ; and they say that that God who was announced by the prophets is not the Father of Christ.

But if Christ then began to be in existence, when he effected his advent as man, and the Father bethought himself to provide for man from the times of Tiberius Cæsar, and the Word was not always shewn to have been in existence together with his substance ; not then indeed was it reasonable that another God should be announced, but that the causes of each want of care and negligence should be enquired into. But it is fitting that no such question should arise, and should grow to such strength, as that it may indeed change God and purge out our faith which is towards the Maker, who nourishes us by his dispensation (*conditionem*). For as we direct our faith to the Son, so also ought we to have a firm and immoveable love towards the Father.—Bk. IV. vi. 1, 2.

VII.

Moreover he (*i.e.*, the spiritual disciple) will examine the doctrine of Marcion, how he understands that there are two Gods, separated from each other by an infinite distance. Or how he should be good, who withdraws men not his own, from him who made them, and

calls them to his own kingdom? And why his goodness should be defective, not saving all? and why he seems good indeed towards men, but most unjust towards him who made men, taking away from him what are his? Moreover how did the Lord, if he is of another Father, receiving bread of that dispensation (*conditionis*) which is according to us, with any justice acknowledge that it is his body, and affirm the mixed cup *to be* his blood? And why did he acknowledge that he was the Son of man, if he did not undergo that generation which is of man?¹ Further, how could he forgive us the sins, for which we are answerable to our Maker and God? How again when he was not flesh, but appeared as a man, he was crucified, and blood and water came out from his pierced side? And what body have the buriers buried, and what was that which rose from the dead? —Bk. iv. xxxiii. 2.

¹ This statement or question is explained by Irenæus' previous account that Marcion removed from the Gospel of Luke "all things written concerning the generation of our Lord." Marcion certainly rejected the mythological story of Jesus' birth. See No. I. of these extracts. The present statement is a wide amplification of the earlier statement, and is clearly an afterthought. It is folly to say that Marcion denied the birth of Jesus, because he rejected the evangelical account of it.

CHAPTER III.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS BEARING ON THE INVESTIGATION OF THE TEXT OF THE ORIGINAL CANONICAL AND MARCIONITE GOSPELS.

It was with much surprise that I became aware of the fact that English theologians have not hitherto investigated the Marcionite Gospel—that is, have not attempted to extricate this Gospel from the Canonical Gospel in which it has lain embedded for seventeen centuries. All their knowledge and all their opinions regarding this Gospel have been second-hand, that is, derived from the researches of German theologians. As many of the latter who came to the conclusion that the Marcionite Gospel was a piracy, obtained their support and countenance, while the few who came to the contrary conclusion were ignored. The want of personal and original investigation on their own part renders the opinions of English theologians on this subject of little or no value. I think our clergy have abstained from personally examining the subject, and from consulting the sources of knowledge available in our times, not from any want of erudition, of industry, or of leisure and facilities for study, all of which are abundantly at their command, but simply from the absence of independence of position. The beneficed clergyman, be he bishop, or dean, or incumbent, who is bold enough to examine critically the Fathers who deal with the Marcionite Gospel, and who may unfortunately form the opinion that this Gospel was the original from which the Canonical Gospel had been constructed, would most assuredly incur the certain penalty of being ejected from any ecclesiastical position he may be in possession of, be it bishopric, deanery, rectory or vicarage, professor or teacher of any subject in a theological institution. The ejection of Bishop Colenso from his diocese, of the Rev. Dr Momerie from the chair of Logic at King's College, and of the Rev. Dr Davidson from the Presbyterian ministry, has been a warning to the clergy. The loss

of the means of one's livelihood is a very effective check to original investigation and to the expression of independent opinion. The position of German theologians, or of such of them as have had the good fortune to be appointed to University Professorships, is favourable to original and independent investigation and expression of opinion. The German University Professor of Theology is free from the danger of expulsion from his office, as he enjoys by statute the privilege of immovability from office, in the same sense in which our English judges are independent in the expression of judicial conclusions in the discharge of their high functions. Another motive may reasonably be regarded as operating upon our clergy to deter them from original theological investigation. The minds of many of them—and their number, in my opinion, is fairly considerable—have enlarged and been enlightened to the same extent as those of the laity by the progress of scientific knowledge and of liberal or free thought. The theological fictions and ineptitudes which the lucrative profession by which they gain their livelihood, requires of them to accept and disseminate as truths, already are a dead weight on their consciences. They fear to add to the incubus by the discovery of fresh fictions, which original and independent investigation would probably disclose. This fear prevails largely even amongst the laity, and there is no secrecy about it; and it leads them to discountenance and to refuse to hear the expression of liberal theological thought, and the conclusions of liberal or free theological investigation. The fettered minds of the more learned and energetic clergy find an outlet for their activities in the investigation, sifting, winnowing, and storing, and even planting of the husks of theology.

This book contains the steps and the conclusion arrived at of the first original investigation of the Marcionite Gospel made in England. I have no accurate detailed knowledge of the investigations made by German scholars, as I have designedly abstained from subjecting my judgment in this enquiry to the warping influence of other minds. My information regarding German methods and conclusions is limited to what can be found in the scanty references to them made in the writings of English theologians, as I have avoided the study of the writings of German investigators of the Gospel. So far as I know, my method of investigation and of comparison of the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels essentially differs from German methods at the very outset. I have formed the impression that German scholars compare the Marcionite Gospel with the Canonical Gospel of the present day. This I regard as an error, such as would, for example, be the comparison of an English full-grown

man with a Japanese child. The result of such a comparison will be futile and of little value for any reasonable purpose. I believe in this enquiry the only real and useful comparison is that of the Marcionite Gospel with the Canonical Gospel of its own date, namely, of the second century. The comparison, to be of practical use, must be between the rival gospels of the same date. Such a comparison involved the labour of extricating the Marcionite Gospel, which German scholarship has accomplished, as well as that of ascertaining the contents and arrangement of the Canonical Gospel of the second century, which German theologians have overlooked. The latter task I have found more intricate and laborious than the former. The ancient authorities whom I have followed are Irenæus of the second century, the earliest writer on the Gospel; Tertullian, of the beginning of the third century; Epiphanius, of the fourth century, and all the writers intervening in date between these, who quote the Gospel. In general, from necessity, I assume all the texts quoted by the later writers to be taken from the second century Canonical Gospel, ordinarily giving a preference, in the case of divergency of reading, to the individual writers in chronological sequence. I have found in one remarkable passage, which has caused me more embarrassment than almost any other, viz., Luke iv. 16-31, two divergent readings, one given by Origen and the other by Epiphanius, writers who are apart from each other by nigh a hundred years. The reading of Origen is more like that of our present Gospel, while the reading of Epiphanius corresponds with the Marcionite Gospel. I have given the preference to the reading of Epiphanius, as that of a writer who had specially undertaken the task of indicating the differences between the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels. The reading of Origen I regard as an innovation on the original text, which, though not corresponding with the text in use by Epiphanius, has since his time been adopted, with the sanction of the Church, in the Canonical Gospel. A considerable difficulty at the beginning of my investigation practically disappeared when I discovered the fact that there had been an interchange and shuffling of verses and passages between the three Synoptic Gospels since their first publication as Canonical Writings in the second century. For instance, the parable of the prodigal son was not in Luke in the second century, but in Matthew, and probably occupied a position after the parable of the lost sheep in ch. xviii. 12-14. Again, the passages, Matt. v. 17, "I am not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them," and xv. 24 and 26, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to the

dogs," were in Luke, and formed the substance of the teaching of the Lord in the synagogue at Capernaum (Luke iv. 31). As Tertullian¹ himself is the authority for the existence of these verses in Luke and their absence in the Marcionite Gospel, their disappearance from the present Canonical Gospel was clearly not due to the process of clipping and mutilation of which Marcion was accused by Tertullian, but of which some persons on the orthodox side must have been guilty. The fact of the presence of these verses in the Canonical Gospel in the second century, but not in the Marcionite Gospel, and their subsequent removal from the former, is in favour of the view that they were an addition made to the Third Gospel in the second century, when the Marcionite strife was green. Recrimination is not possible in this instance; and hence comes forth the great value of the task I have undertaken of restoring the text of the Canonical Gospel as it was in the second century. Another fact of insertion of a verse and its subsequent removal is the verse now found in Matt. v. 45, "raining upon the good and evil, and making the sun to rise upon the just and unjust." Tertullian is the authority for the fact that this verse was in the Canonical Gospel of Luke in the second century, for he says distinctly that Marcion dared to erase from the Gospel "this testimony of Christ to the Creator" (*Anti-Marcion*, ii. 17). This verse was absent in the Marcionite Gospel, but existed in the Canonical Gospel of Luke of the second century; it is no longer to be found in that Canonical Gospel. The final clause of Luke iv. 16, and verses 17, 18, 19, and the initial clause of verse 20, were not in the Gospel in the second century, but in the Gospel of Mark, in which the passage was probably placed after ch. i. 21. The subject of this passage was the reading from the prophet Isaiah, lxi. 1-7:

¹ Bishop Westcott says that "Tertullian does *not* say that Marcion removed Matt. xv. 24, 26 from *St Luke*. He simply challenges him to take away from the Gospel what was a well-known part of it (Marcion *aufer* [not *aufert*] etiam illud de Evangelio. . . . *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 7)" (*Canon of N. T.*, p. 315, footnote, 6th ed.). The letter *t* was perhaps omitted by the scribe; but retaining the imperative mood, there can be no mistake, from the context, that Tertullian asserts that Marcion removed these texts from the Gospel of Luke. It would be simply a fool's act to challenge Marcion, a dead man, to remove these texts from the Gospel of Matthew, about which he did not care a penny when living, even if he happened to have known of its existence, which he did not. Theologians are unfortunately very often in great extremities, and catch at straws, which in this case is the letter *t*. The amiable bishop has not, however, disputed the existence of Matt. v. 17 in the Gospel of Luke, which was removed, according to Tertullian, by Marcion; but the bishop knows as well as I do who removed it after the second century; but theologians discreetly maintain silence on that point. Volckmar gets over the difficulty occasioned by Tertullian's statement that these verses, now in Matthew, were originally in Luke, by boldly maintaining that Tertullian did not compare the Marcionite Gospel with the Canonical Gospel of Luke, but with Matthew! (See p. 582.)

"The spirit of the Lord is upon me," etc.; "this day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears." In the present Gospel of Luke this scene is represented to have taken place in the synagogue at Nazareth; but Irenæus quotes the passage and states that it was read by the Lord at Capernaum (Bk. iv. xxiii. 1); the probable place for it having been after Mark i. 21 and before verse 22, in which the people are said to have been astonished at his doctrine. Luke is credited with the parable of the Good Samaritan, and the parable is complacently granted to Marcion also; but there is neither the authority of Tertullian, of Epiphanius nor of any other ancient theologian for this unjustifiable proceeding. I have found no trace of this parable in the Canonical Gospel of Luke of the second century, nor in any of the other Canonical Gospels; neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius speaks of it. There is a good trace of the parable to be found in the writings of Irenæus, but it is not the parable of the Canonical Gospel, but manifestly was derived from some other source. The only conclusion that I can come to is that the apocryphal incident was worked up into the beautiful parable of the Gospel, and inserted into the Third Gospel in later times. The discovery of this fact was also a consequence of my recovery of the contents of the Third Gospel as they were in the second century; and there are various other useful and important points of evidence which I have thus been enabled to perceive.

I am greatly indebted to Irenæus for the recovery of the local position in the Canonical Gospel of the second century of numerous passages and incidents recorded in that Gospel, such as the miraculous draught of fishes, the woman who suffered for eighteen years, the man with dropsy, the selection of the uppermost rooms, the importunate seeker for loaves at night, the story of Lazarus, and many others. Tertullian gives us the local order of the same passages and incidents in the Marcionite Gospel. There was, according to Irenæus, a very considerable divergence between the two Gospels in the second century, in the relative position occupied in each Gospel by corresponding passages and incidents. When we come to examine the two Gospels in the fourth century with the help of Epiphanius, we find the local position of the passages and incidents enumerated by Irenæus to be the same in both Gospels, the order in which these passages and incidents are recorded being, however, that of the Marcionite Gospel. When we compare the Canonical Gospel of the fourth century (Epiphanius' copy) with the Marcionite with regard to passages and incidents not enumerated by Irenæus, we still find divergences in the position of verses and passages. But when we compare the Canonical Gospel of the present day with the

Marcionite Gospel, we find several of the divergences which can be noted in Epiphanius' dissertation to have disappeared ; and that the order of passages and verses in the Gospel of the present day is identical with that of the Marcionite Gospel, while some fresh divergences are discovered which did not exist in the fourth century in the days of Epiphanius. Thus it becomes apparent that while the relative sequence of passages and incidents in the Marcionite Gospel, as they are detailed in order by Tertullian, has been fixed and stationary, it had been greatly changed in the Canonical Gospel in the early centuries, and the marked tendency of the change was towards complete assimilation with the Marcionite Gospel. On this ground, the reversion of the imitation or offspring to the original type, the conclusion may be justly drawn that the Marcionite Gospel was the original from which the Canonical Gospel sprung and to which it had practically reverted in the fourth century, when the Marcionite Church was greatly on the decline, and of no serious consequence, as a rival, to the parent church. The importance of the relative order of passages in the Canonical Gospel of the second century is so great that I have no doubt theologians will exert their ingenuity to weaken the proof of it. They are likely to take advantage of the fact that Irenæus was the only writer who details the contents of the Canonical Gospel of the second century, and to maintain that he referred to the passages at random just as his memory suggested them, and not in the actual order in which they followed each other in the Canonical Gospel. There certainly is not much direct corroboration to be found,¹ and this is a very serious general difficulty in the path of the investigator in the dark regions of the second century. But I do not think the objection can be seriously maintained. We are in a position to test the sequence of a part of the table of contents of the Canonical Gospel which Irenæus gives (Bk. III. xiv. 3). He gives the order of the first ten incidents recorded in the preliminary chapters, which were absent in the Marcionite Gospel, as we find them in the Canonical Gospel of the present day ; he quotes the three woes (Luke vi. 24, 25, 26), in the order in which they follow in the latter. He then proceeds to detail the rest of the contents of the Canonical Gospel, beginning with the draught of fishes, which is also a very early incident in the present Canonical Gospel, and ending with the meeting at Emmaus, which is also the final incident in both Gospels. So far the order can be tested, because it corresponds with our present Gospel. It is in the intervening fifteen incidents that the order in which Irenæus mentions them diverges from the

¹ There is, however, some corroboration, as Epiphanius speaks of the great divergence between the two Gospels in the position of passages (see page 84).

order in which we find them recorded in the present Canonical Gospel, and in the Marcionite Gospel. Thus in a long list of thirty (*i.e.*, 10 + 3 + 17) incidents or passages, the order of fifteen can be tested, and is found to accord with the order in the present Canonical Gospel; and there can be no doubt that was also the order in the Canonical Gospel of the second century. Thus one half of the list of incidents and passages being detailed in the order in which they followed each other in the original Canonical Gospel, the moral certainty is assured that the remaining incidents and passages were likewise recorded in the order in which they followed in the ancient Canonical Gospel. It is not the usual and natural manner of writers in detailing at length the contents of an important book to adopt an irregular order, to mention later and earlier incidents promiscuously. They naturally have the book before them and mention the incidents and passages in the order in which they find them recorded. I feel satisfied that the divergence in the order of passages was considerable between the Canonical Gospel of the second century which Irenæus used, and the Marcionite Gospel in the hands of Tertullian. Some divergence can be made out from the order in which Epiphanius in the fourth century makes his quotations from the Canonical Gospel of his period, in stating his scholia and refutations. But the divergences in the fourth century Canonical Gospel from the Marcionite Gospel were comparatively few, and do not justify the style in which Epiphanius describes them. I quote the translation of his remarks by Petavius (*Adv. Hær.*, lii. 11, vol. i. p. 312). "Neque tamen cætera ordine pertexit; verum quædam, ut diximus, amputat, addit alia, susque deque, quod aiunt, omnia perturbans, nec recta gradiens, sed malitiose huc illucque cursitas." Nor does he (*i.e.* Marcion) abide by the other things in order; but, as I have said, he cuts out some things, adds others up and down, not "going straight on, but wickedly going about hither and thither."¹ These words greatly exaggerate the differences between the Canonical Gospel of the fourth century and the Marcionite Gospel, after the removal of the preliminary chapters of the former which Epiphanius premises. I have not been able to find a discrepancy in the order of the fifteen incidents² in question between the Gospel in the hands of Epiphanius and the Marcionite Gospel. The only passage in the former which occupied a different position in the latter was the plucking of the ears of corn on the Sabbath day (Luke vi. 1-4), the position of which passage was not noted by Irenæus. It occupied a position between Luke ix. 44 and x. 21, in the Gospel in the fourth century, as it is in this sequence

¹ I translate the original Greek of Epiphanius.

² One of these fifteen incidents was, however, wanting in the Marcionite Gospel.

that Epiphanius quotes it in the consecutive passages of his scholia and refutations. This solitary dislocated passage or section has been restored in the Canonical Gospel of the present day to the position it originally occupied in the Marcionite Gospel. For these reasons I regard Epiphanius' remarks about the Marcionite Gospel not "going straight on, but wickedly going about hither and thither,"¹ as not applicable with reference to the Canonical Gospel which he had in his hands, and from which he quoted, but was based on his reminiscences of an older edition of the Canonical Gospel in which the divergence in the sequence of passages, compared with the Marcionite Gospel, was as considerable as Irenæus represents it to have been in his catalogue of contents. It would be folly to contend against the brute force of figures and of facts (see page 367).

There are certain passages in the Third Gospel which give me the impression of a sectarian origin, such as Luke viii. 3, xix. 2, and xxiv. 10 and 18. The names Joanna and Susanna, Chuza, Zacchæus, and Cleopas, are peculiar to the Third Gospel. In no other original Christian document of the second century are these names to be found. They are not found in the writings of Paul, the apostle of the first century, the earliest of Christian writers, nor of Justin Martyr, the last writer of the first half of the second century, nor of any intermediate author. These names are outside all orthodox Christian literature of the first one hundred and fifty years of the Christian era. Professor Sanday has noticed these facts; he says: "Among the documents peculiar to St Luke are some of a very marked and individual character, which seem to have come from some private source of information. Such, for instance, would be the document viii. 1-3, which introduces names unknown to the rest of the evangelical tradition, as Joanna and Susanna."² A trace of the same, or an

¹ Dr Sanday says: "Out of fifty-three sections peculiar to St Luke—from iv. 16 onwards—all but eight were found also in Marcion's Gospel. They are found, too, precisely in the same order"; (*Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 214). The remark is not absolutely correct, if applied to the Canonical Gospel of the days of Epiphanius. On the question of the order of the sections or passages of these two rival Gospels, Professor Sanday and other theologians were not acquainted with the order of the sections in the Canonical Gospel given by Irenæus. Thus one strong point of evidence of priority was totally overlooked by them, and this omission has led them astray. The fifty-three sections were not in the same order in the two Gospels in the second century; their order in the present Canonical Gospel is precisely the same as in the Marcionite Gospel of the second century, as detailed by Tertullian. Anyone can make the logical conclusion from these facts.

² "There is direct evidence for the presence in Marcion's Gospel of the passages relating to the personages here named except Martha and Mary; see *Tert. adv. Marc.*, iv. 19, 37, 43." Dr Sanday was ignorant of the fact that the interesting anecdote regarding Martha and Mary was absent not only in the Marcionite Gospel, but also in the Canonical Gospel in the second century, and even in the fourth century, in Epiphanius' copy of the Gospel. It was added to

allied document, appears in ch. xxiv., where we have again the name Joanna, and afterwards that of the obscure disciple Cleopas. Again, the mention of Martha and Mary is common only to St Luke and the Fourth Gospel. Zacchæus is peculiar to St Luke. Yet not only does each of the sections relating to these personages reappear in Marcion's Gospel, but it reappears precisely at the same place" (*Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 214 ff.). The mission of the seventy (Luke x. 1), the incident of Emmaus (xxiv. 13 ff.), and I am not sure whether I should not also add some others, viz., the story of Judas, and the character of an anchorite given to Jesus, are peculiar to the Third Gospel in the second century, and there is no evidence that these alleged incidents were known to orthodox Christians for the first hundred and fifty years. Such names, passages and incidents were, however, not contrary or opposed to the evangelical history or literature of the time; in fact, the name Cleopas was repeated in John xix. 25, the incident of Emmaus alluded to in Mark xvi. 12. They were slipped into the evangelical history without jar or disturbance of existing history. But it was otherwise with another passage which relates to John the Baptist. This personage was without doubt historical, and a contemporary of Jesus; but we have no reason for believing that he had any relations with Jesus. The Christian literature of the first century is absolutely silent regarding John the Baptist. We know, however, that he was introduced into Christian history in the first half of the second century. Justin gives a minute account of the baptism of Jesus by John. The Canonical Gospel of Luke of the second century relates the intimacy that existed between the mother of John and the mother of Jesus, founded on relationship and neighbourhood. The sons of these illustrious women were acquainted with each other from the uterine period, if any meaning is to be attached to Luke i. 41 and 44; Jesus was known to the mother of John the Baptist as the Lord in the foetal state. This information had been communicated to her by the Holy Ghost, there being no other conceivable source (Luke i. 41). John the Baptist and Jesus are brought together in after life, and the former baptised the latter, although the Baptist protested that the ceremony should be reversed. The whole evangelical story of the second century implies an intimate lifelong acquaintance between the two august personages, and that John the Baptist was perfectly aware of the high parentage and the sublime mission of Jesus. Now Marcion

the Canonical Gospel at a much later date. Regarding the stories of Mary and Martha in the Fourth Gospel, the reader is requested to peruse what I have written on this subject in my work on the *Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 131, 180, 255, 266, in which I have stated facts and reasons for the conclusion that these stories did not exist in the Fourth Gospel in the second century.

rejected all this evangelical history of John the Baptist and Jesus, and nothing of it was introduced into the Marcionite Gospel: although it would be unjustifiable to charge him with ignorance of the orthodox history. Marcion was aware that John the Baptist was a contemporary of Jesus. He has a proper reverence for him as a prophet, even greater than the ten per cent. prophets of the second century; he even admits that he was the subject of Hebrew prophecy, and actually quotes the perverted prophecy, "Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare the way before thee." Notwithstanding all this, however, John the Baptist and Jesus are represented in the Marcionite Gospel as absolute strangers to each other (see sect. xix. of the Marcionite Gospel). When the rumour that Jesus, a great prophet, had appeared, went forth through all Judæa and the region round about, the disciples of John are represented in the Marcionite Gospel to have informed him of it, and that John thereupon sent two of his disciples to Jesus, to enquire "Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?" Jesus' reply to the question of the messengers was the following: "Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached." And the final remark is added that John was offended with Jesus. There is no more characteristic Marcionite statement than this; it bears on the face of it the stamp of Marcion's theology. In his reply Jesus makes no pretension to divinity, or of being the subject of prophecy, but he directs the attention of John's messengers to the benevolent work that was being done, and that the gospel was preached. This was evidently not the reply that John's enquiry desiderated; was he the one that was to come, *i.e.*, was he the subject of Hebrew prophecy? John was offended at the answer; that is, he was annoyed or disappointed. The passage unquestionably possesses the Marcionite hall-stamp or water-mark; and it metaphorically bears the legend "Stolen from the Marcionite Gospel" indelibly marked upon it, to lead to its identification when found in alien possession. By some extraordinary oversight and mistake the whole passage was bodily transferred to the Canonical Gospel, the final remark that John was offended, or annoyed, or disappointed with Jesus the Christ, the subject of prophecy, God, the Word, the Creator of all things in heaven and earth, being subsequently toned down from its rugged abruptness, as will be seen on referring to the Canonical Gospel of the present day. The character of the passage in which John re-appears (Luke xx. 4-8), which was in the Marcionite Gospel, is essentially of a different stamp and complexion

from the passages in which John figures, which were not in the Marcionite Gospel, such as Luke i. 5-25, 40-80; iii. 3-22; vii. 29-35. The object of the former is merely to give force and point to a clever evasion of a difficulty; but the purpose and intent of the latter are doctrinal. In the Marcionite passages, John the Baptist is an indifferent personage, but in the purely canonical passages he is a very important person.

The above incident is not 'adulteration' in the Marcionite Gospel, as it is homogeneous and of the same import and quality as the rest of this Gospel. But transferred to the Canonical Gospel, it is 'adulteration' because it is not homogeneous and not in accord with the substance of the preliminary chapters recording the intimacy between the families of John and Jesus, the knowledge possessed by the former of the divine person and mission of the latter, and of the service rendered in baptising him. It cannot be disputed that the passage existed in the Marcionite Gospel; its presence in the Canonical Gospel can only be accounted for by appropriation from the Marcionite Gospel. If an example of 'adulteration' as clearly evident as the above can be discovered in the Marcionite Gospel, it would go a great way in condemning Marcion of piracy. But not one can be brought forward; but to establish a plausible charge of adulteration it was found necessary to falsify the views and doctrines of Marcion; that is, falsely to attribute to him the doctrines that Jesus dropped from the sky, was not born, and possessed a visionary body, and that there were two gods, and to put a forced and tortuous, or, as Professor Sanday calls it, a 'transcendental' construction on the statements in the Marcionite Gospel. The most important part, Bk. iv., of Tertullian's work, *Against Marcion*, is devoted to a demonstration of the 'adulteration' of the Marcionite Gospel. "I now pass," says Tertullian, "to the demonstration of the meanwhile adulterated Gospel, not indeed of Jewry but of Pontus" (*Anti-Marc.*, iv. 2). What he means by adulteration is thus explained by him. "But now henceforth we enter another stage, challenging, as we have declared, the very Gospel of Marcion, *who* even so shall prove that it was adulterated. For certainly the whole *thing* which he elaborated, even in laying down his antitheses, is summed up in this, that he may establish the diversity of the Old and New Testament;¹ hence that his Christ

¹ On this subject of the diversity of the Jewish and Christian dispensations. Tertullian was at bottom of the same opinion as Marcion. He says in an earlier passage: "I confess that one order had run in the old dispensation of the Creator, another in the new *dispensation* of Christ. I do not deny that the documents of discourse, the precepts of virtue, the discipline of the Law, are separate, while, however, the whole diversity is consistent with one and the same

was separate from the Creator, as of another god, *and* as an alien to the law and prophets. Thus it is certain he erased what was contrary to his opinion, *but* in harmony with the Creator, as if inserted by his advocates: but he reserved what agreed with his opinion. These we shall bring together, these we shall embrace, if they should be rather with us; if they should smite the presumption of Marcion, then will be established that with the same vice of heretical blindness some things were erased, and other things reserved; so will be the intention and form of our book, of course under that condition which should be appropriate on either side."¹ I confess that it is not easy to ascertain with precision the exact object or objects which Tertullian had in view in writing the fourth book, in which he deals with the Marcionite Gospel. He begins with describing the book as a demonstration that the Marcionite Gospel was adulterated, and I understand him to mean by this expression, that the Marcionite Gospel was really the Canonical Gospel, in which the portions that did not suit Marcion's views were erased, while the portions that did suit were retained. He makes no statement in this passage that Marcion added any fresh material, *i.e.*, material that was not found in the Canonical Gospel; nor do I remember that he makes such a statement elsewhere. I further understand him to mean that he will bring together or indicate the portions retained by Marcion, and also bring together or indicate the portions that were rejected by Marcion. If these two separated portions were on his side, he would embrace them, which I take to mean that his view of the Marcionite Gospel would triumph. If they were against Marcion, that circumstance would prove that the heretic was inflicted with uniform blindness both in his reservation and rejection of passages. Tertullian here takes no account of the possible contingency of the reservation and

God: him namely by whom, it is clear, it was arranged and also 'predicted.' Atque confiteor alium ordinem decucurrisse in veteri dispositione apud Creatorem, alium in nova apud Christum. Non nego distare documenta eloquii, præcepta virtutis, Legis disciplinas; dum tamen tota diversitas in unum et eundem Deum competat: illum scilicet a quo constat dispositam, sicut et prædicatam (iv. 1).

¹ Transeo nunc ad Evangelii, sane non Judaici, sed Pontici, interim adulterati demonstrationem (iv. 2). Sed alium jam hinc inimus gradum, ipsum (ut professi sumus) Evangelium Marcionis provocantes, sic quoque probaturi adulteratum. Certe enim totum quod elaboravit, etiam antitheses præstruendo, in hoc cogit, ut veteris et novi Testamenti diversitatem constituat; proinde christum suum a Creatore separatum, ut dei alterius, ut alienum Legis et Prophetarum. Certe propterea contraria quæque sententiæ suæ erasit, conspirantia cum Creatore, quasi ab assertoribus ejus intexta; competentia autem sententiæ suæ reservavit. Hæc convenimus, hæc amplectemur, si nobiscum magis fuerint; si Marcionis præsumptionem percusserint, tunc et illa constabit eodem vitio hæreticæ cæcitatibus erasa, quo ex hæc reservata: sic habebit intentio et forma opusculi nostri, sub illa utique conditione, quæ ex utraque parta condita sit (iv. 6).

rejection being on Marcion's side. That did not enter into his philosophy. His whole plan of procedure was based on the assumption that Marcion's Gospel was a piracy, and it would be thrown out of gear unless that was postulated from the beginning. Having stated so much, Tertullian proceeds to give a rule or law for the guidance of his readers in following his statements and arguments: viz., that as the difference between Marcion's Christ and the Canonical Christ was as great as that "between just and good, between the Law and the Gospel, between Judaism and Christianity," therefore there ought to be nothing in common between them. This is as if a rule was formed that Jones being as different from Brown as looking straight from squinting, tall from short, lean from stout, there ought to be nothing in common between them. If Jones be caught eating a mutton chop, he ceases to be Jones but becomes Brown, who has a partiality for that viand. Adhering to his assumption that Marcion's God was a different being from the Creator, Tertullian says: "Hence will be our rule by which we lay down that there should be nothing common to the Christ of another God with the Creator: but he is to be pronounced *the Christ* of the Creator, if he should administer his dispensations, fulfil his prophecies, support his laws, make manifest his promises, restore his virtues, reform opinions, indicate manners and qualities. I beseech thee, reader, remember this compact and this rule in every part, and begin to investigate whether *it is* the Christ of Marcion or of the Creator" (Bk. iv. 6).¹ I understand from the preceding preliminary remarks of Tertullian, according to the best of my ability, that this theologian's primary object was to indicate to his readers how much of the Canonical Gospel was taken by Marcion and how much of it was rejected: this being what he calls adulteration. I conclude that he also means to indicate all that was taken, and all that was rejected, and not only a fractional part of either. This I take to be the meaning of the "condition which should be appropriate on either side." And I also conclude that Tertullian implies that the Marcionite Gospel consisted exclusively of a selection from the Canonical Gospel, and that no fresh material was added to it. These conclusions are of great importance as a guide in the extrication of the Marcionite Gospel from the Canonical Gospel. In the fourth book

¹ Hinc erit et nostra præscriptio, qua defigimus, nihil christo dei alterius commune esse debere cum Creatore: cæterum, Creatoris pronuntiandum, si administraverit dispositiones ejus; si impleverit prophetias ejus; si adjuverit leges ejus, si repræsentaverit promissiones ejus, si restauraverit virtutes ejus, si sententias reformaverit, si mores, si proprietates expresserit. Hujus pacti et hujus præscripti, quæso te, lector, memineris ubique, et incipe recognoscere aut Marcionis Christum aut Creatoris.

of Tertullian's *Anti-Marcion* is the whole substance of the Marcionite Gospel of the second century; and to add or to withdraw any passage from the Marcionite Gospel as he describes it, will be going beyond the record. This remark applies merely to the sections or passages or incidents in the Marcionite Gospel, but not to verses, clauses or words, for Tertullian's criticism was not in all instances minute. In addition to information regarding the Marcionite Gospel, we also gather information regarding the contents of the Canonical Gospel of the second century from Tertullian's remarks, and also from his silence or abstention from remark. For instance, in the case of the parable of the Prodigal Son, which we find in our Canonical Gospel, Tertullian preserves absolute silence regarding it; he does not say that it was wanting in the Marcionite Gospel, and that it was erased from the Canonical Gospel. He says nothing about it; and I think the legitimate inference from his silence is that the parable did not exist either in the Canonical Gospel of his day or in the Marcionite Gospel. In the case of the parable of the Good Samaritan the same phenomenon is remarked of complete silence; and I think the same inference is legitimate. Some other examples may be properly referred to here, such as the story of the daughter of Jairus (Luke viii. 41, 42, 49-56), the anecdote regarding Mary and Martha (x. 38-42), and Peter's cock, not his denial (xxii. 34, 60 and 61), which were wanting in both Gospels, since Tertullian does not speak of them. We have the means of verifying the correctness of my inference in the above cases; and I think it is justifiable to act upon this inference, as a rule, in all passages or incidents which Tertullian does not remark upon or refer to. It is sufficiently obvious that the "condition appropriate to either side," which Tertullian speaks of, meant that he would not suppress any incident or passage of Marcion's Gospel, nor fail to point out erasures. So far as I have been able to judge, Tertullian faithfully and honestly observed this condition.

We cannot, however, make any pretension to restore the Marcionite Gospel textually from Tertullian's discussions; we can only recover the passages, sections or incidents. For instance, in the story of the plucking of the ears of corn on the Sabbath (Luke vi. 1-5) we have no guarantee of the exact words of the Marcionite text, but we have the assurance that that incident existed in the Marcionite Gospel; and the text or actual words must be taken from our present Canonical Gospel. In several instances we have to be content with a very small hint or assurance of the existence of a passage. Thus the story of the Gadarene swine (Luke viii. 26-36) is only referred to by the use of the expressions a "multitude of demons calling itself

legion," and a "legion of devils." In several other instances we have to be satisfied of the existence of a whole passage, when perhaps a single sentence of it or only a clause or even a phrase is quoted by Tertullian; and sometimes we are driven to the extremity of accepting a passage, or part of a passage, as covered by his general remarks, although no special allusion is made to it. But with these exceptions, the allusions or references or notices are, in general, sufficiently explicit to be an absolute guarantee of the existence of the passage. I must further repeat that I have found no grounds for the suspicion that Tertullian tampered with the Marcionite Gospel, *i.e.*, that he intentionally put into it any passage or incident that it did not contain, or that he omitted any section, incident or passage that it did contain. There are, however, some passages regarding which more precise information than Tertullian actually gives would be desirable. This deficiency of information cannot, however, be regarded as tampering. I must express my conviction that Tertullian was honest on this point. I think that the doubts of the existence or non-existence of certain passages felt by other investigators of the Marcionite Gospel are due to some latent and unexpressed suspicion of Tertullian's accuracy, as well as to the feeling that Tertullian's main purpose being refutation, he did not consider that the passages not mentioned by him furnished material for this purpose, and hence he passed them over. At the beginning of my investigations I was similarly influenced; but the recovery of the Canonical Gospel of the second century has made clear to me the accuracy of Tertullian. He did not allude to certain passages now found in the Canonical Gospel, for the sufficient reason that he knew nothing about them, because they were not in the Canonical Gospel of his day as well as not in the Marcionite Gospel; or if he knew about them, they were in the other Canonical Gospels or in apocryphal writings, and not in Luke, and hence not relevant to the work he had in hand. Some of the doubts, or rather I should say paradisaic certainty, on certain passages are clearly due to the investigators having allowed themselves to be befooled by Tertullian's untruths, the dropping from the sky, the birthlessness and visionary body of Jesus. Thus I find in Bishop Westcott's table of the contents of the Marcionite Gospel, compiled from his set of German theologians (*Intr. to Study of Gospels*, Appendix D., p. 476, 8th ed.), the bishop's remark that in the passage Luke iv. 16, "And he came to Nazareth, *where he had been brought up*: and *as his custom was*, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day," the two clauses in italics are omitted in the Marcionite Gospel. The fact was, that the verse existed in its entirety in both the original Canonical and in the Marcionite Gospel,

and neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius says that it was mutilated in the latter. The bishop is thus absolutely without authority, and goes beyond the record in omitting the clauses. In fact, the amiable bishop and his set of German theologians could not, without falsifying the Marcionite text, overcome the anomaly of the birthless Jesus, who had dropped from the sky only the day before, having been brought up from childhood at Nazareth and of having the custom of attending the synagogue there. Professor Sanday, on the other hand, gives an outline of the omissions in the Marcionite Gospel which he takes from the work *Supernatural Religion*, the author of which prepared his list from the works of his set of German theologians. Dr Sanday gives the following omissions in ch. iv. thus: "iv. 1-13, 17-20, 24: the Temptation, the reading from Isaiah" (*The Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 213). In this list it will be seen that iv. 16 existed in full without mutilation in the Marcionite Gospel. This is strictly in accord with the facts of the case, for, as I have already said, neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius points out any erasure in this verse. The erasures were unjustifiably made by modern theologians who allowed themselves to be deceived by Tertullian's untruths; modern erasures so made are essentially falsifications of the Marcionite Gospel, and I regret to find Bishop Westcott again ranged on the side of falsification, though in good company. One perceives the honesty with which Tertullian, as I have already said, reports the Marcionite text from this passage. He abstains from falsely stating that Luke iv. 16 was mutilated by Marcion, although the unmutilated text furnishes strong proof of the untruthfulness of his own romance of the birthlessness and dropping from the sky of Marcion's Christ. Surely Tertullian could not have formed a high estimate of the intellect of his readers. Any nonsense, covered over with the draperies of sanctity, was humbly accepted by them with gaping mouths. The wonder, however, is that Tertullian's untruths have survived and been upheld for seventeen centuries by a learned profession. But "that is another story."

I think a digression is here advisable to meet an objection that theologians will probably make, that my statements that Tertullian fabricated untruths regarding Marcion's doctrines and yet refrained from falsifying his report of the Marcionite text, are self contradictory. I merely state the facts as I have found them. I have stated the historical grounds on which I charge Tertullian with falsifying Marcion's doctrines, by falsely attributing to him the doctrine of the descent from the sky, the birthlessness and visionary body of Jesus. My statement of the accuracy of his report of the Marcionite Gospel is confirmed by Epiphanius, between whose report and Tertullian's

was an interval exceeding a hundred and fifty years. I have not found a single serious discrepancy¹ regarding the Marcionite text in the accounts of Tertullian and Epiphanius; and I have no grounds on which I could question their accuracy. The Marcionite Gospel having been what both Tertullian and Epiphanius concur in detailing it, becomes in itself an accuser of Tertullian's untruthfulness; for there is nothing in the Marcionite Gospel which gives support to Tertullian's fabrications. To attribute to the same individual untruthfulness in one matter and truthfulness in another closely connected with the former, seems paradoxical, but it is unfortunately faithful to fact. Our complex human nature is full of paradox, the same individual frequently being a pattern of one virtue, but a victim of many vices; or a pattern of many virtues, but the slave of one vice. Even in the manifestation of the same virtues there are strange diversities amongst mankind. A man remarkably partial and kind to some animals may be ruthlessly cruel to others. A man may be honourable in his dealings with his fellows, but shamefully dishonourable in one direction. Of this we have had a remarkable example in recent times. A respectable man, of ancient family, the hereditary possessor of an ample estate, moving in the highest society, against whom was no reproach in any of the relations of life, had one vice—cheating at cards. All Englishmen lament with Macaulay the one failing of the great man whose life was “placidly, honourably, beneficially passed ‘in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries,’” who was “among the last Englishmen who sold justice.” Tertullian was not the first man in history who was honourable and true in many functions, but base and untruthful in one. We are all conversant with the history of a body of cultivated and devoted men, honourable and respectable in all the ordinary relations of life, but who cease to be so when the ‘glory of God’ is concerned; who for the ‘glory of God’ become treacherous, dishonourable, false, poisoners, forgers, and murderers, who regard that one object as superseding every human duty and justifying an infinity of dishonour and crime.² This was the body of whom the Fathers of the second century were the prototypes. It was for the gain of the Church that Irenæus and Tertullian deliberately fabricated and uttered falsehoods and dishonoured themselves; this was their motive in falsely defending as sacred and genuine, and commending

¹ I can only remember two discrepancies, which, however, are not serious. They are noticed on page 142 and page 224.

² The institution of Jesuitism, the organisation of cultured unscrupulousness and of trained deceit and hypocrisy, is the peculiar and unique offspring of Ecclesiastical Christianity. Nothing like it has sprung from any other religious system known to history.

to the veneration of Christians, the forged compilations called the Gospels. They did not scruple to utter falsehoods in defence of the Gospels, and in the general interests of the Church; but there they stopped. There is no evidence that the second century Fathers were untruthful and disreputable in the ordinary relations of life. I trust that my accusations of dishonourable conduct and untruthfulness against these Fathers will not be deemed to be broadcast, and be extended to the ordinary routine of their daily life. It is perhaps advisable that I should expressly limit the scope of my indictment to the acts and persons that I specify, lest ecclesiastical antagonists should unjustly make a too profuse and comprehensive application of it, as a few have already done.

It is solely with regard to passages now found in the Canonical Gospel of the present day, but which Tertullian passes over in silence, that doubts or differences of opinion arise in the minds of modern investigators. According to the ideas which the latter have found of the purpose and plan of Tertullian, some of them consider such unnoticed passages to have been absent in the Marcionite, others present, and a few cannot make up their minds and pronounce such passages, or some of them, as doubtful. The ideas that apparently have swayed the minds of theologians in judging of the probability of the presence or absence in the Marcionite text of these unnoticed passages are chiefly the consonance or disagreement of the latter with the doctrines of Marcion as they have been falsely announced by Tertullian, their suitability for purposes of refutation, and such like. Perhaps the deepest, but unexpressed, reason is the desire to evade the unpleasant inference that the Canonical Gospel of the second century was a shorter composition than the modern Gospel, and was minus a goodly portion of the contents of the latter. I have not allowed my mind to be swayed by dogmatic or speculative considerations which lie outside the sphere of textual criticism. My object is to discover the actual text of the Marcionite and of the Canonical Gospel of the second century; and I may describe the method I have adopted as purely mechanical, and, to speak metaphorically, carried out by the pick and spade, worked under the guidance of common-sense. It is, in fact, the historical method. I do not concern myself with the alleged meaning or scope or tendency of a passage, but I simply consider whether a passage is declared Marcionite or not. Where there is no positive, or even indirect, but fairly clear indication to be obtained from Tertullian that a passage was in the Marcionite Gospel or had been erased, I regard it as canonical, and introduced at a subsequent period into the Gospel of Luke. I think the data supplied by Irenæus, Tertullian and Epiphanius are ample and

reliable enough to enable us to make a practical and positive restoration of the Marcionite Gospel, and not simply a conjectural and speculative one, like that of the original writing of Cerinthus which I have attempted in my work on the Fourth Gospel.

It is quite feasible from the statements of the first two writers alone to separate not only the Marcionite Gospel from the Canonical Gospel, but also to recover the original of the latter. Both writers concur in stating that the Marcionite Gospel was a mutilation or abridgment of the Canonical, but neither of them suggests that any fresh matter had been introduced into the former. Thus we have not to search elsewhere for missing material. Tertullian informs us where the Marcionite Gospel began; and hence the conclusion is just that all the preceding chapters, Luke i., ii., and iii. and part of iv., were wanting in it. He moreover indicates the sections or passages or incidents contained in the Marcionite Gospel in their proper order, and further states the alterations that were made in these. Irenæus gives us information regarding the contents of the initial chapters, which according to Tertullian were excluded from the Marcionite Gospel; he further tells us of the order of a great many of the sections or passages of the Canonical Gospel. And in both writers some information can be gathered regarding individual verses, or clauses or even words. Neither of them tells us that any material from the Canonical Gospel was cut off at the conclusion of the Marcionite Gospel; hence the inference is just that both Gospels terminated with the same incident or passage. The ideas created in the mind by their accounts are that the Marcionite Gospel was bodily extracted from the Canonical Gospel, some changes being made in the material so taken; and that the Canonical Gospel consisted of the three preliminary chapters and part of the fourth, followed by the entire Marcionite Gospel, with the alterations removed. These two writers provide us with all the information needed for reconstructing out of our present Canonical Gospel, not only the Marcionite Gospel, but the original Canonical Gospel itself. When the latter, *i.e.*, the Canonical Gospel of the second century, has been recovered from our present Gospel, a considerable residuum is left which had no place in the original Gospel of the second century. This residuum can be satisfactorily accounted for only by being regarded as an after-growth, that is, as additions made to the original Gospel subsequently to its publication in the second century.

The chief value of Epiphanius in the investigation of the Marcionite Gospel is the corroboration he affords us of the accuracy of Tertullian's review. No passage that, according to Tertullian, was non-existent in the Marcionite Gospel—that is, that he passes over in silence—does

Epiphanius state to have existed in the latter. There are some discrepancies between the two authors, but these are of a very trifling nature or mere errors of Epiphanius, due to want of thought, or to changes made subsequently in the Marcionite Gospel. Such minor differences have been decided in favour of Tertullian as the more ancient and also the more robust and intelligent writer. It should be borne in mind that the copies of the Canonical and Marcionite Gospels in Tertullian's hands were not the same as those that Epiphanius used; there was an interval of nigh two centuries between these writers, during which period considerable interpolations and changes were introduced into the Canonical Gospel, and some were doubtless made in the Marcionite Gospel also. This fact should be duly regarded in judging the few discrepancies found between the reports of the two writers. In employing Epiphanius in the investigation of the contents of both Gospels, recourse must be had to the rule of contrary. When he tells us that a passage had been cut out by Marcion in his Gospel, that remark has an application to the Canonical Gospel of the second century, which was contemporary with the Marcionite Gospel. This application follows the rule of contrary; that is to say, the cutting of Marcion implies a corresponding interpolation or addition to the original Canonical Gospel. For instance, Tertullian is silent regarding the parable of the Prodigal Son; but Epiphanius tells us that Marcion cut out the parable. The legitimate inference is that the parable was not cut out from the Marcionite Gospel, but added to the Canonical Gospel. The rule is universally applicable without exception; that is, whenever Epiphanius tells us there was a cutting in the Marcionite Gospel, the real and essential meaning of the statement is that there was an addition or interpolation made to the Canonical Gospel of the second century, but no cutting in the Marcionite Gospel.¹ In another class of variances, where Tertullian tells us the Marcionite Gospel had erasures or omissions, regarding which Epiphanius is silent, the legitimate inference to be drawn is that the variances were removed—that is, that they were cut out from the Canonical Gospel. Tertullian tells us that various verses in the original Canonical Gospel of Luke now found in Matthew were erased by Marcion from his Gospel; Epiphanius is silent about them; hence the conclusion is, that they were removed from the Canonical Gospel. Again, Tertullian tells us that in Luke xii. 51 the Marcionite Gospel had the word 'division,' while the Canonical Gospel had 'sword.'

¹ Epiphanius' language was due to his ignorance of the original Canonical Gospel, and is similar to the ordinary phrase 'the sun rises.' The sun does not rise, but the earth sinks in its revolution on its own axis.

Epiphanius is silent on the subject ; hence the legitimate conclusion is that in Epiphanius' Gospel the word 'division' had been substituted for 'sword,' which latter word is not found in our present Gospel. Passages regarding which both Tertullian and Epiphanius are silent have no authority, plea, or pretence for being admitted into either Gospel. In the detailed examination of both Gospels that follows, every particular of variance is discussed. I have thought it desirable to introduce here and there the opinions and expressions of Tertullian and Epiphanius, although they are of no value in the critical investigation of the text, but they serve to diversify the monotony and to amuse the tedium of the perusal.

To summarise my procedure, I have followed implicitly and confidently the statements of Irenæus and Tertullian regarding the *text* of the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels, without heeding their representations regarding the *theology* and alleged *acts* of Marcion, both which latter do not come within the purview of textual criticism. What these writers say of the *text* of the two Gospels is alone my concern as a textual critic, and my guide in recovering the text of the two Gospels. Epiphanius affords subsidiary assistance. The theological views attributed to Marcion by these writers have no bearing on the text, and their explanations of the meaning of Marcionite passages are occasionally referred to, not as affording indications for the recovery of the text, but simply to amuse the reader by their quaintness and folly. The theological views attributed to Marcion by Tertullian have no connection with the actual text ; and I have devoted a chapter to their consideration, in which I have demonstrated their historical falsehood. When historical information, *i.e.*, quotations of or representations regarding the text, is wanting, the textual critic has, from necessity, to apply his ingenuity to discover the original text. It is then only legitimate to consider the connection or consistency of meaning of a passage, or the known views, historically verified, of the author, or even other circumstances. So far as I remember, I have had recourse to the consideration of consistency of meaning, in one solitary passage (Luke xvi. 9), where the sense required the insertion of a 'not,' which had been omitted by the scribe. In two passages (Luke xxiv. 27 and 32), the views of Marcion, historically verified, are the justification of the erasures I have made. In no other passages do I remember to have made corrections except on purely historical grounds. With the exceptions above mentioned, I have restored the text of the Marcionite Gospel, and of the original or first edition of the Canonical Gospel of Luke, on the rigid historical rules, giving no play to fancy, sentiment, or pure conjecture.

CHAPTER IV.

EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT OF THE ORIGINAL CANONICAL GOSPEL OF LUKE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

THE Third Canonical Gospel was published with a title and alleged author's name, and there was no period of history in which it was not so known. The title of the original Gospel was the Gospel of Luke, by which title alone Tertullian refers to it throughout his voluminous writings. That was the title of the first edition of this Gospel. In the second and subsequent editions it received the title of The Gospel according to Luke (see p. 388).

There is no doubt in my mind that the preface or prologue (Luke i. 1-4) in the present Canonical Gospel did not occupy that position in the original Gospel of the second century. Irenæus gives us the commencement of the four Gospels in the famous passage in which he logically demonstrates that the Gospels can neither be more or less than four, because there are four zones of the world in which we live, and four principal winds (*Ad Hær.*, III. xi. 8). In explaining the symbolism of the Gospels, he quotes the commencement of all four; and we can test that he has accurately done so in the case of three, as our First, Second, and Fourth Gospels commence as he states. With regard to the Third Gospel, he says: "But that which is according to Luke, since it is of a sacerdotal character, commenced with Zacharias the priest sacrificing to God." There can be no mistake that the commencement of the Third Gospel in the second century was at verse 5 of the first chapter. There is very distinct corroboration of Irenæus' accuracy, in stating the commencement of the Third Gospel, in a writing called a *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John*, by St Victorinus, Bishop of Petau, and Martyr, who flourished towards the end of the third century. I quote from the translation in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, to be found on page 405 of vol. iii. of Tertullian's *Works*. Victorinus, like Irenæus, explains

the symbolism of the Gospels, and says: "The evangelists express their four similitudes in their [respective] openings of the Gospels." Like Irenæus, he quotes the prologues of the First, Second, and Fourth Gospels, but with regard to the Third, he remarks: "But Luke said, 'There was a priest, by name Zachariah, of the course of Abia, and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron.'" This verse then was the commencement of the Third Gospel in the second century; and as Victorinus is the first who quotes the verse, his quotation must be regarded as representing the original text of the second century; and the clause, "in the days of Herod, the King of Judæa," found in our present Gospel was hence a subsequent interpolation.

If the prologue of Luke was not the commencement of the original Gospel, the question arises whether it existed at all in the second century and in what part of the Gospel. There can be no doubt of its ancient date, for Irenæus (c. 189 or 190) quotes a portion of it, as a statement made by Luke, thus: "Even as they have delivered to us who were from the beginning beholders and ministers of the word" (III. xiv. 2, and iv., preface). Eusebius also, writing in the first half of the fourth century, refers to it thus: Luke "in the Gospel testifies to have recorded according as those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, delivered to him, and, he says, to have followed all of whom closely from the beginning" (*Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 4). Epiphanius, in the second half of the fourth century, quotes the whole passage, but unfortunately his reading does not correspond with our present Gospel, nor even with the quotations or references of Irenæus and Eusebius. Hence a difficulty arises. Irenæus quotes the second verse verbatim, but we have his text only in a Latin translation, and there may be a doubt that his Greek was not identical with the Latin translation. Epiphanius' quotation of the first verse is perhaps not complete. This was a most vexatious trick of this author: he repeatedly quotes only the leading words of a text and stops short, or adds an etc. I should, however, mention that he quotes the verse twice, and in exactly the same way. I do not, however, think any reasonable objection can be raised against the rest of the passage which he quotes. We cannot justly attribute to him carelessness of quotation simply on account of disagreement with the present text of the Gospel, without substantial grounds for the charge. The reading of Epiphanius may be thus rendered: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand . . . it seemed good to me also, having followed closely from the beginning those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, to write to thee, good Theophilus, regarding the truth of

the words which you were taught.”¹ Having thus come to the conclusion that the passage existed, the only reasonable position that can be assigned to it is at the end of the Gospel. The passage itself may be justly described as a personal explanation, in which the writer explains the circumstances which induced him to write the Gospel. It was thus merely a colophon, and had no claim to being a part of the Gospel. A colophon is an explanatory note at the end of a writing, like those to be found in the New Testament at the end of many of the Epistles. Occasionally a colophon is diffusive, like that at the close of Mrs Lewis’s *Syriac Gospels*: “Here endeth the Gospel of the *Mēpharrēshē* four books. Glory to God, and to his Christ, and to his Holy Spirit. Let every one who reads and hears and keeps and does [it] pray for the sinner who wrote [it]. May God in his tender mercy forgive him his sins in both worlds. Amen and Amen.” In these Syriac Gospels, the scribe, or copyist, is the writer of the colophon: but in the Gospel of Luke, not the author, but the forger who adapted the Marcionite Gospel to the needs of the parent church, was the writer of the colophon, which was no part of the Canonical Gospel. We find Tertullian takes no notice of the colophon (or our present preface or prologue), which necessarily formed no part of the Gospel in his days; while Epiphanius is careful to include the preface, which he distinctly says is the beginning of the Gospel,² amongst the passages of the Canonical that were excluded from the Marcionite Gospel. The change in position and in its relation to the Canonical Gospel of the passage was certainly effected before the time of Eusebius, who recognises it as belonging to the Gospel, but the exact period I have been unable to ascertain.

The expression *κράτιστε θεόφιλε*, translated “most excellent Theophilus,” deserves some notice. Modern theologians have built several pretty romances upon it. In the *Speaker’s Commentary* the adjective is said to be a title employed “in addresses to Roman Governors, and in inscriptions it is formally applied to officials of high rank.” But examples of such addresses and inscriptions are not given. All critics, it appears, agree in regarding

¹ The originals of the passages discussed are as below: Quemadmodum tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio contemplatores et ministri fuerunt verbi (*Iren.*, III. xiv. 2). Τῷ τε Ευανγγελίῳ, ὃ καὶ χαράξαι μαρτύρεται, καθὰ παρέδοντο αὐτῷ οἱ ἀπαρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρεταὶ γενομένοι τοῦ λόγου, οἷς καὶ φησιν ἐπάνωθεν ἅπασι παρηκολουθηκέναι (Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 4).

² Ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν . . . ἔδοξε καὶ μοι καθέξης παρηκολουθηκῶτι ἄνθρωπον τοῖς αὐτόπταις, καὶ ὑπηρεταῖς τοῦ λόγου γενομένοις, γράψαι σοι κράτιστε θεόφιλε, περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφελειαν (*Ephr.*, li. 7; *Petavius*, vol. i., p. 428-9). Epiphanius says that Marcion cut out “in the beginning all the things treated of from the beginning to Luke, that is to say, as he says: Forasmuch as many have taken in hand, and the rest” (xlii. 11; *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 311).

Theophilus to be a proper name, "not a mere appellation"; and then the theological imagination runs riot. Theophilus is identified with a high priest by one; with a person of distinction at Antioch by another; by "an old and probable tradition" with Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea Philippi. He was probably an Italian, and a dweller at Rome, and so on. "The point of real importance," however, concludes the commentator, "is that a man of high official rank was a convert at this early period, going through a course of oral instruction, and continuing earnest research into the facts on which that instruction was based." Modern theologians are capable of much historical cerebration when professional reserve does not restrain them. Honest Bishop Epiphanius, in the fourth century, modestly remarks: "Perhaps he said this writing to a certain Theophilus, or to every man who loves God" (li. 7); which is the plain, common-sense view to be taken of the expression. The adjective appears to me to be equivalent to our 'Good sir' or 'good reader,' and the superlative form is exactly the German address, 'mein bester.' As I have no recollection myself of the classical use of the address 'κράτιστος,' and theologians do not supply examples, I am inclined to think that it was a form of address peculiar to Christians in the second century. There were certain words newly coined, or applied in a special sense, that sprung up amongst the Christian communities at this period, and which we do not find in use by classical writers. The adjective *κυριακός* is a prominent example of this class of words, with its Latin correlative *dominicus*.¹ So marked is the peculiarity of this word that a composition which contains it proclaims its date to be very late in the first century or later (see p. 409). Like the ecclesiastical title Reverend, it conveys *prima facie* evidence of its late date. No person of ordinary knowledge could be deceived into believing that the Rev. John Paleologus or the Rev. Simon Peter was a personage who bore that title in the first century. It hence becomes a matter of great probability, if not certainty, that 1 Cor. xi. 20 contains an interpolation, the expression *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*, or the Lord's Supper, being found in it. The word *κράτιστος* appears to have been a form of address peculiar to Christians, which came into use at the period of the publication of the Gospel, *i.e.*, the second half of the second century, but it does not appear to have maintained its ground. Theologians do not give instances of its general use, but they limit their examples to Acts xxxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, and xxvi. 25, which was a publication of the same period as the Third Gospel, and attributed to the same writer. Theologians do not give us any information regarding the use of

¹ Other examples are *Epiousios* and *Catholicos*.

the expression as a title derived from classical literature. Professor Ramsay asserts that it was official and implied equestrian rank, but he brings forward no proof outside the Acts of the Apostles. This author, judging from his prudential observations on the subject of miracles, mixes his ample erudition with discretion, and invariably sides with theologians. That it was not a title implying rank may be reasonably inferred from the omission of the expression in Acts i. 1, as a prefix to the same personage Theophilus, and from the fact that Epiphanius, a learned bishop and voluminous writer and important ecclesiastic of the fourth century, was unaware that it was a title indicating rank.

I have found no dissentient voice in antiquity on the question of the true beginning of the Canonical Gospel of Luke in the second century. Besides the testimony of Irenæus and Victorinus, I may cite that of the Muratorian fragment in proof of the commencement having been at verse 5 of the first chapter. In this ancient document, which may be regarded as not later than the early part of the third century (though possibly of the fourth), the writer says of Luke, "And so he begins (or began) to speak from the nativity of John," no note being taken of the prologue. I may here remark on the use which theologians not unfrequently make of free translation to create or to pervert documentary evidence. This passage has been freely translated, "And so he began his narrative from the birth of John." An ordinary reader would hardly perceive the difference between my literal translation and the free translation I quote, which is that of Bishop Lightfoot (see p. 3). From my experience of the unfair exploiting of ancient texts by free translation, I object to the bishop's translation as not a correct rendering of the original. I have no reason to suspect Bishop Lightfoot, whom I regard as an honest theologian, but I have found in my investigation ample reasons for my conclusion that all theologians are not as fair-minded as he is, even those occupying eminent positions in the Church and in the Universities.¹ Bishop Lightfoot's elegant translation of an ancient document is likely to be made the basis of a perversion of the testimony of the Muratorian fragment. An unscrupulous theologian will have no hesitation in contending that the Muratorian writer's statement is not that Luke began the Gospel, but the narrative portion of the Gospel, from the nativity of John. The beginning of the Third Gospel in the second century was as Victorinus quotes it, without the clause "in the days of Herod, the King of Judæa." There is evidence that this simple and harmless interpolation was not made all at once, but by instalments between which there were intervals of

¹ See Bishop Westcott's translation or paraphrase of Tertullian on p. 313.

a century of years or more. Epiphanius, in the fourth century, quotes this verse in full, and in his text the addition "in the days of Herod the King" appears; but in our received text will be found the complete interpolation. I have pointed out in my work on the Fourth Gospel the gradation undergone by a more important passage (John i. 13 and 14). In verse 5 of ch. i. in the original Gospel of Luke the information that Abia was a high priest was not supplied, but we find it in the text of Epiphanius; this piece of news was probably found to be historically incorrect, and was struck out subsequently. As Epiphanius quotes the verse, we find, besides, a clause dislocated and some articles and pronouns wanting. His text was: "There was in *the* days of Herod the King, of the course of Abia the high priest, a certain priest by name Zacharias, and his wife of the daughters of Aaron, and *her* name was Elisabet" (li. 7; *Pet.*, i. 429). A confirmation of the text of verse 6 is found in the letter of the persecuted Church of Lyons (c. 177), quoted by Eusebius (*Ecc. Hist.*, Bk. v. i), in which one of the brethren is said to have "walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless" like Zacharias; and the whole verse is quoted by Irenæus III. x. 1, the Latin translation being in the exact terms of the Vulgate, with the exception that the word *justitiis* is employed instead of the Vulgate *justificationibus*. Verses 8 and 9 are quoted in full by Irenæus in continuation of the previous passage; the passage corresponds with the Vulgate, with the exception of a clause at the end of verse 9, "and he came that he might sacrifice, entering into the temple of the Lord." The antecedent clause is by editors treated as an explanatory addition made by Irenæus; but I see reason for regarding it as quoted from the original Gospel in common with the rest of the passage. He distinctly says elsewhere that the Gospel "commenced with Zacharias the priest sacrificing to God" (III. xi. 8).¹ Irenæus proceeds to quote verses 15, 16 and 17, in the same terms as the Vulgate, except that *in conspectu*, 'in the sight of,' is employed instead of the Vulgate *coram* and *ante*, 'before,' in verses 15 and 17, and the clauses in verse 15, "and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb"; and in verse 17, "to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just" omitted: the latter was, in the Canonical Gospel in the hands of Epiphanius, added to verse 76 (*Epiphanius*, xxvi. 12; *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 95). These clauses were hence subsequent interpolations. The final clause is thus given by Irenæus: *Præparare domino plebem*

¹ Here is another example of the unfair dealing of theologians with ancient texts.

perfectum, "to prepare for the Lord a perfect people." I can find no ancient quotation from the passage extending from verses 18-25; but the incidents of the dumbness of Zacharias, and his writing, are alluded to by Tertullian (*On Idolatry*, xxiii.).

Irenæus gives us the commencement of the next episode at verse 29, quoting from the original Gospel of Luke (Bk. III. x. 2). He says: "And again referring to the angel he [Luke] says: 'But at that very time (*in ipso tempore*) the angel Gabriel was sent from God, who said to the virgin also, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God.'" From this I infer that the passage from verses 26-29 had been re-written and some fresh information added, which was not in the original Gospel; and further, that the clause in verse 24, "and hid herself five months," had no *raison d'être* in the original Gospel, from the absence of the sixth month in verse 26.

Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neo-Cæsareia in Pontus, in the middle of the third century, gives us considerable assistance in ascertaining the changes made in the text of the original Gospel on the subject of the annunciation. I do not possess the Greek of this writer, and am hence dependent on the translation of his Homilies in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library. In the Canonical Gospel of the present day the scene of the annunciation is placed at Nazareth (i. 26); but in the Gospel story of the period it was placed at Bethlehem, where Gregory states was Mary's home. After the annunciation, and after the visit to Elizabeth, and the singing of her song of triumph and thanksgiving, she proceeded to Nazareth; but the decree of Cæsar led her to return again to Bethlehem, where her child was born. Gregory quotes verses 26 and 27 as follows:—"And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house and lineage of David; and the virgin's name was Mary." The subsequent interpolation of the words "unto a city of Galilee named Nazareth," completely changed the evangelical history as recorded in the third century Gospel, and as generally understood by the Christians of the period, for which we have the authority of a celebrated bishop of that age. Whether the original history was defective owing to a flaw in its inspiration or not, I shall leave to be discussed by theologians; but the fact of such a considerable change is an indication to my mind that the Church exercised the function of changing the evangelical history, doctrine, sentiment and text generally, pretty much at its discretion, without help or hint from Marcion or other heretic. The motive of the change in the history in this particular instance was, however, sheer benevolence, as the young woman was thereby spared one journey from Bethlehem to Nazareth, through a rough and

hilly country, infested in that age with robbers.¹ Gregory proceeds to say that the angel came to her and said, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured!" and that she then cast in her mind what manner of salutation this might be; whereupon the angel continued, "The Lord is with thee: fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God": and then follow verses 31 to 35 as in our present Gospel. I would remark here that in the original Gospel the conceptions of the mothers of John the Baptist and of Jesus were simultaneous, since Irenæus says that the original text of Luke was "at the very time," *'in ipso tempore.'* The words "and in the sixth month" were an interpolation of which we have the first intimation from Gregory in the middle of the third century. "At the very time" refers to the visitation of Zacharias by the angel, who began his address to the priest in the same terms employed to Mary, viz., Fear not (verse 13). Of the verses from 31-38, we have the guarantee of Irenæus for 32, 33, 35 and 38 (III. x. 2, xxi. 4, and xxii. 4). Regarding verse 36, which is quoted by Gregory in the exact words, with the addition only of the word 'now,' of our present Gospel, the clause "and this is now the sixth month with her" was a manifest interpolation introduced to tally with the corresponding interpolation made in verse 26, and hence it may with moral certainty be viewed as non-existent in the original Gospel. The motive of the interpolation is very clear. The forger who wrote these preliminary chapters had overlooked the fact that John the Baptist was the forerunner of Jesus, and should precede him in birth, which he could hardly do if his conception was of the same date as that of Jesus. Hence the interpolation ante-dated the conception of Elizabeth six months before that of Mary, so that John might come into the world six months before Jesus, and be his forerunner. In these laborious investigations there does occasionally arise an amusing reflection to relieve their tedium. The angel Gabriel was not to be permitted to economise celestial time by imparting simultaneously the divine benevolence to the aged Elizabeth and the youthful Mary, during a single visit to the earth.

¹ As well as I can make out, the question of the locality of Mary's conception was not raised in the first one hundred and fifty years of the Christian era, the Christians of that early period being, as I think, indifferent on the point, if they gave any thought to it. In the second half of the second century up to the middle of the third, it was placed at Bethlehem; after that period at Nazareth. The first note of the change I find in some ancient Syriac documents, dating, according to the late Professor W. Wright of Cambridge, down to about A.D. 300, translations of which are published in vol. xx. of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. At page 36 of these translations, the statement will be found, "Nazareth of Galilee, where the conception of our Lord was announced," in the document called "The Teaching of the Apostles." If I am right in the motive which dictated the change, this is a charming example of the *'ἐπιείκεια'* or 'Equity' of Aristotle, or the 'sweet reasonableness' of Matthew Arnold.

For the next incident in the narrative, the visit of Mary to Elizabeth, as well as their songs, we have the guarantee of both Irenæus and Gregory. The latter alludes to the visit of Mary to her relation Elizabeth in the hill country, and quotes verses 40 and 41, as they are found in our present gospel, with the additional words 'with joy' applied to the salutation of the babe. The first stanza of the song of Elizabeth is quoted by Irenæus, III. xxi. 5, and that as well as the second stanza by Gregory (Second Homily): the clause "Blessed art thou among women," being repeated at the end. In Irenæus the Latin runs, *fructus ventris tui*, which means, "the fruits of thy belly," and indicates that the original Greek was, ὁ καρπὸς τῆς γαστρὸς σου and not κοιλίας, of thy womb, as in the received Greek text. This is very clear from the powerful theological argument which Irenæus founds upon the word. He says that in the famous prophecy of Isa. vii. 10-16 God promised that the king should be of the fruit of David's belly, *ventris*. I may here state parenthetically that this promise is not to be found in the passage indicated by Irenæus; but that fact should be placed to the discredit of the prophet's prophecy, not of the theologian's argument. In this passage of Luke, says Irenæus, the Holy Ghost signifies to those who are willing to hear, that the promise which God promised to raise up a king from the fruit of his belly, was fulfilled in the parturition of the Virgin, that is, in *that* of Mary. It is clear that the pivot of the argument is the belly, a region common to both sexes, and possessed by both David and Mary, and not the womb, which David could not have possessed. The passage is too long to quote, so as to make the point clearer; but the reader will derive some amusement from the perusal of the translation in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Irenæus*, vol. i. p. 355, in which the learned translator throughout accurately employs the word 'belly,' even in the clause, "blessed is the fruit of thy belly."¹ The words ἐν γαστρὶ are used in verse 31 in the received Greek text. I can find no ancient quotation of the two final stanzas.

The song of Mary is given in a very short form by Irenæus (Bk. III. x. 2), only the first two stanzas and the two final ones; and that appears

¹ Tertullian renders the passage, *Benedictus fructus uteri tui*, "Blessed is the fruit of your womb." He thus cut himself off from the belly argument founded by Irenæus upon Isaiah, as he pretended. But the ingenuity of the great African devised a parallel argument. God, he says, swore that he will raise up the fruit of David's loins to sit upon the throne; but in the passage indicated, David says nothing about his loins (Ps. cxxxii. 11), which omission, however, is purely the fault of David, and cannot be charged against Tertullian. If Christ was thus of David's loins, how much more of Mary's loins, through whom he was of David's loins (*De carne*, xxi.). The theologian, however, really meant the converse of this conclusion. The Vulgate follows the text of Irenæus: *Benedictus fructus ventris tui*, "Blessed is the fruit of thy belly."

to me to have been the entire song of Mary in the second century. Irenæus quotes all four songs in these preliminary chapters, and I think he was much impressed by their beauty. He has the songs of Zacharias and of Simeon in full, and I conclude he quoted the songs of Elizabeth and Mary also in their entirety as they existed in the second century. As Tertullian, however, writing in the early years of the third century, quotes verse 43 (*De carne*, xxi.), the existence of this stanza in Elizabeth's song may be conceded. But regarding the other two stanzas, verses 44 and 45, I think there may be more than doubt. The words "leaped with joy" existed in the Gospel in the middle of the third century in verse 41, but are not found in the present Gospel. They are practically reproduced in verse 44, "leaped for joy": and it may be conjectured they were removed from verse 41, on the addition of verse 44. Origen quotes verse 44 as in our present Gospel (*On John*, ii. 24). Cyprian, however, who quotes the song, gives only the first two stanzas (*Testimony against Jews*, ii. 8). My conclusion is that the existence of verses 44 and 45 in the original Gospel is extremely problematical. But I have no doubt that Irenæus quoted the entire song of Mary as it existed in the Gospel of his day. Gregory Thaumaturgus quotes the song in a markedly peculiar way: he quotes the first two stanzas, and adds "and so forth," and then quotes the two final stanzas (Second Homily). This peculiar mode of citation gives me the assurance that Gregory was aware that the intervening stanzas were recent additions. *Experto crede*. These four stanzas are quoted by Irenæus continuously. Gregory indicates the intermediate stanzas partly by direct quotation and partly by allusion to their contents, but I cannot identify verses 49 and 50 from his allusions. I think it probable that these intermediate stanzas, with the exception perhaps of verses 49 and 50, of whose existence in the Gospel at this period I am not sure, were the composition of the mellifluous Origen, and Gregory was aware of it. Origen may also have written verses 44 and 45. The Latin translation of Irenæus is an exact and literal rendering of the Greek in our received Greek text, and I think that these four verses, 46, 47, 54 and 55, may be regarded as the text of the original Gospel of the second century, but probably touched up to date by the Latin translator of Irenæus.

I have failed to find any quotations by early writers from the long passage extending from verse 56-67. Tertullian alludes to the writing of Zacharias on a table as already said; and this must be taken as the only guarantee available for the existence of the whole passage in the original Gospel.

We have a guarantee of the existence in the original Gospel of

the next passage, the song of Zacharias (Luke i. 67-77), for Irenæus quotes it, III. x. 3. Verse 67 is, however, not quoted *verbatim* as in our received text; and verses 78 and 79 are not quoted in continuation of the song after verse 77, but are cited in advance of the song, and there is no evident connection in the context between verses 78 and 79, and the song, 68-77, which follows a little space after in a distinct paragraph. After quoting the song of Mary, Irenæus remarks: "By these and such great *words* the Gospel shows that the God who spoke to the fathers, is he who legislated through Moses, by which legislation we know that he spoke to the fathers. This same God, according to his great goodness, poured out his compassion upon us, in which compassion *the rising sun from on high looked upon us, and appeared to them who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death and directed our feet in the way of peace*; just as Zacharias also ceasing to be dumb, which he had suffered on account of unbelief, filled with the new spirit, blessed God in a new way. For all things were now present new, the Word arranging the fleshly advent in a new way, so that he might ascribe to God the man who had departed from God; on account of which also *men* were taught to worship God in a new manner; but not another God, because indeed *there is one God* who justifies circumcision by faith, and the prepuce [*i.e.*, uncircumcision] through faith." And then in the following paragraph, Irenæus proceeds to say: "But Zacharias prophesying said, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,' etc., quoting Luke i. 68-77. The expression regarding Zacharias being "filled with the new spirit," blessed God, has, I think, an important bearing upon the clause "filled with the Holy Ghost" in Luke i. 67. In the letter from the Church of Lyons, in which the persecution was described, one of the persecuted brethren is said to have had in himself Paraclete, the Spirit, more abundant than Zacharias; *ἔχων δὲ τον Παράκλητον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ Πνεῦμα πλεῖον τοῦ Ζαχαρίου* (Bright's *Eusebius*, v. i. 8). Bishop Lightfoot dates this letter A.D. 177, and its writer is with great probability presumed by some to have been Irenæus himself, and there can be little doubt that Irenæus was acquainted with the contents of the letter. The evidence from these two passages is conclusive that the word Paraclete occupied in the original Gospel of Luke the place in this verse of the 'Holy Ghost.' The word which I have translated 'the rising sun' is *Oriens* in the Latin translation of Irenæus; but there cannot be a doubt that in the original Greek it was *Ἀνατολή*, which means the rising in the east, the quarter in which the sun rises. This was an expression applied to Christ late in the second century, as we learn from Tertullian: "*Amat figura Spiritus sancti Orientem, Christi figuram*"

(*Adv. Valentinios*, iii.). The figure or symbol of the Holy Spirit [*i.e.*, the Dove] loves the Rising-sun, [or the East], the figure or symbol of Christ. Gregory Thaumaturgus also says: "A star with its torch guided them [the Magi] who had come from the distant parts of earth towards him who is the true Orient" (Second Homily). The compound word 'day-spring' employed in our English versions is most beautiful, but it is not translation but poetical paraphrase. "C'est magnifique mais ce n'est pas la guerre." The German translation is, *aufgang aus der Höhe*, the rising from the height; the French, *le soleil levant*, the rising-sun, which is the translation that I think is correct, but it does not justify the omission of 'from on high.' Mrs Lewis, being of a poetical temperament, and a writer of poetry, if not a poetess, uses the expression day-spring, which can hardly be reckoned a translation of the Syriac word in her Gospels. The employment of the expression the Rising-Sun or the East was an anachronism, and points to the age of the Gospel. There was no symbol of Christ amongst the primitive Christians in the first century, and the earliest we know of was the Fish. We hear of the Rising-Sun or the East for the first time in Irenæus and the Third Gospel, and its explanation from Tertullian in the beginning of the third century.¹ I have a serious misgiving that the two final stanzas, verses 78 and 79, were not in the song of Zacharias, for two reasons. They are quoted by Irenæus separately from the main body of the song; and, secondly, the past tense is employed throughout these two stanzas, *conspexit*, looked, *apparuit*, appeared, and *direxit*, directed. The original Gospel of Luke certainly recorded that the birth or coming of Christ was consentaneous with that of John, and not six months after, and that fact would justify the employment of the past tenses, *conspexit* and *apparuit*; but it is no justification of *direxit*, as Christ had not yet entered on his mission of direction or teaching. The use of the past tense in the quotation by Irenæus is fatal to the stanza having been in the original Gospel put into the mouth of Zacharias on the occasion of the circumcision of John. Irenæus does not say that Zacharias uttered these words, but that he also blessed God in a new fashion, the coming of Christ being a new blessing, which his predecessors were without. The last stanza has been modified in its construction in our received Greek text, the infinitive mood being substituted for the indicative, but the past tense or aorist was retained both in the words *ἐπιφάναι* and *κατευθῆναι*,

¹ It appears to me probable that the metaphor owed its origin to a mistaken translation of a Hebrew word in Zech. vi. 12. "The man whose name is the Branch," was rendered in the Septuagint "whose name is the East, or the Rising," *ἀνατολή*. Justin refers to this mistaken translation in *Trypho*, cvi. and cxxi.

which correctly translated should be 'to have light given' and to 'have guided.' The Vulgate has obliterated the past tenses altogether in the final stanza: *Per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri: in quibus visitavit nos, oriens ex alto: illuminare his, qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent: ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis.*¹ At this period beautiful devotional songs or hymns existed, and some of them were put into the writings of the New Testament, where they have been preserved. It seems to me certain that these two stanzas were, after being remodelled, interpolated in the original Gospel of Luke late in the second century. As I have already shown, there is great probability, if not certainty, from indications that I have spoken of (see pages 46 and 60), that the various books of Irenæus' great work, *Against Heresies*, were published separately at different periods, and not all at once. His fifth and last book was published at a later date than his third book, from which I have already quoted the original of these two stanzas in question (see p. 109). In his fifth book, ch. xvii. 1, Irenæus quotes a portion of the first of these two stanzas in the exact terms of the Vulgate. He says: "But how have sins been truly remitted, unless he himself, against whom we have sinned, has granted remission, *by the bowels of mercy of our God in which he has visited us by his Son? per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri, in quibus visitavit nos per Filium suum.*" 'Per viscera' were new words introduced, and the word 'conspexit' was changed into 'visitavit.' The concluding verse 80 of the first chapter has not been quoted by early writers: it must hence be conceded, *faute de mieux*, as having existed in the original Gospel as it stands in the present Gospel.

We have no quotations of the text of the passages next following in the second chapter, but the incidents related in them are referred to by Tertullian in his characteristic style. Marcion rejected these stories, and he is represented as declaiming against them in these words: "Remove hence the ever troublesome censuses, and the poor inn, and the sordid rags, and the hard manger. The angelic multitude rendering honour to their Lord by night might look on. Let the shepherds rather attend to their flocks: and let the Magi not be wearied from the distance; I grant them their own gold. Let Herod be a better man, lest Jeremiah should glory.² But let not the child

¹ That is, Through the bowels of compassion of our God, in which the rising Sun from on high hath visited us: to illuminate those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death, and to guide our feet in the way of peace.

² The learned translator of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library was in a jocular mood when he translated this passage. Some of these declamations are rendered with great force: "Away with that eternal plaguy taxing of Cæsar.—We do not care a jot for that multitude of the heavenly host.—Let the wise men spare their

be circumcised, lest he be hurt ; nor be borne to the temple, lest he should burden his parents with the expense of the oblation ; nor be delivered into the hands of Simeon, lest the old man who is about to die be saddened. Let that old woman hold her tongue, lest she bewitch the boy. I am of opinion, with this design, O Marcion, you have dared to efface so many original records of Christ, that his flesh be not proved " (*De carne Christi*, ii.). All the incidents recorded in the first twenty verses of the second chapter are referred to in the order in which we find them related in our present Gospel ; and hence there can be no doubt that they existed in the original Gospel in the second century.

It remains, however, to ascertain the verbal text of these passages in the original Gospel. Gregory quotes verses 4-7 of ch. ii. in the words of the present Gospel (First Homily, p. 124 of vol. xxii., Ante-Nicene Christian Library) with great differences. The latter represents Joseph only to be of the "house and lineage of David": but the Second and Third Century Gospel represented both Joseph and Mary to be of the house of David, as Gregory's quotation is "because they were of the house and family of David." This was a plain contradiction of the statement made in the Gospel itself (i. 36) regarding the relationship between Mary and Elizabeth, who was of the daughters of Aaron and hence of the tribe of Levi and not of Judah. This contradiction was removed by the clause "because they were of the house and family of David" being taken away from the end of the fifth verse and put into the preceding verse, and the plural form 'they were' being replaced by 'he was.'¹ The above is another example of the blundering of the original canonical writer. The belief in the early years of the second century is stated in the ancient writing called The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which is of this date, somewhat prior to A.D. 135. Joseph was believed to be of the tribe of Judah, and Mary of Levi (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xxii., *Lactantius*, etc.). In the Testament of Simeon, vii., is the following passage: "For the Lord shall raise up

legs so long a journey ; let them keep their gold to themselves. Let Herod, too, mend his manners, so that Jeremy may not glory over him."—*Tertullian*, vol. ii. p. 165.

¹ Eusebius states (*Ecccl. Hist.*, i. 7) that Joseph being of the tribe of Judah, that fact settles the tribe of Mary to have been the same. For, he says, by the Mosaic Law intermarriages among different tribes were not permitted, so that inheritances may not be transferred from tribe to tribe. I think, however, that Eusebius was mistaken regarding the prohibition of intermarriages among the tribes. In our present Gospel, Mary is made a cousin of Elizabeth, a daughter of Aaron, and hence she also was of the tribe of Levi (Luke i. 36): and in Luke ii. 4, 5, she is not included in the tribe of Judah, to which her husband belonged. The direct Jewish testimony derived from the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs shows Eusebius, who was a Greek and no Jew, to be wrong.

from Levi as it were a Priest, and from Judah as it were a King, God and man. So shall He save all the Gentiles and the race of Israel." In the Testament of Levi, ii. : "And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men." In the Testament of Gad, viii. : "They honour Judah and Levi, for from them shall the Lord raise up a Saviour to Israel." The ancient Gospel did not specify "the city of Nazareth" nor "the city of David," but had the expression "the first-born of the whole creation" (same reference as above), which was subsequently removed. I can find no quotation of verse 8, but it is alluded to by Irenæus (iv. vii. 1) and must hence stand. The passage from verses 9 to 14 is quoted by Irenæus, without doubt from the original, from the use of the expression 'he says,' but it is greatly curtailed. "And the angel of the Lord appeared to the shepherds announcing joy to them, because there was born in the house of David a Saviour who is Christ the Lord. Then [appeared] a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying, Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of goodwill" (III. x. 4). This discloses a considerable amount of addition and embellishment made since the second century. The doxology is exactly as found in Jerome's Version and in the Vulgate. The two latter likewise follow what seems to me to be the bad grammatical concord of the preceding clause : "*Multitudo militiæ* [in Irenæus *exercitus*] *caelestis laudantium Deum et dicentium.*" Neither Clement of Alexandria nor Tertullian quotes the doxology. The first appearance of the doxology in the present form is in Origen's writings (*On John*, i. 13 ; *Celsus*, i. 60), who probably was the author of the improvement. In the forged letters of Pope Pontianus, a contemporary of Origen, it is quoted with the concluding clause "peace to men of good will" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. ix., *Fragments*, p. 234); and Origen himself quotes this form also elsewhere, as the translator states. After Origen, it is not quoted by writers in the ancient form; but it is found in Jerome's version, which he says was made in accordance with old Greek texts.¹ The verse that followed the doxology in the original

¹ When I wrote the above a few months ago the possibility of clerical error in the doxology did not enter my mind. *The Quarterly* reviewer of 1881, however, thus accounts for the two forms, and he claims priority for the form in our Received Text, on the grounds that the letter *s* was a clerical error of the scribe, who added it to the word εὐδοκία. The history, however, shows that the error really was the omission of the final letter in later times. The reviewer makes the foolish statement that in the 'archetypal copy,' from which 'the old Latin translation' was made, the preposition ἐν was absent, being "absorbed apparently by the ἀν which immediately follows." This or a Latin translation is a figment of theologians, and there is no ἀν to be found immediately following in the passage. He erroneously states that Irenæus is in favour of the later form, and omits to state that Origen quoted both forms. He makes no mention of Pontianus, perhaps because the letters attributed to him are regarded as a forgery. Without disputing

Gospel was clearly verse 20, according to Irenæus, who states that after the doxology Luke adds: "The shepherds returned, glorifying God in all the things that they had heard and seen, even as it was told unto them." I can find no trace, or the least allusion to the incidents narrated in the passage from verse 15 to 19, in any writer of the second or third centuries. It exists, however, in Jerome's version.

According to the order of incidents mentioned by Tertullian in the passage quoted on p. 111, now followed the incidents of the visit of the Magi and of the action of Herod: but we do not find these incidents related in our present Gospel. The fact, however, that they are mentioned by Tertullian as erased by Marcion is conclusive that they existed in the original Gospel of Luke in the second century, as Marcion had nothing to do with the Gospel of Matthew. Their existence in the original Gospel of Luke does not, however, imply their non-existence in the Gospel of Matthew; and we have proofs that they were also recorded in the latter in the second century. These incidents, like several others, were, in fact, related in both the original Canonical Gospels. I have not succeeded in finding any quotation of these missing passages, or any allusion to them in any writer earlier than Epiphanius, in the second half of the fourth century. This honest and learned, but not discreet theologian speaks of the objection made by certain Greek or rather Hellenic philosophers to the chronology of Luke's narrative. He mentions by name, Porphyry, Celsus and Philosabbathius. Celsus is well known to us from Origen's refutation of his work, called *A True Discourse* (or *Word*), in which he opposed and denounced the Christians and their Gospels. Origen was also honest, and more learned than Epiphanius, but he mixed his erudition and honesty with discretion. In his refutation he says not a word regarding Celsus' objection to the chronology of Luke's narrative; and in such reticence he displayed his discretion. The objection of Celsus was sound, and although I am without documentary evidence of the fact, it is my spontaneously formed opinion that Origen removed from the Gospel of Luke the incidents which gave valid ground to the objections of Celsus, viz., the same incidents which Tertullian charged Marcion with removing from the Gospel of Luke. I have no doubt that the passages in Luke's Gospel detailing the visit of the Magi and the actions of Herod were removed early in the third century, as they are not referred to as existing in this Gospel by any

the fact, the forger may be reasonably considered to have adopted the device of quoting the doxology in the form in which it was current in the days of Pontianus. The Latin translation of Irenæus as well as Jerome's translation is a correct rendering of the original Greek, including the preposition *ἐν*.

writer subsequent to Tertullian. Epiphanius obviously had not these missing passages in his copy of Luke, and he was further unaware that they had ever existed in that Gospel; and hence I do not think he understood the point of the objection made by Celsus. The heretic's objection manifestly was that the chronology of Luke's narrative in his Gospel was impossible; but Epiphanius, I think, mistook it to be an objection to the chronological disagreement between the four Gospels. Hence his laboured attempt to show that there were no chronological differences between the Gospel narratives. He speaks of each Gospel in succession, and when he comes to Luke he remarks that Luke relates incidents that are not touched by either John, Mark, or Matthew, whose narratives he had previously discussed. This circumstance, he says, afforded the grounds of the objection made by Celsus and the other philosophers he names. This passage of Epiphanius is rather involved and not clearly intelligible, and I do not think Petavius, his Latin translator, understood it, not being aware of the missing passages in the Gospel referred to by Tertullian. I shall follow Petavius' Latin translation, correcting his errors, and give the original Greek and a literal translation in a footnote. "From which it happened that some Hellenic philosophers, namely, Porphyry, Celsus and Philosabbathius, a Jew by race, a crafty fellow and most wicked serpent, when they wrote against evangelical history, denounced the sacred Evangelists; indeed they were beasts and carnal men, who were fighting according to the flesh, who had neither been able to please God, nor had known the things which are of the Holy Spirit. For each of them being offended by the words of truth, from the blindness of ignorance, and falling upon this thing, says: how is it possible that the same day should see the birth at Bethlehem, and the circumcision, which was usually done on the eighth day, and the going up to Jerusalem after forty days; that the acts of Simeon and Anna should also fall on the same day; especially when, each of them says, on the same night when Jesus was born an angel appeared to Joseph, after the arrival of the Magi, who came for the sake of adoring him, and who opening their sacks offered their gifts? as he [Luke] relates, each of them says, [Celsus, etc.], an angel appeared to him saying: Arise, take the child and your wife, and go into Egypt; for Herod seeks the life of the child. Wherefore if on the same night on which he was born, he was carried into Egypt, and was there until Herod was dead, how could he have remained in Judæa, and be circumcised on the eighth day? or how does the lying Luke find the 'after forty days'? (For thus they cast upon him with the greatest blasphemy, that which passes in their heads.) For Luke says, 'On the fortieth day they took him to Jerusalem

and thence to Nazareth.' But ignorant men, in fact, do not understand what is the power of the Holy Spirit."¹

It appears clear to me that Epiphanius, in this prolix passage, records the criticism of Celsus and other philosophers, without, however, understanding it. Celsus, in criticising the original Gospel of Luke, pointed out the impossible chronology of the narrative. He said that the evangelist placed the birth and circumcision of Jesus on the same day; that the Evangelist narrated that an angel appeared to Joseph, on the night of the birth of the child, and warned him to remove his wife and her child to Egypt, for Herod

¹ Whence some others of the Hellene philosophers, and I mention Porphyry, and Celsus and Philoabbathius, who [the latter] was set up by the Jews, a dreadful and crafty snake, going into opposition against the evangelical business, denounced the holy Evangelists; being animal and fleshly, and fighting according to the flesh, and not able to please God and not discerning the things of the Spirit. Each taking offence at the words of the truth, on account of the darkness of ignorance within him, falling upon this *poitit*, said: How can the same day be of the birth in Bethlehem, and the same have the circumcision on the eighth day, and the going to Jerusalem after forty days, and the things that were done to him by Simeon and Anna, when on the night on which he was born, there appeared to him, *each* says, an angel, after the advent of the Magi, who came to worship him, and having opened their sacks, made presents. As he [Luke] relates, *each* [Celsus, etc.] says, an Angel appeared to him, saying, Arise and take the child, and your wife, and proceed to Egypt, for Herod seeks the life of the child. If now in that night in which he was born he was taken away to Egypt, and was there until Herod died, whence *is* the remaining, and the circumcision on the eighth day? or how does the lying Luke find the 'after forty days'? So they say blaspheming according to their own head: for, he [*i.e.* Luke] says, on the fortieth day they carried him to Jerusalem, and thence to Nazareth. And they who are in ignorance know not the power of the Holy Spirit.

The *φῃσι*, he says, of these Greek fathers is a difficulty to translators, for it is seldom easy, and often impossible, to ascertain who the speaker is. 'Ὡς λέγει, φησιν, in the passage above, manifestly bothered Petavius, and so he omitted to translate one: "as he says, says he," would not be correct, as this form of assertion is unknown in ancient writings. I translate "as Luke relates, *each* (*i.e.* of the philosophers) says."

Οθεν καὶ τινες ἄλλοι ἐξ Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφων, φημι δὲ Πορφύριος, καὶ Κέλσος, καὶ Φιλοσαββάτιος, ὁ ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὀρμώμενος, δεινὸς καὶ ἀπατεῶν ὄφης, εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς πραγματείας διεξιόντες ἀνατροπὴν, τῶν ἁγίων Εὐαγγελιστῶν κατηγοροῦσι, ψυκικοὶ καὶ σαρκικοὶ ὑπάρχοντες, κατὰ σάρκα δὲ στρατευνόμενοι, καὶ Θεοῦ εὐαρέστησιν ἀδυνάτως ἔχοντες, καὶ τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος μὴ νοησάμενοι. Ἐκαστος γὰρ προσκρότων τοῖς λόγοις τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ τὴν ἐναυτὸν τύφλωσιν τῆς ἀγνοίας, εἰς τοῦτο ἐμπίπτοντες ἔλεγον· πῶς δύναται ἡ αὕτη ἡμέρα εἶναι τῆς ἐν Βηθλεεμ γενήσεως, αὕτη καὶ περιτομῇ ἔχειν ὀκταήμερον, καὶ διὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἕνοσθον, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Συμεῶνος καὶ Ἀννας εἰς αὐτὸν τετελεσμένα, ὁ πότε ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ ἐγεννήθη, πέφηνεν αὐτῷ, φησὶν, Ἀγγελος, μετὰ τὴν τῶν Μάγων ἔλευσιν τῶν ἐλθόντων προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνοξάντων τὰς πῆρας, καὶ πρυσενεγκάντων; ὥς λέγει, φησὶν, ὥφθη αὐτῷ Ἀγγελος λέγων· ἀναστὰς λάβε τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά σου, καὶ πορεύου εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὅτι ζητεῖ Ἡρώδης τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου. εἰ τοίνυν ἐν ταύτῃ νυκτὶ ᾗ γεγέννηται, παρελήφθη εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἦν, ὥς ὅτου ἀπέθηνεν Ἡρώδης, πόθεν τὸ ἐπιμεῖναι, καὶ ὀκταήμερον περιτμηθῆναι; ἢ πῶς τὸ μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα εὐρίσκεται Λουκᾶς ψευδόμενος, ὥς φασὶ βλασφημῶντες κατὰ τῆς αὐτῶν κεφαλῆς; ὅτι φησὶν ἐν τῇ τεσσακοντῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνήνεγκαν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, κακεῖθεν εἰς Ναζαρέτ. καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν οἱ ἀγνοσῖα κατεχόμενοι τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τὴν δύναμιν.—*Εῤῥή.* li. 8; *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 429.

was seeking the life of the latter, and that Joseph followed the celestial warning and remained in Egypt till the death of Herod ; and that all these events occurred within forty days ; and he quoted the actual statements of the original Gospel in proof. His criticism was that the Jew's custom was to circumcise, not on the day of birth, but eight days after ; and that it was impossible for Joseph to have made the journey to Egypt, to have remained there till the death of Herod, and then to have returned, all within the space of forty days ; hence he concluded that Luke's narrative was false. Epiphanius vouches that these criticisms were actually made by Celsus and others, and that is all that I am concerned with, for it is an absolute confirmation of Tertullian's statement, which is in fact conclusive in itself, that the original Gospel according to Luke contained the episodes of the visit of the Magi, the conduct of Herod, and the journey to and sojourn in Egypt. Epiphanius has preserved a portion of the missing text : "An angel appeared to him, saying, Arise and take the child and your wife and proceed to Egypt, for Herod seeks the life of the child." The divergence of this verse from the corresponding passage in Matt. ii. 13 indicates that these episodes in Luke were not a verbal transcript of Matthew's account of the same events, which is as follows : "The angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word ; for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him." The recovery of the rest of the missing text of the original Gospel of Luke is not now practicable, and we must reconcile ourselves to its loss.

We have not advanced beyond the first chapter and the initial verses of the second chapter of the Gospel according to Luke, and it must be already evident to the reader who has followed me so far, that the nameless forger or pseudo-Luke, to whom the Holy Catholic Church had entrusted the sacred duty of converting the Marcionite Gospel into orthodox Holy Scripture, was a solid blunderer. My investigation of the text of the original Gospel has made plain that the forger had committed several blunders, which the Holy Catholic Church subsequently amended. For example, the original Gospel made the conceptions of John the Baptist and of Jesus contemporaneous, which mistake withdrew from the former the character of forerunner ; it placed the site of the annunciation at Bethlehem ; it declared Mary to be of the house and lineage of David, who was of the tribe of Judah, whereas in a few verses before it announced her relationship to Elizabeth, who was of the tribe of Levi ; it apparently assigned the same day to the birth and circumcision of Jesus, which was against the Levitical Law, which

appointed the eighth day after birth for the performance of the rite of circumcision; it compressed the double journey to and from Egypt, and the residence there to the death of Herod, together with the subsidiary incidents of the blessing of the child by Simeon and Anna, into the space of forty days. All these blunders had subsequently to be rectified; and the means by which this was effected were, as may be seen from a comparison of the ancient text with the present Gospel, alteration, excision and interpolation. These emendations date from the third century, perhaps in a few instances from the close of the second century, to three or four centuries later, long after the death of Marcion, who cannot reasonably be regarded as the operator. These practices, in fact, were largely indulged in by the Holy Catholic Church, and an ordinary person can with difficulty believe that the sacred institution was innocent of them in the second half of the second century, when the Canonical Gospels were compiled from sectarian gospels.

The subject of the census, referred to in Luke ii. 1-4, has been recently historically investigated by a competent scholar, Professor Ramsay, of the University of Aberdeen, who has come to the conclusion that the census of the Third Gospel took place in the year 6 before Christ.¹ Two centuries ago, Archbishop Ussher, of Armagh, a profound scholar, after historical investigation of the subject, came to the conclusion that the death of Herod occurred in the year 4 before Christ. Both conclusions are adverse to the evangelical narrative in the original Canonical Gospels of Luke and Matthew, and practically prove the falsity of the history in both Gospels. The evangelical biography of Jesus was subjected to the scrutiny of Marcion in the second century, and of his follower, Luke, Lucanus, or Lucianus, for he was known by all these names; they absolutely rejected it as false and untrustworthy, and not fit to be introduced into their Gospel. To me there appears a striking unanimity between the conclusions of the ancient and modern investigators of the same subject. The pivot or central point on which modern chronology has been constructed is the chronological statement of Marcion and his follower aforesaid, with which the Marcionite Gospel began, that Jesus entered upon his public ministry of teaching in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. That is a chronological statement that has never been controverted. Marcion and his follower were satisfied that that date was correct, and they introduced it into their Gospel. They were not indebted for it to any Christian publication whose

¹ *Was Christ born at Bethlehem? A Study on the Credibility of St Luke.* By W. M. Ramsay, M.A., D.C.L. 1898.

existence we know of; they arrived at it by a process about which they have not informed us; but we cannot doubt that they acquired it by the same process of investigation employed by Professor Ramsay and Archbishop Ussher. Marcion and his literary follower never attempted to fix the age of the Lord, nor the date of his birth. That was the work of the forger of their Gospel; and hence the age and natal date of Jesus has become the subject of dispute. Pseudo-Luke—not Marcion's follower, but the forger of his Gospel—was the author of the statement that Jesus was about thirty years of age when he began his ministry. We have no means of testing the accuracy of the statement; but we know that it emanated from a forger who was a more hopeless chronological blunderer than, Bishop Lightfoot says, Epiphanius was,—a blunderer who was unable to maintain the unities in writing a simple narrative. This blunderer incorporated into the preliminary chapters of the Canonical Gospel of Luke the fabricated stories at that period in currency regarding the acts of Herod and the census, which Archbishop Ussher and Professor Ramsay, in modern times, have ascertained were not synchronous with the birth of Jesus, according to the evangelical chronology, but preceded it; and which Marcion and his follower in ancient times rejected as erroneous, and abstained from admitting into their Gospel. While admiring the conduct of the ancient investigators of the subject, who in times of ignorance and superstition had the courage to reject the fabulous history, I do not know how to characterise the action of the modern investigators of the same subject, in times of knowledge and enlightenment, who, in spite of their conclusions, cling to the fabulous history. This is the peculiar mental condition to which I have applied the term theological noodleism. Archbishop Ussher desired that the birth of Jesus should be dated four years before he was born, and recently Professor Ramsay has advocated that it should be antedated six years; both the learned investigators being moved by the amiable but unscientific desire to save the credit of the evangelical stories. An excuse may be found for the learned Archbishop in that he possessed a Hibernian intellect, which is known to suffer from singular and amusing aberrations, like that of the Irishman who, finding his blanket too short to cover his feet, cut off a portion from the top and sewed it on to the bottom. The learned Hibernian prelate, in order to save the credit of the second chapter of Matthew, damaged the credit of Luke i. 5 and iii. 23, the latter being the more important passage.¹ Such an excuse cannot, of

¹ The modern system of chronology is founded upon the statement in Luke iii. 23, that Jesus was thirty years of age in the fifteenth year of Tiberius

course, be made for Professor Ramsay, who is a Caledonian, the peculiarity of the intellect of which nationality, I am credibly informed, is represented by the word 'canny,' defined in the dictionary as "cautious, wary, skilful," with special reference to the acquisition and conservation of the commodities known as 'bawbees' and 'siller,' but generally applicable to other and higher subjects.

I now come to the next incident in Tertullian's list, the circumcision (Luke ii. 21). I can find no quotation of this verse in early writers, and hence it must be taken as existing in the original Gospel, but with slight emendation, for which the authority is the criticism made by Celsus, viz., that the Evangelist related the circumcision to have been done on the day of birth. Celsus may be justly regarded as hypercritical on this point;¹ but the bare fact that his criticism was actually made indicates that the words 'eight days' were wanting in the original text of the Gospel. The statement of a definite period must therefore be erased. The next three verses, ch. ii. 22, 23 and 24, are quoted by Irenæus III. x. 5, in the exact terms of our present Gospel; but an addition must be made of the words 'after forty days,' or 'on the fortieth day,' for it is clear from the criticisms of Celsus, viz., "How does the lying Luke find the after forty days?" and again, "for he says, on the fortieth day they carried him to Jerusalem," that the numerical statement was actually made in the Gospel. The omission of these preliminary words in the quotation by Irenæus does not imply their absence in the original text; either he used a later edition of the Gospel, or his translator modified the quotation.

Irenæus mentions Siméon, and quotes his song (III. x. 5), but he makes no reference to the contents of verses 25 and 27, nor do I find any quotation of the latter in other early writers. The song is quoted verbatim with our received Greek text, with the omission of the clause "according to thy word." This omission is supplied in other quotations by Irenæus, which indicates the tampering of his translator. The omission throws doubt upon verse 26, to which it has a special reference. The following verses (33-40) must be accepted as the text of the original Gospel, on the guarantee of a quotation of the clause "Behold, this *child* is set for the fall and rising again of many," in verse 34, by Hippolytus (Ante-Nicene Christian

Cæsar; the statement was made by a base and blundering forger of the second century. Society has made one step in wisdom in no longer putting trust in theological data derived from Holy Scripture.

¹ The forty days included eight days for the circumcision, and thirty-three for the purification after the birth of a male child, the day of circumcision being counted the first day of the purification (Lev. xii. 1-3), according to the usual Jewish and evangelical mode of calculation.

Library, *Hipp. Fragments*, p. 413), and of the mention made of Anna by Irenæus in i. viii. 4, and the quotation "and she spake of him to all who looked for redemption in Jerusalem" (verse 38) in iii. x. 5. A curious change is found in Mrs Lewis's Syriac Gospel, of seven days, instead of years, as the duration of Anna's married life.

That the next passage from verse 41-52 existed in the original Gospel we must accept on the authority of Irenæus, who mentions amongst the "very many and more necessary *parts* of the Gospel" for which we are indebted to Luke that Jesus "at twelve years of age was left behind in Jerusalem" (iii. xiv. 3). It is singular that this picturesque passage is referred to by no writer after Irenæus till we come to Epiphanius, in the second half of the fourth century. This author makes a full reference to it and quotes the words of Mary in verse 48 and Jesus' reply in verse 49 (*Epiph.*, xxx. 29; *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 155). I notice one discrepancy between the text of Epiphanius, which must be regarded as the text of the original Gospel, and our received Greek text. Epiphanius has in verse 48 "I and thy father have sought thee sorrowing," while our Greek text has "thy father and I." The former is correct and in accordance with ancient classical usage. Cardinal Wolsey is said to have used the formula "I and the King," *Ego et Rex*, which, though not courtly or courteous, was good classical Latin, and the ancient custom. The change from the ancient to the modern form of speech was of course made in later centuries.

The third chapter of Luke begins with a series of chronological statements. Thus, "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituræa, and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness." Tertullian begins his review of the Marcionite Gospel with the following words (iv. 7): *Anno quintodecimo principatu Tiberiani, proponit eum descendisse in civitatem Galilææ, Capernaïm*. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius (or literally Tiberian reign) he states that he came down to the city of Galilee Capernaum. He does not say that there was a difference here between the text of the two Gospels. My inference is that the corresponding passage in the Canonical Gospel contained the date in connection with the arrival at Capernaum, and hence that the date in the Canonical Gospel was not stated in ch. iii. 1 of our Gospel, but in ch. iv. 31. This legitimate inference is confirmed by Epiphanius, whose Gospel in many points corresponded with the ancient Gospel in the hands of Tertullian. He says

Marcion cut out and passed over the commencement, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand," etc.; the stories of Elisabet, of the angel making the announcement to Mary the virgin; of John and Zacharias; of the birth of the Lord at Bethlehem, with his genealogy and baptism, and he made this the beginning of his Gospel: "In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar," etc. If the date in Epiphanius' Gospel was not immediately associated with the going down to Capernaum, he could not have indicated the text of the Marcionite Gospel with a simple *καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς*, and the rest, or *et cetera*. Chapters iii. and iv. 30 intervene in our present Gospel, but they did not in the copy used by Epiphanius; and hence a simple etc. was sufficient to indicate the continuation of the Marcionite text.¹ Tertullian does not mention Cæsar in his quotation, and hence this addition must be regarded as a later interpolation.

The date, however, was, probably before the close of the second century, transferred from ch. iv. 31, to ch. iii. 1. Clement of Alexandria makes the following quotation of the passage: "It is written in the Gospel of Luke thus: 'Now in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, the word of the Lord came to John, the son of Zacharias'" (*Strom.*, i. xxi., sect. 145). The words 'in the reign' do not occur in Clement's quotation of the verse, in which the expression is ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. The quotation by Epiphanius is Ἐν τῷ πεντε καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς: in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar and the rest. The words καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, equivalent to *et cetera*, cannot be understood to include the other contemporary events stated in our present Gospel, in the face of Clement's quotation, in which they are not mentioned. Tertullian's quotation is the original text of the first Alexandrian Master: Clement's quotation indicates the changes made by him, the second Alexandrian Master, the chief change being in the position of the date. It is presumable that this change was modified by Origen, the third Alexandrian Master, who quotes the passage without the date, thus: "The word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness."

¹ Volckmar very curiously remarks, after quoting Epiphanius' words, ταῦτα πάντα παρακόψας ἀπεπήδησε καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ἔταξε ταύτην:—"Er drückt sich undeutlich aus aber mit dem 'Abspringen' beim Bilden des Anfangs kann er nur sagen, dass er von Lc. iii. 1 auf ein späterfolgendes (iv. 31) sofort ubergangen ist." Hence Volckmar's translation of the Greek was thus: "Having cut out all these things he took a leap and made this the beginning of the Gospel." He does not express himself clearly, but with the leap in making the beginning of the Gospel he can only mean that he immediately went over from Luke iii. 1 to a passage following later, iv. 31. Volckmar is doubtless a Greek scholar, but I doubt if anybody will accept this quaint and forced exposition. Petavius translates: *hæc omnia circumcidens ac transiens, inde Evangelium exorditur* (i. 312). If Epiphanius intended to mean a leap, he would surely have stated the two limits of the leap: he can only be taken to mean from his words that Marcion having passed or skipped over the preliminary passages, began his Gospel from the passage indicated.

(*On John*, vi. 14). Origen substituted 'God' for 'Lord,' and added 'in the wilderness.' It is clear and certain from Epiphanius that in his copy of the Canonical Gospel the date was not in ch. iii. 1, but in ch. iv. 31. In the absence of other testimony we must accept the quotation of ch. iii. 3 by Origen (same reference), as the original text, which agrees with our present Gospel. We can, however, dispense with accepting the text of the verses immediately succeeding from Origen, who, I believe, was one who occupied himself with modifying and improving the text of the original Gospel. Irenæus quotes the succeeding verses, and he specially states that the passage is found both in Matthew and Luke (III. ix. 1), "ait Matthew, similiter autem et Lucas," *i.e.* "Matthew says, and Luke also similarly." The original reading of the passage is thus given by Irenæus: "For this is he that was spoken of by the Lord through the prophet: The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough into smooth ways: and all flesh shall see the salvation of God." Verses 7, 8 and 9 must be taken on the testimony of Origen (same reference) chiefly, and partly of Irenæus, who quotes the words of John, "That God is able from stones to raise up children to Abraham" (v. xxxii. 2), to have existed in the original Gospel. I am satisfied that verses 10 and 11 did not exist in the original Gospel. Irenæus puts the words of John in verse 11 into the mouth of Jesus, iv. xxx. 3: "For he that hath two coats, let him give to him who hath not; and he that hath food let him do likewise," and he associates these words with other precepts of Jesus. Tertullian (*On Modesty*, x.) refers to these addresses of John to soldiers, publicans and sons of Abraham, *i.e.*, to verses 14, 12 and 8, but he passes over verses 10 and 11, in which the 'people' are addressed. The 'people' or the mob, οἱ ὄχλοι, perhaps may be regarded as pagans, and not the sons of Abraham; the soldiers or legionaries were certainly pagans. Tertullian also associates the precept in verse 11 with the precepts of Jesus (*On Patience*, vii.); and the homely nature of the precept leads one to think that it was originally placed in Matthew, and was part of the Sermon on the Mount. The allusions of Tertullian are sufficient guarantee of the existence of verses 12, 13, and 14 in the original Gospel. I can find no quotations in Irenæus or Tertullian from the passage extending from verses 15 to 18, which is in the main a transcript of Matthew; and hence this passage must be regarded as existing in the original Gospel, from absence of knowledge of the contrary. Origen, however, refers to verse 15 and quotes verse 16 from Luke's Gospel (*On John*, vi. 16). Verses 19 and 20,

regarding the reproof of Herod the tetrarch by John and the imprisonment of the latter, are not quoted by any writers; so they must stand, as no proof can be brought of their non-existence in the original Gospel. In this position, and preceding the statement in verse 21 regarding the baptism of Jesus, the statement in verse 20 that John was shut up in prison, leads to the just inference that the latter did not baptise Jesus. This inference is further supported by the fact that verse 21 does not definitely state that John baptised Jesus. This was a blunder of the forger, and is consistent with the other evidences, already noted, of his incompetency for the task undertaken by him. To obviate mistake, the proper position of verses 19 and 20 should have been after verse 22 and before 23. It is singular that this blunder was overlooked by Origen and not rectified by him. The next verse, 21, is quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, i. xxi., sect. 135) but partially, only a single clause from the Gospel, viz., "Jesus also was coming to the baptism, *being* of about thirty years." This clause must hence be introduced into verse 21, which may be thus rendered as part of the original Gospel: "Now when all the people were baptised it came to pass that Jesus also was coming to the baptism, *being* of about thirty years, and praying, the heaven was opened." Irenæus (ii. xxii. 5) also quotes the passage thus: "But Jesus was as it were beginning thirty years, when he came to baptism," but I give the preference to Clement's Greek over the Latin translation of Irenæus; and Clement's quotation further fits in better with the received Greek text. That the original Gospel contained the statement regarding the age of Jesus in association with his baptism, and not with his genealogy, as in our present Gospel (verse 23), is further confirmed by Irenæus, who in detailing the contents of the Gospel of Luke mentions "the baptism of John, the number of the Lord's years when he was baptised" (iii. xiv. 3). The next verse (22) must necessarily be taken as existing in the original Gospel, as I can find no quotation of the original text. But the second clause of the heavenly utterance, "In thee I am well pleased," has been manifestly changed. In the whole volume of Christian literature of the first and second centuries, these words are found in one single passage, viz., in *Irenæus*, iii. ix. 3, where Matthew iii. 17 is quoted thus, "and lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." In every other known passage, the quotation is, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee" (Heb. i. 5); *First Epistle of Clement*, xxxvi.; Justin's *Trypho*, ch. lxxxviii., twice quoted, ciii. Clement of Alexandria quotes the voice at the baptism as saying, "Thou art my beloved Son, to-day

have I begotten thee" (*Pæd.*, i. 6). The Latin translator of Irenæus may surely be justly accused of having changed the original Greek of his author. It is singular that Tertullian, although he frequently referred to the baptism, has never quoted the voice. In *Anti-Marcion*, iv. 22, Tertullian repeats the ancient quotation, "Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee; hear ye him." This, however, was the text of Luke ix. 35 in both the Marcionite and the original Canonical Gospels, but Tertullian here omits the word 'beloved.' After this early period, the ancient quotation from Ps. ii. 7 fell into partial desuetude in Christian literature. Even Tertullian in *Adv. Praxeas*, xix., dropped it, and quoted Isa. xlii. 1: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." This and other similar quotations by Hippolytus in his *Discourse on the Holy Theophany*, 5, 6, and 7, by Methodius and Origen, all in the third century (see p. 339), are the first appearances of the new words of the heavenly voice. Henceforth the Holy Catholic Church practically suppressed the ancient words in the sacred writings. In his *New Testament in the Original Greek*, Bishop Westcott declares that the heavenly voice uttered either "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased"; or "Thou art my Son; I this day have begotten thee" (Luke iii. 22). The reader may take his choice; but the bishop practically recommends the adoption of the former utterance, which was first heard of in the third century, by inserting it in the body of the text, the place of honour, while the ancient utterance is relegated to the margin.

The statement of the age of Jesus must be eliminated from verse 23. The genealogy in Luke was not considered of much consequence by Irenæus, as he omits it from his list of the important parts of the Gospel. One of the most extraordinary circumstances in connection with the genealogies given in the Gospels of Luke and Matthew is the singular infatuation of ancient and modern theologians that they give the descent of Mary, and not of Joseph; but Mary's name is conspicuous by its absence in them, although a female name does appear in Luke, viz., Joanna, in verse 27. It is only by a device of this nature, they considered, that the descent of Jesus from David can be established, since Joseph was not the natural father of Jesus, and the theological dogma denies his natural human generation. The notion of the Davidian descent was apparently entertained by Paul, though I have serious doubts on the subject;¹ and these genealogies were manifestly constructed at a period when there was no idea of the

¹ Marcion's heresy was essentially the reproduction of the theology of Paul. Marcion disbelieved the Davidian descent, which is evident from his rejection of the genealogies and from Luke xx. 44, where, in the Marcionite Gospel, Jesus himself is represented as questioning his assumed descent from David. "How is he then his son?"

mythology that sprung up in the second century. As I have demonstrated in my previous work on the Fourth Gospel, the dogma of the miraculous conception was unknown in the first century. That Joseph was not the natural father of Jesus was the fact, and was even stated in the genealogical tables. The expressions in Matthew's Gospel, i. 16, "Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus," and in Luke's Gospel "as was supposed," which may also be rendered 'according to usage' or 'as was the custom,' were originally intended to mark the fact that Joseph was not the natural father. This fact, however, did not affect the descent, as the natural father of Jesus was Joseph's brother; who according to the Levitical Law was bound to marry the childless widow. Hence there was no necessity to repudiate the genealogies made of the descent of Joseph, as under the Mosaic Law the deceased husband was regarded as the father of the offspring of a Levirate marriage. And as a matter of fact the genealogy of Joseph would suit his brother equally well. The expression 'as was supposed,' assuming it to have been in existence in the genealogies drawn up, had no reference to the miraculous conception, but simply indicated the son of a Levirate marriage, in which the deceased husband was legally the father of the child of the re-married widow, if she had been childless. Eusebius quotes this explanation of the genealogy in Luke given by Africanus, a contemporary of Origen in the first half of the third century (*Ecc. Hist.*, i. 7), who says: "It was not possible to express the legal genealogy more distinctly, so that he [Luke] entirely omits the expression, 'he begat,' in a generation like this." It would thus appear that Jesus was the son, by law, of Joseph, but by nature, of the brother of Joseph: for in a Levirate marriage the brother of the deceased and childless husband was bound to marry the widow, and to raise up a family for the deceased brother. This explanation gives the clue to the peculiar words employed by Paul in speaking of the birth of Jesus: "Made of a woman, made under the law" (*Gal.* iv. 4). Africanus quotes the text of the Gospel of Luke of his time thus: "Who was the son as was supposed," for this too he adds, "of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Melchi." It will be observed that this reading does not fit in with the text of our present Gospel. It will hence be necessary and reasonable to reconstruct the text of the original Gospel out of the information supplied by Clement of Alexandria and Africanus, thus: "And Jesus was the son, as was supposed, of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Melchi." In verse 24 of our Gospel, two generations, those of Matthat and Levi, have been interpolated and hence must be deleted. The Greek words *ὡς ἐνομίζετο*, rendered "as was supposed" in our A. V. and R. V.,

have had a false interpretation put upon them, and hence I propose to change the translation to 'according to usage,' and thus to restore to the Greek words the meaning which they originally bore, viz., to indicate that the father named was the *legal* father, and not the natural father. The canonical evangelists did not formally recognise this fact, which both Matt. i. 16 and Luke iii. 23 practically record, viz., that Joseph was dead and that his widow Mary was re-married to her deceased husband's brother, whose name has not been preserved, when Jesus was born.¹ This fact appears to me to have been recognised by Cerinthus in the Fourth Gospel, vi. 42, in the singular form of words: "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" This is a form of expression that we should never use nowadays under our Christian system of marriage. For instance, we would never say, "Is not this Charles, Mr Smith's son, whose father and mother we know?" Our expression would be, 'Is not this Charles, whose father, Mr Smith, and mother we know?' Besides the interpolation of two generations above noted, there has been a third generation added, but which it was I have not been able to ascertain. Irenæus states (III. xxii. 3) that Luke's pedigree tracing the generation of our Lord back to Adam contains seventy-two generations. The number of generations in our present Gospel is seventy-five; of the excess I have been able to detect the identity of two only; the third generation interpolated I cannot ascertain. The accuracy of this pedigree does not appear to me to be unquestionable. The date of the creation of Adam is said by Archbishop Ussher to be 4004 B.C.,² so that the average period of each of seventy-two generations would be over fifty-five years, or less than two generations in a century. The usual reckoning is three generations in a century. These calculations are, however, visionary.

¹ The translator of the fragments of the writings of Africanus, in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. ix. (*Fragments*, p. 168), remarks that this conclusion is "absurd and impious." The explanation of Africanus is quoted with approval by Eusebius, so that the conclusion was not considered absurd or impious by the Christians of his time, the first half of the fourth century. Judging from the influential and intimate relations between Eusebius and the Emperor Constantine, and the literary and religious eminence of the former, I should say that the historian's approval of the explanation given by Africanus means its acceptance by the great body of Christian society of those times. The exoteric, or publicly proclaimed view, was that Jesus was begotten of the Holy Ghost; but the esoteric, or private and personal view, of Christians, was that he was begotten by the brother of Joseph.

² The exact date was calculated by a Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, named Dr Lightfoot, in the seventeenth century, to have been nine o'clock on the morning of the twenty-third October, 4004 B.C. As I am writing from memory, perhaps the figures are not quite correctly stated. Adam was created in good time for breakfast; and this circumstance gives social support to the mathematical accuracy of the learned theologian.

We must accept as a fact that the story of the fasting and temptation in the wilderness existed in the original Gospel, because Irenæus quotes a part of it which he distinctly attributes to the Gospel of Luke; but we have no guarantee of the words of the text or of the various incidents, except of the portion actually quoted. Irenæus thus gives verses 6, 7, and 8 of ch. iv.: "All these things will I give unto thee, since they have been delivered unto me, and I give them to whom I will, if falling down thou wilt worship me"; and Jesus' reply: "Depart, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve" (v. xxi. 2). The language of the original Gospel approached much more the text of Matthew than of our Luke. The next three verses (13-15) must be taken as existing in the original Gospel. The earliest quotation of them is by Origen (*On John*, x. 1), from which we ascertain not only their text, but their position also. I do not, however, admit these verses into the original text without misgiving, because Origen lies under a suspicion, which in the course of my investigations has spontaneously arisen in my mind, of being an emendator and improver of the evangelical text. These verses are not of serious importance. They can hardly be regarded as announcing genuine history, but as merely connecting propositions to link the previous chapters, which together form the solid main addition to the Marcionite Gospel, with the latter which now follows.

The Marcionite Gospel, as already stated, began at Luke iv. 31, which had prefixed to it the first clause of Luke iii. 1. In our present Canonical Gospel there is a long passage, extending from Luke iv. 16-30, which intervenes between the conclusion of the composition of pseudo-Luke at iv. 15, and iv. 31, the commencement of the Marcionite Gospel. This intervening passage, barring interpolations, existed in the Marcionite Gospel, but in a different position. But as the relative position of passages, incidents or sections, in the two rival Gospels, forms an important detail in my investigation, it is necessary to ascertain, as far as I can, the position assigned to this dislocated passage in the original Canonical Gospel of Luke. Tertullian definitely informs us of the position of the passage Luke iv. 16-30 in the Marcionite Gospel: it followed Luke iv. 37, or, perhaps, verse 39, in which is detailed the incident of the man delivered of a devil in the synagogue at Capernaum. The natural inference is that it occupied the same position in the Canonical Gospel, since Tertullian does not say that there was any variance between the Gospels in this passage. To ascertain this point more fully, as it has been disputed, it is unfortunately necessary to depend upon later writers. Of these there are two—Origen, in the earlier

part of the third century, and Epiphanius, in the later part of the fourth century—who give precise and definite information regarding the position of the dislocated passage. But alas! the testimony of the one is a direct contradiction to that of the other. Origen (*On John*, x. 1) quotes Luke iv. 13-16 continuously, with the exception of the final clause "and stood up for to read," and then refers to what Luke says of Jesus' address at the synagogue at Nazareth, the rage of the people, and their design to cast Jesus down headlong from the brow of the hill. This quotation is conclusive that the dislocated passage in question occupied in Origen's copy of the Gospel the same position which it occupies in our present Canonical Gospel. In Epiphanius, however, is a clear statement that the passage followed the cure of Peter's mother-in-law which is related in ch. iv. 38 and 39, and hence that the passage Luke iv. 16-30 followed after verse 39, in his copy of the Gospel, and hence that the passage occupied the same relative position in both the Canonical and the Marcionite Gospels. The subject requires to be stated in detail. Epiphanius in his dissertation on the Alogi enters into a detailed account of the sequence of the incidents in the life of Jesus. It is of no importance whether his account be correct or not: probably no two independent theologians, *i.e.*, who are not in league with each other, would agree in stating the chronological sequence of events detailed in the Gospels. These chronicles are confused, contradictory, and in some parts the alleged facts recounted are chronologically and physically impossible; but I am not concerned with the accuracy or concordance of the evangelical narratives as given by Epiphanius. I am engaged merely on the mechanical task of ascertaining the text of the original Gospel of Luke. Epiphanius relates the incidents in the life of Jesus up to the cure of Peter's mother-in-law. This incident is related in Matt. viii. 14 and Mark i. 29, and also in Luke iv. 38 and 39; but it will be seen from Epiphanius' remarks that he has the latter Gospel before him. He says that Jesus cured "also the mother-in-law of Peter, who was from Bethsaida, but married from Capernaum, these places being [not¹] far in intermediate distance; he cures her of fever, and she being healed, ministered; so is the sequence. And after these things, he having again returned to Nazareth, where he was brought up, then he read the book of the Prophet Esaias: then anticipating them and saying: Surely you will say unto me this parable, Physician heal

¹ This is an example of the omission of the small word *μή*, or not, which is worthy of notice in connection with the omission of the same particle in the precept, "Make [not] to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness" (see p. 190).

thyself: whatsoever signs we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in thy own country. And do you see thus is the sequence of the truth? and he performed nothing, he says, on account of their want of faith" (li. 15; *Pet.*, vol. i. 437). There can be no clearer proof that in Epiphanius' copy of the Gospel the passage from verses 16-30. followed verses 38 and 39, in which is related the cure of Peter's mother-in-law. We thus perceive that there were in the third and fourth centuries, two readings of the passage; in one the scene at Nazareth preceded the cure of Peter's relative, which is quoted by Origen; in the other the same scene immediately followed the cure, which is quoted by Epiphanius. I see no reason in the present case to accuse either of these two authors of dishonesty or inaccuracy; but as Origen lies under the suspicion, in my mind, of being an emendator and improver of the text of the Gospels, and hence of using an amended and improved text, I prefer to take the text of Epiphanius' Gospel as representing here the arrangement of the text of the original Gospel. Tertullian, in fact, in not pointing out any difference between the two Gospels, is supported by the order given by Epiphanius. Thus the passage Luke iv. 16-30 was, in my judgment, not in the position in which we find it in the present Canonical Gospel, but following verses 38 and 39, or, as I should prefer to say, following Luke iv. 31-39, which was the position which it had in the Marcionite Gospel. The concluding remark made by Epiphanius, which he enforces with a $\phi\eta\sigma\iota$, he says—*i.e.*, Luke says—indicates an omission in the present Canonical Gospel of a statement which existed in the original Gospel. I may remark here that this dislocated passage, so far as I know, has been accepted by theologians and scholars, Continental and English, by those who regard the Canonical Gospel as the original and the Marcionite Gospel as pirated, and by those who hold the contrary opinion, as occupying in the original Gospel the same position which it has in our present Gospel. The passage has caused me more embarrassment and more searching through the endless pages of ancient ecclesiastical writers than any other, excepting Peter's cock. The result of my labours, above set forth, has confirmed me in my opinion, formed after wearisome research, that the Marcionite Gospel was the source and foundation of the Third Gospel. It would have been useless to point out that the dislocated passage, like a cart before the horse, is in a wrong position in our present Gospel, as a reference is made in it (verse 23) to what was done in Capernaum in a subsequent verse (verse 31), as the proposition would be met with theological sophistry and wordy argumentation. The statement of Epiphanius on the subject is a satisfactory guarantee of the original position of the passage,

and is a strong proof that the Canonical Gospel was made to vary from the Marcionite Gospel, and not the latter from the former; that the latter was the standard from which deviations were subsequently made.

It is difficult to determine the motive for the removal of this passage (iv. 16-30) from its right position in the original Gospel, after verse 39, to the abnormal site it occupies in the present Canonical Gospel, before verse 31. Confining one's view to the Third Gospel, it would seem that the motive was to remove the inauguration of the ministry of Jesus from Capernaum to Nazareth, to make the latter the Mecca of ecclesiastical Christianity, and thereby to discredit the Marcionite Gospel, in which the history placed the starting point of the ministry of Jesus at Capernaum. But extending the view over the three Synoptic Gospels, this design will appear to be frustrated by the Gospel of Matthew, in which the starting-point was Capernaum (iv. 13 and 17); and hardly supported by the Gospel of Mark, in which Jesus is represented to have begun his preaching in Galilee generally (i. 14), Nazareth not being mentioned, while Capernaum is named a few verses lower down (verse 21).¹ On the other hand, in the Gospel of John, Jesus performed his first miracle in Cana of Galilee, and began his preaching in Jerusalem, Nazareth not being named at all, while Capernaum is (ii. 12). Or the change was done recklessly, without calculating the preservation of the unities; for the Nazarites were thus represented to clamour for the performance to-day of what was heard done in Capernaum to-morrow, a chronological miracle indeed (compare Luke ii. 23 with verse 31 ff.). Perhaps the real motive which induced the change of position of this passage may be best expressed by the American word 'cussedness.' It must be remembered, however, that this blunder was not made by the original forger, whom I call pseudo-Luke, or the false Luke. I think it was a blunder of Origen's, to whom I attribute this foolish change of position of the passage, whose zeal for the improvement of the Gospel, in this instance, outran his common-sense, which was generally of good quality. It is just possible that this change was made to compensate for the gradual reversion to the order of the Marcionite Gospel, the real standard, by the introduction of a strange divergence.

¹ Volckmar, who brushes aside facts when they do not suit, boldly says that the general Gospel makes Jesus enter upon his public ministry first at Nazareth, "wo schon das *Allgemeine* Evangelium Christus zuerst öffentlich auftreten lässt" (*op. cit.*, p. 146). This, he says, is the reason why Marcion transposed the passage. The fact, as shown above, was that the passage originally occupied the same position in both Gospels. Origen made the transposition.

CHAPTER V.

EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT OF THE MARCIONITE AND ORIGINAL CANONICAL GOSPEL OF LUKE.

WE now come to the Marcionite Gospel, and the first fact to be noted regarding it is that it was published without a title and author's name. Tertullian makes much of this fact. He ridicules Marcion's Gospel by referring to it as the Gospel according to the Antitheses, the Pontic Gospel, and the Gospel of Pontus, names which he invented for it (*Anti-Marc.*, iv. i. 2, and elsewhere). He contrasts the evangelical instrument whose publication was committed by the Lord to the Apostles, to apostolic men (not alone, but associated with apostles) and to after-apostles,¹ with the heretical Gospel, which he says had neither author nor title; in fact, he continues, it had no frontispiece or shop-front and hence gave no assurance or promise of fidelity from the fulness of a title and the declaration of the author (*Anti-Marc.*, iv. 2; see p. 388). Irenæus and Epiphanius are silent on the subject of the title and author, but refer to the heretical Gospel or to Marcion's Gospel. Tertullian, however, is explicit on the point, and he had a copy of the Marcionite Gospel in his hands; and it must hence be accepted as a historical fact that the Marcionite Gospel was a document without a title and without the author's name appended to it.

Tertullian informs us that the Marcionite Gospel began thus: "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, he came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee." This was the text in both Gospels, as Tertullian states no difference. Upon this passage Tertullian founded his great falsehood that Marcion taught that Jesus descended from the sky at mature age, which I have already discussed (*Anti-*

¹ I understand this passage of Tertullian in a different sense from Dr Westcott and other translators. "Constituimus in primis, Evangelium instrumentum Apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus Evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum. Si et Apostolicos, non tamen solos, sed cum Apostolis, et post Apostolos." I think the latter were second century apostles, whom Tertullian designates after-apostles.

Marcion, iv. 7). Professor Sanday remarks on the passage that "Marcion evidently intends the word [κατῆλθεν, he came down] to be taken in a transcendental sense of the emanation and descent to earth of the Æon Christus" (see *ante*, p. 54). I am myself unable to perceive that intention, and it does not appear that Marcion taught the theology of emanations or æons, which was the doctrine of Cerinthus, Valentinus, and other Gnostics. Epiphanius makes no comment at all on the passage; and it is plain the honest bishop did not perceive any transcendental meaning in the simple words of the Marcionite narrative. Throughout his lengthy dissertation on Marcion and his Gospel, the only possible allusion made by this author to Tertullian's falsehood is in the statement that Marcion says "Christ came down from above from the invisible and ineffable Father, for the salvation of souls," etc. (XLII. iv.; *Pet.*, vol. i. 305); but he does not use this simple and reverent view of Marcion's doctrine, which was his own and that of all Christians, past and present, to force a transcendental meaning upon this passage of the Marcionite Gospel.¹ After giving full expression to his untruth of the material descent of Jesus from the sky, Tertullian proceeds to say that Marcion erased from the Gospel of Luke the following passages: "He came not to dissolve the law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them"; "I am not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel"; "It is not *meet* to take away the children's bread, and to give it to the dogs." It is clear, therefore, that these sayings existed in this connection in the original Canonical Gospel. It appears to me likely that they were placed after 'sabbath days' in verse 31, and perhaps a connecting word was employed, such as 'saying.' Tertullian quotes the exact words of the next verse (32), with the addition of the word 'all.' It is clear throughout the observations in the fourth book of Tertullian's work, *Adversus Marcionem*, usually rendered *Anti-Marcion*, that he had the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels before him, and his quotations are from the former. All the future references in this chapter will be taken from this book of *Anti-Marcion*, unless specially stated otherwise. Tertullian proceeds with the passage, and details the words of "the spirit of a dæmon," or devil, which word throughout the A. V. and R. V. is used in translating the Greek word δαίμων. The adjective 'unclean' was not in the Marcionite text, and Tertullian does not

¹ I have found no reference to Tertullian's writings in Epiphanius, and hence I conclude that Epiphanius was ignorant of Tertullian's great falsehood. Perhaps the simple bishop was unacquainted with Latin. I have already pointed out that Eusebius totally ignores Tertullian's misrepresentations of the 'christology' of Marcion. (See page 70.)

say that it existed in the Canonical Gospel. The dæmon says, "What is it to us and to thee, Jesus? Art thou come to destroy us? I know who thou art, thou holy *one* of God." As Tertullian does not state that there was any difference from the Canonical text, these words must be taken as being also the language of the Canonical Gospel; and the whole passage (Luke iv. 31-37) must be accepted as existing in both Gospels.¹ The question of the dæmon, "What is it to us and to thee?" is a literal translation of the Greek received text; but as it has been rendered in the A. V. and R. V., "What have we to do with thee?" I shall adopt the latter translation. In our present Gospel, Jesus is addressed by the devil in verse 34 as 'Jesus of Nazareth.' I can find no authority for the addition 'of Nazareth' in Tertullian.² Directly after his remarks on the casting out of the devil, Tertullian in the next chapter speaks of the appellation or title of Nazarene applied to Jesus, which, he says, he had to be so called according to prophecy. He further remarks that it was hence the Jews applied the name Nazarenes to Christians; and he explains that the term assigned by prophecy to Jesus, became suitable to him from the circumstance that he went down and dwelt at Nazareth, to escape from Archelaus, the son of Herod (ch. viii.). This explanation of the name Nazarene is supported by Epiphanius, xx., Conclusion; *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 51, who says "of the Nazarenes, that is, of the Christians, Christianity having been named for a short time by the Jews and by the apostles themselves, Peter saying Jesus the Nazarene, a man approved by God, and the rest. Later on Christianity began to be called [or to be the term used] at Antioch." And again in ch. xxix. 1, *Pet.*, vol. i. 117, Epiphanius, speaking of the Nazarenes, says they did not obtain the name from Christ nor from Jesus, but they called themselves Nazarenes, "and indeed all Christians were called then

¹ Volckmar adds to the beginning of the Marcionite Gospel the words "Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea," but without critical grounds for the addition; and he substitutes "and straightway on the Sabbath day he entered into the synagogue and taught" (Mark i. 21) for the final clause of verse 31, for the reason that Tertullian remarks, "from heaven straight to the synagogue." Tertullian, however, was not quoting, but commenting. This is hypercriticism, and it is clear that the learned theologian was manufacturing facts to support his theory regarding the Marcionite Gospel.

² Tertullian refers to no difference between the text of this passage in the two rival Gospels, and omits the addition 'of Nazareth' in his quotation of the Marcionite text; hence the addition was wanting in the Canonical text also. His remarks on the appellation or title of Nazarene is conclusive that Jesus was known in the second century as Jesus Nazarene, or the Nazarene, and not 'of Nazareth,' as translated in the A. V. and R. V. *Ἰησοῦς Ναζαρηνός*, with or without the article, is Jesus Nazarene, like John Baptist. In Luke xviii. 37, and xxiv. 19 the appellation *ὁ Ναζωραῖος* is 'the Nazarite.' In Matt. ii. 23 it is erroneously translated Nazarene.

similarly Nazarenes, but it happened for a short time that they were called Jessæi." Tertullian proceeds to say that Marcion ought not to have had anything to do with the domestic localities of the Christ of the Creator, when there were so many other towns which had not been appropriated by the prophets to the latter. He resigns himself, however, to facts, and is content to remark that in spite of Marcion's unreasonableness, Christ will continue to be the Christ of the prophets.¹ He proceeds, in the same chapter, to say, following the Marcionite Gospel, that Christ preached nothing new at Nazareth, and was rejected by reason of a simple proverb, a clear allusion to verse 24 or perhaps to verse 25, both which contain proverbs. He then refers to the seizure of Christ and to his being dragged to the brink of a precipice, and his escape. Without interruption he then speaks of Christ being the healer of sickness, and of the cures which he effected; and he adds the remarkable statement, in anticipation of modern scientific opinion, that the liberation of men from demons is a cure of sickness or bad health. And he further states that "he departed and went into a desert place," as will be found mentioned in verse 42. The whole ch. viii. shows that the entire passage, Luke iv. 31 to 44, including the passage from verses 16-30, was in the Marcionite Gospel, as well as in the original Canonical Gospel. There was no divergence between the two Gospels, either in incident, language or sequence, or Tertullian would have pointed out the variance. There can be no doubt that Nazareth was stated in the Marcionite Gospel to have been the domestic residence or home of Jesus. This being so, we have only to ascertain the text of the original Gospel to find the text of the Marcionite Gospel, both being the same. Epiphanius confirms the conclusion thus arrived at, for he also makes no observation on the passage. The first passage to which he directs notice in which he detected divergence was verse 14 of ch. v. (*Ep.*, xlii. 11; *Pet.*, vol. i. 312). So that all the Marcionite Gospel that preceded this verse was exactly the same in text as the original Canonical Gospel. Neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius

¹ Tertullian's words are: "Hoc propterea non omisi, quia Christum Marcionis oportuerat omne commercium ejerasse etiam locorum familiarium Christi Creatoris, habentem tanta Judææ oppida non ita Christo Creatoris per Prophetas emancipata. Cæterum Prophetarum erit Christus, ubicumque secundum Prophetas invenitur" (*Anti-Marcion*, iv. 8). "This fact I have not refrained from mentioning, because it behoved Marcion's Christ to have forborne all connection with the *domestic* localities of the Creator's Christ, when he had so many towns in Judæa which had not been by the prophets thus assigned to the Creator's Christ. But Christ will be [the Christ] of the prophets, wheresoever He is found in accordance with the Prophets" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Against Marcion*, p. 196). Tertullian, in fact, accuses Marcion's Christ of being in this matter of domestic residence and bringing up, deficient in *ἡμετέριαι*, or the 'sweet reasonableness' of Matthew Arnold. This want of reasonableness, however, destroyed Tertullian's rhetorical picture of the dropping from the sky at the mature age of thirty.

guarantees the existence of the concluding clause of verse 22, "Is not this Joseph's son?" but Epiphanius guarantees the existence of the final cause of verse 23, "in thy own country," and of the whole verse (see p. 129), as he quotes the verse. Verse 24 is not guaranteed by either Tertullian or Epiphanius; but there is no historical reason for excluding it. Epiphanius' quotation stops short at verse 23. I have found no historical grounds for making any further erasures beyond the reading scene, as stated below, in this passage.

I have not succeeded in finding any quotations in early writers from the passage extending from verse 31 to verse 39; so that we must accept the text of the present Gospel, with the changes pointed out by Tertullian. These were the omission of three verses, now found in Matthew's Gospel (v. 17;¹ xv. 24 and 26); and the additions of the word 'unclean' in verse 33 and 'of Nazareth' in verse 34. These omissions being supplied, and additions deleted, the text of the original Gospel and of the Marcionite Gospel will be obtained of the passage from 31 to 39 inclusive.²

As I have shown at the close of my previous chapter, verse 16 followed after verse 39. Origen quotes verse 16, and what followed in the Gospel which he used, thus: "And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and he entered as his custom was into the synagogue on the sabbath day. Then Luke gives what he said at Nazara, and how those in the synagogue were enraged at him, and cast him out of the city, and brought him to the brow of the hill on which their cities were built, to cast him down headlong," etc. (*On John*, x. i., Ante-Nicene Ch. Lib., additional volume, p. 382). It is clear that in Origen's copy of the Gospel of Luke, the interesting passage of the reading of the prophet Esaias did not exist. This

¹ This verse is referred to by Tertullian (iv. 7) thus: "He came, not that he might destroy the law and the prophets, but rather that he might fulfil *them*." In ch. xxxvi. it is quoted thus: "I came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but rather to fulfil *them*," the quotation being preceded by the words, "And this, therefore, is safe in the Gospel." Hence I take the second quotation as the veritable text. In ch. xi. he quotes the verse thus: "I came not to destroy the law but to fulfil *it*." Matt. v. 17 reads thus: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." It is plain that Tertullian did not quote from Matthew.

² I should remark here, in a footnote, that an exigent investigator might be doubtful about the existence of the incident of the cure of Peter's wife's mother in verses 38 and 39 in the Marcionite and Canonical Gospel. Tertullian's remarks are general, and may be judged to apply only to verse 40, in which divers diseases were cured, and not to any particular or special example of cure. If these verses are removed from the Marcionite Gospel, they should be also removed from the original Canonical Gospel. I do not, however, think the presence or absence of these verses in both Gospels is a subject of any consequence; and the doubt may be given in favour of their existence in both Gospels. They cannot be admitted as existing in one only and not in the other. It should, however, be remembered, that, following Epiphanius, nothing was cut out or added before Luke v. 14.

omitted passage is, however, quoted by Origen elsewhere (*On John*, i. 11), but he does not state from which Gospel he was quoting. This information is, however, given us indirectly by Irenæus, who also quotes it with the introductory remark that the Lord himself read these prophecies of Isaiah at Capernaum (*Ad. Her.*, iv. xxiii. 1). It is thus clear that the reading of Isaiah by our Lord took place at Capernaum, and not at Nazareth; and hence the incident of the reading was not related in the original Gospel of Luke of the second century. I provisionally set down the original position of this reading scene in Mark after the twenty-first verse of the first chapter in the synagogue at Capernaum. It will be necessary, therefore, to remove the whole of the reading scene from the Marcionite Gospel as well as from the original Canonical Gospel. I propose to delete the concluding clause of verse 16, "and stood up for to read," verses 17, 18 and 19, the initial clause of verse 20, up "to the minister," and the final clause of verse 21: the balance fits in with the narrative of the address given by Jesus. I retain the words "and sat down"; because while the Scriptures were read in the synagogues standing, the attitude of prayer and of reverence, the audience was addressed sitting. I ought to state that Tertullian is silent about this reading of Isaiah, for the simple reason that it did not exist in either Gospel.

I ought here to note that it is impossible to infer that the clause "where he was brought up" (in verse 16), was absent in the Marcionite Gospel, because Tertullian, commenting on the Marcionite Gospel, uses the expression *locorum familiarium*, which is translated 'domestic localities' in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, and means family residence, or place in which the family life was passed. Tertullian's remarks are an absolute guarantee that the clause existed in the Marcionite Gospel, because he was commenting on the Marcionite Gospel. Epiphanius, in whose Gospel the clause existed, as I have already shown (p. 129), does not say that Marcion struck it out; he is silent on the passage. I am hence unable to understand under what conception of literary honour or truthfulness Bishop Westcott and his set of German theologians have omitted the clause in their representation of the Marcionite text. (See the text of the Gospel of Marcion, in Bishop Westcott's work, *Introduction to the Study*, Appendix D., p. 476, 8th ed.) Bishop Westcott states that "Tertullian and Epiphanius supply us with materials for reconstructing the Gospel which Marcion published as the *Gospel of the Lord* or of *Christ*."¹ I have just shown that Tertullian

¹ This latter statement Bishop Westcott has supplied out of his own head, or that of some of his set of theologians. It is an erroneous statement, opposed to Tertullian's testimony. (See p. 132.)

gives us a positive guarantee that the statement existed in the Marcionite Gospel that Nazareth was the family residence, *locus familiaris*, of Jesus; and that Epiphanius by his silence and non-statement that the clause in the Gospel had been cut out by Marcion or the reverse, confirms the testimony of Tertullian. Bishop Westcott further states (*op cit.*) that "in most cases the reasons for the changes and omissions will be evident, when we bear in mind the peculiar features of the Marcionite heresy." The peculiar alleged feature of the Marcionite heresy that bears upon this passage is the falsehood invented by Tertullian of the descent from the sky of Jesus at mature age. Upon this feature Bishop Westcott manifestly founded not only the statement that the clause "where he was brought up" was omitted in the Marcionite Gospel, but also the statement that the Marcionite text of verse 31 of the fourth chapter was "[God] came down to Capernaum." This very alleged feature, however, of the Marcionite heresy is the one that Bishop Westcott has rendered conspicuously suspicious by omitting all notice of it in his learned and popular works, from which absence of notice the natural inference is justifiable that the learned and amiable bishop declined to be an instrument for disseminating and giving influential currency to Tertullian's fabrication. I confess that I am sorely perplexed in my endeavour to understand the grounds on which the learned bishop, whom I regard as the leader of Anglican theology in the present day, has, according to my investigations, falsified the text of the Marcionite Gospel. Tertullian's falsehood required further inventions to support it. This additional support Tertullian himself very remarkably did not give to his own falsehood; but he lived in an age of ignorance, and the society whom he addressed was simple-minded. Such additional support is, however, necessary, in our age of enlightenment; and that support, it appears to me, is supplied by Bishop Westcott and his set of German theologians. The falsification of the Marcionite text was necessary to give support to Tertullian's falsehood regarding the dropping of Jesus from the sky at mature age. I should be glad if it be possible to discover any mode of justifying the remarkable circumstance that an influential body of modern theologians, including Bishop Westcott, have deliberately misrepresented the text of the Marcionite Gospel.

But while I am puzzled by the falsification of the Marcionite text in two passages by Bishop Westcott, an eminent dignitary of the Church of England, I am no less perplexed by the circumstance that the same two passages are admitted in their textual integrity by another distinguished theologian, Professor Sanday of Oxford, but with a transcendental interpretation put upon the one passage and

no transcendental interpretation upon the other. Professor Sanday, without changing the text of verse 31, puts a transcendental meaning upon it; but he does not put a transcendental meaning upon the other passage, that Jesus came to Nazareth "where he had been brought up." This passage he admits as existing in the Marcionite Gospel, for in his table of omissions he mentions the following in "ch. iv. 1-13, 17-20, 24; the Temptation, the reading from Isaiah" (*Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 213), so that verse 16, in which the clause in question appears, is retained by him as the Marcionite text. The dilemma, how a man who transcendently dropped from the sky at the mature age of thirty, came to be brought up at Nazareth from infancy, is not explained by Professor Sanday. The learned theologian and expounder of the Marcionite Gospel has entirely omitted to render this necessary explanation. He has not given us the slightest hint as to how the situation appeared to his mind. He does not even allude to the interpretation which satisfied the great philosophical mind of Hippolytus, namely, that it was τὸ δοκεῖν, or semblance! I deeply regret to have again to state the conclusion that has been forced upon my mind in these investigations, that the theological intellect deals largely with noodleisms, from which in our days there is no escape nor defence, but the deplorable one of moral aberration, sophistry, or falsification. Professor Sanday's mind was influenced "a long way," he says, by the transcendental meaning of the simple words 'he came down' in forming his conclusion that Marcion mutilated the Gospel of Luke; while the circumstance of the bringing up and residence of Jesus at Nazareth for thirty years before he transcendently came down from heaven, did not in a short way have a correcting influence. Professor Sanday chose sophistry to escape from noodleism, but Bishop Westcott preferred falsification. The iron and inexorable, but splendidly rewarded task, imposed by ecclesiastical Christianity on learned, estimable, and honourable men, of making the false appear as the true, is too great for poor weak human nature, and is destructive to the moral sense of good men.

Neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius alludes to verses 25-27, and thus these three verses are not guaranteed; but they are covered by Tertullian's mention of the whole passage. This is their only claim to retention, as chips of the block. I, however, consider the removal of verse 27 justifiable, because there are proofs, which will be given further on, that this verse existed in two other positions in both Gospels¹ (see pp. 141 and 192). The passage from Luke

¹ Volckmar retains verse 27 in this position. He likewise repeats this verse in two places—the other place being in the passage Luke xvii. 11-19. I place the

iv. 40-44 existed in both Gospels, and the text must be taken from our present Gospel. Tertullian alludes to it in detail in ch. viii.

I should here remark on the way Epiphanius gives his testimony on the long passage I have examined. Tertullian has pointed out some discrepancies between the text of the two Gospels, viz., the existence of three verses in the Canonical Gospel only, which we now find transferred to the Gospel of Matthew. Epiphanius says nothing about this; but his silence is perfectly intelligible. These three verses had been removed from the Gospel of Luke long before his days, and hence his copy of the Gospel did not contain them. He is, however, also silent on the reading scene, which was in his Gospel of Luke, as I have already shown (see p. 129). He does not tell us that Marcion cut it out of his Gospel, though there can be no doubt that it did not exist in the Marcionite Gospel. His silence can, I think, be reasonably explained. The fact that the text of the Gospel was constantly undergoing alteration was well known to him; and he happened to know that the reading scene was transferred to Luke from some other Gospel, probably Mark; and hence he honestly abstained from accusing Marcion of cutting it out of his Gospel. It should be remembered that Tertullian also is silent regarding the reading scene. This fact of additions made to the Canonical Gospel subsequent to the second century should be borne in mind in examining the passages which Epiphanius says were cut out of the Canonical Gospel by Marcion, but about which Tertullian is silent. Such 'cut-out passages,' it will be invariably found, were really subsequent additions made to the original Canonical Gospel, and not erasures made by Marcion.

In the next chapter (ix.) of the fourth book, Tertullian speaks of the partiality of Jesus for fishermen; of his selecting for apostles, Simon and the sons of Zebedee; and of his saying to Peter, when he was distressed by the very large draught of fishes, "Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt be catching men" (Luke v. 1-11). Irenæus also refers to the incident in the Gospel of Luke of the multitude of fishes which Peter's companions caught, when at the Lord's command they cast their nets (iii. xiv. 3). There can be thus no doubt that this incident was related in both Gospels. Towards the reconstruction of the text, besides the above references, Origen contributes the saying of Peter, "Depart from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man" (*Celsus*, i. 63). Epiphanius relates the incident somewhat in detail, and he states that Luke accurately describes it, and quotes from the Gospel. His account differs in some particulars

verse in both Gospels in the above passage, and also on Tertullian's authority in the passage Luke v. 12-14, and exclude it after Luke iv. 26.

from our present Canonical Gospel (li. 15; *Pet.*, vol. i. 438). The introductory words are not those of our present Gospel: "Coming to the lake Gennesareth, he saw Simon and Andrew repairing their nets, and he ascended the ship [or boat], which was of Simon Peter and Andrew," and sat down; when he had ceased teaching, he said to Peter, "Launch you out into the deep, and spread ye out your nets; and they said, Master." Then they were astonished by the draught of fish, and Peter said, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, Lord." Then Jesus said, "Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt be catching men." The sons of Zebedee, who were partners with Simon, gave help, and all four followed Jesus.¹ The text of the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospel was exactly the same; and it can be reconstructed from the data above supplied. The present text has doubtless been embellished, but care must be taken not to exceed the above record in reforming the text. The reformed text will be found in the Marcionite Gospel on page 240.

The next incident spoken of by Tertullian in the same chapter (ix.) is the cure of the leper (Luke v. 12-15). In connection with this incident he speaks of the cleansing of Naaman the Syrian alone out of so many lepers in Israel. This, then, was the position of verse 27 of ch. iv. of our present Gospel; and that this was its position is confirmed by the fact that Tertullian refers to the verse in a subsequent passage (ch. xxxv.), in which he says Marcion has already spoken about it, 'præfatus est,' and quotes the verse in its entirety, that "there were many lepers in Israel in the days of Elisæus the prophet, and none of them was cleansed except Naaman the Syrian." I am not concerned with Tertullian's argument founded on the passage, but I am concerned with the fact that he does not say that the Canonical Gospel did not contain the verse in the same connection, and hence I think I am justified in concluding that the latter contained the verse in the same place. Tertullian quotes the admonition of Jesus, "Go, show thyself to the priest and offer the gift which Moses commanded"; and he further adds, "that it may be for a testimony unto you." In Luke xxi. 13 the expression "it shall turn to you for a testimony" occurs. As he does not say that these words were not also in the Canonical Gospel, I conclude that they were. This clause contains the first differences between the two Gospels pointed out by Epiphanius (*Scholion and Refutation*, i.), who says that Marcion omitted the word τὸ δῶρον, 'the gift,' and substituted "for a testimony unto you," instead of "unto

¹ The account of the calling of John at the lake of Gennesareth, given in Luke, differs from the account of his calling at Jordan given in the Gospel of John (i. 35 ff.).

them," which latter was in the Canonical Gospel. As Tertullian has not pointed out such differences, the rational and just inference is that changes had been introduced into both Gospels after his time. The omission in the Marcionite Gospel in the hands of Epiphanius was obviously a clerical error, as Tertullian distinctly translates *ostende te sacerdoti et offer munus quod præcepit Moyses*,—"shew yourself to the priest, and offer *the gift* which Moses commanded." This passage has been altered in our present Gospel, but the clerical omission has been preserved. Our text of Matt. viii. 4 is an exact copy of this clause in the original Marcionite Gospel as quoted by Tertullian. 'Unto them' was a change made in the Canonical Gospel in the hands of Epiphanius. As Epiphanius does not note the non-existence in this passage of the verse regarding Naaman the Syrian, which Tertullian speaks of and quotes, this passage must be taken as having contained the verse in question in Epiphanius' copy of the Canonical Gospel, as well as in the Marcionite Gospel.

The next passage (Luke v. 17-26) must be taken as existing in both Gospels. Tertullian (ch. x.) alludes to the cure of the man with palsy: he quotes the command of Jesus, "Arise and take up thy bed," and the remark of the Pharisees, "Who will forgive sins, but God alone?" and he discusses the right of Marcion to consider Jesus the Son of man: all which are clear indications of the existence of the passage. A few divergences from the text of our present Gospel can be perceived; the chief being the substitution in the latter of the word κλινίδιον, a little couch, for κράββατον, or bed, which latter word was used in Mark ii. 9. Epiphanius quotes, "That ye may know that the Son of man hath power upon earth to forgive sins," in v. 24.

The call of Levi the publican (Luke v. 27-32) is next spoken of by Tertullian (ch. xi.). He quotes the saying of Jesus that "a physician is not necessary to the well, but to those that are ill." Irenæus quotes the above, as well as its continuation in verse 32, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance" (*Ad Her.*, III. v. 2). The whole passage might be accepted as existing in both Gospels.

Tertullian, in the same chapter, next speaks of the enquiry regarding the disciples of John (Luke v. 33-35) and remarks on the suddenness of John's appearance on the scene: *Subito Christus, subito et Johannes*; but he inconsistently abstains from asserting that John also dropped from the sky, clothed in raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins. I need hardly remark that Professor Sanday does not put a transcendental meaning upon this passage in the Marcionite Gospel. Tertullian refers to the words of

Jesus that "the children of the bridegroom cannot fast so long as the bridegroom is with them," but that they "shall fast when the bridegroom has been taken away from them." I cannot say whether I should be justified in altering the text of the present Gospel in accordance with Tertullian's reference, which may not have been a verbal quotation, but there can be no doubt that the 'bride-chamber' is not the word that Tertullian employs, but *sponsus* or bridegroom.

The next passage (Luke v. 36-39), regarding patches and old bottles, is next alluded to by Tertullian. The whole text of the passage is, however, given to us by Irenæus (iv. xxxv. 1) as follows: "No man putteth a piece (*commissuram*) of a new garment upon an old garment, nor do they put new wine into old wine-skins," usually translated bottles. This is the text of the Gospel of Luke, and not of Matthew, the original text of which is given by Epiphanius (xlii. 2. ; *Pet.*, vol. 1. p. 303). I think this constituted the entire parable, in the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospels. Tertullian makes no reference whatever to the explanation or amplification of the parable given in the present Gospel of Luke. He says, addressing Marcion: "You are inflated with old wine-skins, and you are out of your mind (*encerebratus es*) with new wine; and you have sewed on the rag of heretical novelty to the old, *i.e.*, the prior Gospel" (ch. xi.). Some Codices of the New Testament omit the concluding clause of verse 38, and verse 39. The explanation of the parable given in the present Gospel was a subsequent accretion. The parable strikes me as peculiarly Marcionite. It perhaps referred to the addition of such novelties as the beliefs in the miraculous conception and in the divinity of Jesus to the old Christian and sensible view of Jesus as a human teacher, and was put into the mouth of Jesus. Or it may have referred to the introduction of John the Baptist, about whom the Christians of the first century knew nothing and were indifferent, into the Christian system as the forerunner of Jesus, to which Marcion demurred and rejected from his Gospel. The ingenuity of the wily lawyer Tertullian, however, turned the tables upon Marcion. The combined lawyer and theologian, a powerful union, argued the question with a direct view to the main chance—the priority of the Canonical Gospel. Says he: "New wine is not put into old wine-skins, except by one who has old wine-skins; nor does anybody put on a new piece to an old garment, except one who possesses the old garment." The further prosecution of the subtle argument will be found in ch. xi. of the fourth book of *Anti-Marcion*.

Tertullian next speaks of the walk through the corn-fields on the Sabbath day when the disciples plucked the ears of corn and ate

them, and refers to the conduct of David, and the charge brought against Jesus by the Pharisees (Luke vi. 1-5). Irenæus quotes part of the passage: "Have you not read what David did, when he was hungry, how he entered into the house of God and ate the shewbread, and gave to them who were with him, which it was not lawful to eat, except to the priests alone?" (iv. viii. 3). Verse 5, "And he said unto them, That the Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath," was not in this position in these ancient gospels, but was put into the next passage, the cure of the man with the withered arm. It is in connection with this incident which followed the walk, that Tertullian alludes to it. I further learn from Epiphanius that this was so. In his copy of the Gospel of Luke, the Sabbath walk occupied a more advanced position, being related between ch. ix. 44 and x. 21. We are sure of the position of the walking incident in the Marcionite Gospel from the order observed by Tertullian, who followed the latter. Epiphanius, however, followed the Canonical Gospel, and his Scholion followed the Canonical order, as he tells us "Σχόλιον ἀπο τοῦ Ευαγγέλιου τοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Μαρκίωνι," which literally is Comment or notes of the Gospel alongside of Marcion. His practice is to quote the Canonical Gospel, and then to give the Marcionite variance. He follows the order of the Canonical Gospel. While the note on the Sabbath walk was in a further advanced position, as stated above, the note on the Lord of the Sabbath immediately follows a note on ch. v. 24; so that there can be no mistake that these two, the Sabbath walk and the saying about the Lord of the Sabbath, did not go together in the Canonical Gospel that Epiphanius used. The addition of verse 5 was doubtless a literary improvement, as the passage is rather bald without it; but it was playing ducks and drakes with the sacred history. The phrase in our received text, "on the second sabbath after the first," in verse 1, is peculiar and even nonsensical. Tertullian does not quote the verse in full, but in his reference to it he only says the Sabbath, or 'that day.' Irenæus (iv. vi. 3) refers to the passage, without quoting it *verbatim*, and he also only says 'the Sabbath.' I can find no other reference to the passage by the writers of the second and third centuries; but in Jerome's collection the phrase '*secundo primo*' occurs for the first time. I do not think these are sufficient historical grounds for rejecting the words; but there is no guarantee for their existence in the original Canonical and Marcionite Gospels.

Tertullian speaks of the cure of the withered arm (Luke vi. 6-14), which is the next incident in the Marcionite Gospel. He quotes, ch. xii., the question of Jesus, "Is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or not? to save life or to destroy it?" I propose to place verse

5 between verses 10 and 11, as it is referred to in connection with this incident.

The choosing of the Twelve Apostles (Luke vi. 12-16) is the next incident in Tertullian's account (ch. xiii.). He speaks of Jesus going up a mountain and passing the night in prayer. A curious mistake seems to have been committed by Tertullian in this passage. He speaks of the verse, "They were mightily astonished at his doctrine; for he was teaching as one who had power" as derived from the prophets, whereas a few pages previously (ch. vii.) he quotes it from the Third Gospel! These were perhaps Christian and not the old Hebrew prophets. He further speaks of the change of the name of Simon into Peter by our Lord. There can be no doubt that the passage existed in both Gospels exactly alike, as Tertullian indicates no difference. In this passage is the first appearance in orthodox Christian literature of Judas Iscariot, the traitor. For the first hundred and fifty years of the Christian era, up to the time of Justin Martyr, Judas Iscariot is conspicuous by his absence in Christian writings. A new *dramatis persona* was thus introduced into the official biography of Jesus through the Marcionite Gospel. This source is authentic and certain, while other possible sources of his introduction are vague and uncertain.

The next incident in the Gospel (Luke vi. 17-19), the gathering of a great multitude who came from all Judæa and the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, is briefly alluded to by Tertullian in ch. xiii. Epiphanius here notes a divergence between the two Gospels (Sch. and Ref., iv.). Following the name Judas Iscariot, "who was a traitor," here giving the original reading of this clause, he says Marcion substituted "he came down *amongst* them," for "*with them.*" I wish I could be equally certain. Tertullian says nothing of such divergence in this passage. There was a period exceeding a hundred and fifty years between him and Epiphanius, during which alterations could have been made in both Gospels: and it is not possible to say in which Gospel an alteration had been made. The alteration was unimportant, as Epiphanius himself says, in his quaint exposition of the fact that Judas could not have betrayed a phantom, that Marcion gained no advantage from it! It is impossible to say what was the original reading, which, however, was the same, whatever it was, according to Tertullian, in both Gospels; and the point must be left undecided. Epiphanius, further, quotes verses 19 and 20 continuously, thus: "And the whole multitude sought to touch him. And he lifted up his eyes," etc. It is not clear whether the intervening clause found in our present Gospel, "for there went virtue out of him, and healed *them* all," was wanting, as Epiphanius had a

habit of short quoting, but he makes no allusion to it in his remarks on the passage (Sch. and Ref., v.). Epiphanius was on the alert for proofs of *docetism*, but failed to perceive the clear proof of the absence of any intention or design of representing Jesus as a phantom to be derived from the explicit statement in the Marcionite Gospel that the people strove to touch him, to obtain the virtue that proceeded from him.

The next passage (Luke vi. 20-26) is intermittently quoted by Tertullian in his chapters xiv. and xv. with certain verbal divergences, in the same order in which we find the verses in our present Gospel, with one exception (verse 23), which is not alluded to, but its concluding clause is given at the end of his ch. xiv. He quotes "Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (verse 20) (repeated in the same chapter); "Blessed are the hungry, for they shall be filled" (verse 21, also repeated); "Blessed are they that weep, for they shall laugh" (verse 21); "Blessed shall ye be, when men shall hate you, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake, for in like manner (literally according to these things) their fathers did to the prophets" (verses 22 and 23). In ch. xv. he proceeds to speak of the woes uttered by Christ: "Woe to ye rich, for ye have received your consolation" (verse 24); "Woe unto the full, for they shall hunger; also to those that laugh now, for they shall mourn" (verse 25); "Woe when men shall speak well of you, so (literally, according to these things) did their fathers to the false prophets also" (verse 26). The above, then, was the text of both Gospels, for Tertullian speaks of no variance. In Tertullian's treatise, called *Scorpiace*, ch. ix., verses 22 and 23 are thus quoted: "Blessed shall ye be when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, since very great is your reward in heaven; for so used their fathers to do even to the prophets." This must be regarded as the text of Matt. v. 11, 12, for such a text is not supported by Tertullian's quotation in *Anti-Marcion*, as above, nor in our received text. Clement of Alexandria quotes verse 22 (*Strom.*, vi., sect. 41) exactly as Tertullian gives it in *Anti-Marcion*, but with an additional clause, "and shall separate you," and the clause "shall reproach you" omitted. Clement in this passage speaks of some orthodox persons who transpose the Gospel, of which he immediately gives an example, and he further quotes a beatitude which is not to be found in our Gospels. The clause "and shall separate you" in his quotation was probably intended for a transposition of the clause "and shall reproach you." To satisfy all parties, our present Gospel has both. Epiphanius quotes verse 23, but only the final clause,

"for in like manner did your fathers unto the prophets" (Sch., vi.). The employment of the possessive pronoun *your* in this clause in Epiphanius' copies of both Gospels, is not supported by Tertullian, and is not used in our present Gospel.

The next passage (Luke vi. 27-38) is fully referred to by Tertullian in his chapters xvi. and xvii., and he does not say that there was any difference in the text of the two Gospels, except in one clause, which he says Marcion erased. This Marcionite omission was in connection with the remark that God is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil, which is found in verse 35 of our present Gospel. The reader will in vain search in the latter for the omission. Tertullian says that Marcion made the erasure that he may withdraw from God the showers and the sunshine, so that he might not seem to be the Creator. It is clear that the omitted clause existed in the original Canonical Gospel in Tertullian's time, but it was removed long after Marcion's death, and hence could not have been removed by him. It would have been impossible to discover the clause without Tertullian's help, who quotes it in another passage (*Anti-Marcion*, Bk. II. xvii.), with the remark that Marcion had been bold enough to erase this testimony of Christ to the Creator from the Gospel of Luke. The passage is "raining on the just and unjust, and making the sun to rise on the evil and on the good," which is now found in Matt. v. 45. This is an instance of the shuffling or transposition of passages between the Synoptic Gospels, which process, as Clement refers to it, had manifestly begun before the close of the second century. Epiphanius makes no remark upon this long and important passage from verses 27-38, and hence points out no differences; nevertheless I am convinced there were differences in Epiphanius' copy, but the honest bishop, perplexed by the numerous changes that had crept into the Canonical text, thought it best to say nothing about them. I confess that I have often been sorely tempted to do the same. The quotations from the Marcionite Gospel made by Tertullian are the following, and it must be remembered that these quotations represent the text of the Canonical Gospel also. He quotes verses 27 and 28 with some clauses omitted; verse 29 with a slight change; verse 30 with the second clause omitted; verse 31, which he says implies the negative form of the precept; verse 34 without the second clause; verse 35 without the first two clauses, as well as the clause, "and your reward shall be great," and the Canonical Gospel had here the clause of which Marcion was accused of erasing; verses 35, 37 and 38. Irenæus quotes verses 29 (the concluding part), 30 and 31 (Bk. iv. xiii. 3), but he omits "Give to every man that asketh," that Tertullian quotes; and adds,

"Of him that taketh away thy goods ask *them* not again," which Tertullian does not allude to. It is plain that the text before Irenæus had undergone change, and that his copy of the Gospel differed from Tertullian's in some passages.

Tertullian alludes to the whole of the next passage (Luke vi. 39 to 46); but we cannot ascertain the text from him. He quotes verse 39 in this form: "A blind man leads a blind man into a ditch" (ch. xvii.). Irenæus quotes verse 40, as in our present Gospel (v., xxxii. 2). Tertullian in another treatise, *De anima*, xxi., quotes verses 43 and 44 thus: "A good tree will not bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit: and no one will pluck figs from thorns nor grapes from brambles." With the changes above included, the received text must be necessarily accepted as the text of both Marcionite and Canonical Gospel. Tertullian and Epiphanius are both silent regarding the concluding verses of this chapter, from verse 47 to 49; nor can I find any trace of them elsewhere. My conclusion is that they were absent in both Gospels.

Tertullian next refers, in ch. xviii., to the healing of the centurion's servant (Luke vii. 1-10) and to the raising of the widow's son at Nain (11-17), but not with the minuteness of detail that will enable us to recover the original text. Irenæus, however, quotes the conclusion of verse 14 and the next verse as follows: "But the Lord took the hand of the dead man, and said to him, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise; and the dead man sat up, and he ordered *something* to be given to him to eat, and he delivered him to his mother." This should be substituted for the text in the A. V. (Iren., v., xiii. 1).

In the same chapter Tertullian speaks of the messengers sent by John the Baptist to Jesus, and of the answer made by the latter, and the circumstance that John was offended (Luke vii. 18-23). There is thus no doubt that the passage existed in both Gospels. I have already spoken of this passage (see p. 86), and have pointed out that being a purely Marcionite passage, in which is a plain contradiction of the story of the intimacy between the families of John and Jesus, and of the knowledge of the former of the divinity and mission of the latter, which factitious history Marcion rejected, it was an error of the forger to have given it a place in the Canonical Gospel. I have pointed out other errors or blunders made by our forger in the preliminary chapters which were his own composition, and the emendations of them subsequently made. Why this cardinal and more important error had not been cancelled in later ages is a mystery. From the days of Tertullian to the present time theologians have borne the burden of the explication of the extraordinary circumstance of the displeasure or disappointment of John with Jesus; a

burden very great, and one that would break the back of any philosopher who is not a theologian, to justify the displeasure of a believer with his God. Tertullian was satisfied that the assertion that the Holy Ghost had left John and had returned to the Lord, would completely explain the situation. Therefore John had now become an ordinary person, and was offended as a man. Tertullian does not say how he ascertained that the Holy Ghost had been withdrawn from John; but we must assume that he spoke from 'information that he had received.' Being deprived of the Holy Ghost, John, it appeared, very naturally thought that another prophet might have appeared different from Jesus. There lay John's difficulty. This explanation satisfied the Christians of Tertullian's time. I can find no indication in Tertullian of the form of words in which the fact of offence was expressed at all similar to the form employed in verse 23 of the present Gospel: "And blessed is *he*, whosoever shall not be offended in me." Tertullian merely says point-blank that John was offended. The conversion of a bare statement like this into a beatitude was the work of a subsequent period. Epiphanius, who quotes the above beatitude (Scholion and Ref., viii.), says that it was changed, but he does not state who changed it, or how it was changed, or that Marcion struck it out, or in what form of expression he had it in his Gospel. Hence I conclude the original Canonical Gospel, like the Marcionite Gospel, had the bare statement that John was offended, and not a beatitude. Epiphanius is not very lucid in his remarks upon this passage. He seems to say that Marcion referred the passage to John: there can be no doubt that Marcion meant that Jesus' answer was a cause of offence to John. But Epiphanius proceeds to say that whether the passage be referred to John or to the Saviour, the latter pronounces them to be blessed who shall not be offended in him (Jesus) or in John. There were no third persons in question, but only two, John and Jesus. Modern theologians explain the passage very obscurely, and I think they would rejoice if it had been deleted from the Canonical Gospel in the early ages. They have succeeded, however, in diverting the attention of Christendom from the fact that the passage is a *freak*, and alien to the whole history and substance of the Canonical Gospels regarding the relations between John the Baptist and Jesus. The object of theologians is not the elucidation of truth, but rather its concealment and perversion in many cases. The next passage (Luke vii. 24-28) is also alluded to by Tertullian in the same chapter (xviii.). The prophecy of Malachi iii. 1 is expressly stated to have been in the Marcionite Gospel in the form in which we find it in our present Gospel, viz.,

"Behold I send my angel or messenger before thy face who shall prepare thy way." In this form, Jesus of the Marcionite Gospel may justly be accused, as Tertullian actually does accuse him, of perverseness in affirming John to be his angel or messenger. The prophecy of Malachi, however, does not use the word 'thy' but 'my face' and 'my way.' It is hence possible and probable, if not certain, that in the Marcionite manuscript before Tertullian the word *σου* was miswritten for *μου* in two places. It is very evident that the Christians of the second century perverted the prophecy of Malachi both in language and sense to suit the evangelical history which they had constructed; but it is hardly likely that Marcion acquiesced in this perversion. He probably, and I think I may even say certainly, quoted the prophecy in its integrity as applicable to John, against whom he had no prejudice, though he declined to regard him as the forerunner of Jesus. Epiphanius notices this prophecy (Scholion and Ref., ix.), and remarks in his Refutation that Marcion referred it to John, of which there is no doubt. I should have wished if Epiphanius had stated that the prophecy was quoted by Marcion in the same terms as in the Canonical Gospel; but he omits saying so. His omission, however, does not imply that the same error, *σου* written instead of *μου*, was not also in his Marcionite copy. I have not found any satisfactory attempt in our commentaries to account for the perversion of the alleged prophecy, and to justify the conversion of 'my face,' 'the way,' and 'before me,' in Malachi, into 'thy face,' 'thy way,' and 'before thee,' in Luke. The deliberate falsification of the text of ancient documents is one of the most prominent characteristics of theologians from the second century to the present day.

After discussing the contents of the last passage (Luke vii. 24-28), Tertullian abruptly passes over to the story of the woman who was a sinner, and washed the feet of the Lord with her tears, thus skipping the passage from verses 29-35. Epiphanius is also silent regarding this passage; so that there is no authority for admitting it either into the Marcionite Gospel or into the original Canonical Gospel. Irenæus quotes, "But wisdom is justified of her children." This is found in Luke vii. 35, and also in Matt. xi. 19; but Irenæus does not state from which Gospel he was quoting. His quotation is in the exact terms of Matthew, and differs slightly from Luke, who has 'all her children': and hence I conclude he quoted from Matthew. The passage, I think, was transferred from the latter Gospel, like many others of which I have spoken.

At the conclusion of ch. xviii., Tertullian briefly alludes to the woman who was a sinner, who kissed the feet of the Lord, inundated

them with tears, wiped them with her hair, and smeared them with ointment (Luke vii. 36-50). We must take this allusion as covering the whole passage to the end of ch. vii. of the Gospel. Epiphanius devotes two Scholia and Refutations to this passage, and quotes two portions of it. His text varies from our received text in being more simple, and in omitting some expressions. His text read thus: "And entering into the house of the Pharisee, he lay down. And a woman, a sinner, standing behind near his feet, wetted *them* with her tears, and anointed and kissed them" (Sch., x.). And again, quoting another part, the reading was "she wetted my feet with her tears, and anointed and kissed them" (Sch., xi.). The former reading includes verses 36 (the second clause), 37 and 38; the latter cannot be identified in our received text, but covers the substance of verses 45 and 46. Besides being more terse and simple, some important items are missing, such as the 'alabaster box of ointment' and the wiping 'with the hairs of her head,' both which are mentioned in our received text. We have proof, however, that these items existed in the original Canonical Gospel. Tertullian refers to the use of her hair for wiping, and Clement of Alexandria speaks of the 'alabaster box of ointment' as well as of the hair wiping (*Pæd.*, viii., sect. 61). These marked differences induce me to think that these apparent quotations from the Gospel made by Epiphanius in these two Scholia may have been epitomes of the text rather than exact quotations. There are other of Epiphanius' quotations, which will be noticed hereafter, which give me the same impression. With this doubt on my mind regarding the textual readings of these two quotations made by Epiphanius, I do not feel justified in altering the text of the present Canonical Gospel. Tertullian does not notice the interesting incident of the recital of the story of the two debtors in verses 40-43, nor does Epiphanius; but both writers abstain from saying that there was any difference in this part between the two Gospels. I shall regard the incident as covered by Tertullian's reference to the story of the woman. Irenæus speaks of it in connection with the woman who was a sinner as part of the contents of Luke (*Ad Her.*, iii. xiv. 3). Both Tertullian and Epiphanius take advantage of this story of the woman washing the feet of Jesus and anointing them with ointment, which was found in the Marcionite Gospel, to refute Marcion by pointing out very forcibly that the woman could not have washed and anointed the feet of a phantom! Both these valiant theological knights, in fact, tilted at windmills of their own imagination. The story of this woman and all the other stories in the Marcionite Gospel clearly prove that Marcion had no *docetic* views at all, as I have already

historically demonstrated (see p. 60). These views were falsely attributed to him by Tertullian.

In ch. xix. Tertullian clearly alludes to the women "who administered unto him of their substance," and thus guarantees the existence of Luke viii. 1-3 in both Gospels. The next passage, from verses 4 to 18, is sufficiently referred to as to satisfy me that it was in the Marcionite Gospel. Tertullian speaks of parables, quotes "He that hath ears to hear let him hear," as in verse 8, "Take heed how ye hear," as in verse 18, and the clause which he says immediately follows, "Whosoever hath, to him shall be given," etc., and refers to a candle that is not hidden, as in verse 16, and to the promise that everything shall be brought out of its secrecy and made manifest, which is the substance of verse 17. Although the parable of the sower is not expressly mentioned, there is no alternative but to accept the whole passage as existing in both Gospels, and to follow the text of the present Gospel; but there is no guarantee that it was the same as that of the original Gospel.

The next passage which Tertullian speaks of in ch. xix. is the scene in which the mother and brethren of Jesus appear (Luke viii. 19-21). It is clear that this passage was in both Gospels, without any divergence, as Tertullian speaks of none. He refers to his mother and his brethren standing without and desiring to see him, to the question, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" and the answer, "But those who hear my words and do them." Here is a clear indication of the text of the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospels, showing that the question and its answer were amalgamated subsequently into a broad affirmation. Epiphanius confirms Tertullian regarding the existence in the text of the question, "Who is my mother and brethren?" and he adds 'behold' before your mother and your brethren (Sch. and Ref., xii.). He makes a remark which is not quite clear; he says, Marcion "had not 'His mother and his brethren': but only 'Thy mother and thy brethren.'" The interpretation may be put on this remark, that verse 19, in which the words "his mother and his brethren" occur, was not in the Marcionite Gospel. Tertullian certainly makes no allusion to the circumstance mentioned in this verse, that his relatives "could not come to him for the press": and the verse itself is not essential to describe the scene, and may be omitted without detriment to the sense. The verse, however, was in the Canonical Gospel used by Epiphanius, and hence the question arises whether it was cut out by Marcion, or interpolated in the Canonical Gospel. As Tertullian makes no reference to verse 19, and he further does not state that

there was a variance between the two Gospels, a reasonable inference is that it was interpolated in the Canonical Gospel after Tertullian's time.¹ This short scene, in which the mother and brethren of Jesus are introduced into the Marcionite Gospel, is an irrefragable proof that Marcion held that Jesus came into the world in the way human beings invariably follow. It is not possible to imagine that if Marcion held the view that Jesus dropped from the sky at mature age, he would have wantonly and uselessly introduced his mother to his followers. This passage, in which the mother of Jesus is introduced, and the former one (Luke iv. 16), in which Jesus is represented in the Marcionite Gospel as brought up in Nazareth and having the custom of frequenting the synagogue there, are solid documentary proofs of the falsehood invented by Tertullian for a controversial purpose. Marcion's theology is to be ascertained from his Gospel, the only genuine Marcionite document that has survived to our days; and not from the discordant views formed by renegade followers, Apelles and others, who broke from the Marcionite Church, after the death of Marcion, in consequence of the extraordinary theological opinions which they subsequently developed. Tertullian and the theologians who followed his lead from the beginning of the third century to the present day are unfair to Marcion in attributing to him the strange theological doctrines that some of his renegade followers promulgated many years after his death.

The next two passages (Luke viii. 22-25 and 26-39) are very cursorily alluded to by Tertullian, ch. xx. He quotes verse 25, "What manner of man is this," etc., and speaks of "a multitude of demons calling itself legion." These slight references satisfy me that the stories of the stilling of the sea and of the Gadarene swine existed in both Gospels without variance; but of course they do not guarantee the text. Epiphanius refers to the story of the storm during which Jesus slept and was roused to still the wind, in order to show up the *docetism* with which the good bishop charged Marcion (Sch. and Ref., xiii.). He triumphantly asks who or what slept? who or what was shaken up from sleep? Surely not a phantom or ghost, but a real live man. This is an example of several small mare's nests that Epiphanius found in the Marcionite Gospel; but it is singular that the large mare's nest that had such a powerful influence on the mind

¹ Since writing the above, I ascertained from Volckmar (p. 57) that De Wette was of opinion that Epiphanius states that only the words "*his* mother and his brethren" were wanting; but the rest of the verse was in the Marcionite Gospel. That fully meets the case; and I have hence, on second thoughts, agreeing with De Wette, retained verse 19, omitting the above words. Volckmar offers no sensible criticism on the subject. The words were, of course, wanting in both Gospels, as Tertullian says there was no variance, and were interpolated in Epiphanius' copy of the Canonical Gospel.

of an Oxford Professor of Theology (see p. 65), altogether escaped the purview of our simple bishop. He shared the view, attributed to Marcion, in a transcendental sense, that the sleeping flesh-bearing God, who was clothed with flesh for our sakes, who woke up as man, and rebuked the sea as God, *came down from Heaven*, ὁ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κατελθὼν. Epiphanius quotes verse 24, "he rebuked the wind and the sea," in no less than three places, so that this must be taken as the early text, and not our received text, "rebuked the wind and the raging of the water."

The next passage in our present Gospel (Luke viii. 40-56) contains the stories of the raising of the daughter of Jairus, and the cure of the woman with an issue of blood. The narration of the two anecdotes is simultaneous, the one being an interlude of the other. Both Tertullian and Epiphanius allude to the cure of the issue of blood, and the latter quotes a good portion of the text of verses 40 and 42-46. The story of Jairus in our present Gospel has many of its circumstances related in these verses, but it is singular that Epiphanius skips all the verses and clauses which concern Jairus' daughter; and both Tertullian and Epiphanius are dead silent on the subject of the daughter of Jairus. There is only one conclusion to be found from this remarkable reticence of both our guides, namely, that the story of Jairus' daughter did not exist in either of the rival Gospels.¹ Tertullian helps in the recovery of the original text in verse 46, for he puts the saying of Jesus in the past tense (ch. xx.). Epiphanius does the same (Sch. and Ref., xiv.). Our received text is, however, correct; but the A. V. is inaccurate in the tense employed, which is corrected in the R. V. Both Tertullian and Epiphanius considered the touching incident as a grand proof that Marcion was in the wrong, as a Spirit or air or a phantom could not be touched. Here again these valiant theological knights tilted against a windmill of their own imagination. There was this difference between them: Tertullian was a dishonest critic, while Epiphanius was an honest noodle. The latter gravely remarks that the evangelist employed the expression, 'they went,' and not 'he went,' in verse 42, in order that there may be no mistake that Jesus did not move in a different way from the other people! The evangelist, however, according to Epiphanius' own quotation, wrote 'he went' and not 'they went'! (Ref., xiv.). The story of the raising of the daughter of Jairus, cleverly intertwined as it is in our Canonical Gospel with the story of the woman with the issue, must

¹ It existed in Matthew. I think Epiphanius refers in Ref. xxiv. to the raising of Lazarus, of the son of the widow, and of the daughter of the chief of the synagogue.

be deleted from both the Marcionite and the original Canonical Gospel. I am much surprised to find that both Bishop Westcott and Professor Sanday retain the story of Jairus' daughter in their versions of the Marcionite Gospel. In doing so they have gone beyond the record, for neither of our two guides to the contents of the Marcionite Gospel tells us directly or indirectly that this story was included in it. If it was absent in the one Gospel, it must necessarily have been absent in the other, for no variance in this passage is stated. I have no doubt that the story existed in the other Synoptic Gospels, or in one of them, for Irenæus distinctly alludes to it in two passages, and both these passages are derived from the story as related in our present Gospel of Luke. Irenæus, in referring to the story, mentions the age of the girl, twelve years (*Ad Her.*, i. viii. 2), and quotes a full verse nearly, "He suffered no man to go in, save Peter and James and the father and mother of the maiden," which is exactly like the same statement made in Luke viii. 51, with the omission of the name of John. But Irenæus does not say that he quoted from the Gospel of Luke. Knowing the fact that important passages were transferred or transposed from Matthew and Mark to Luke subsequently to the publication of the latter Gospel, I am not deterred by the similarity of Irenæus' quotations to corresponding passages in our present Gospel of Luke, from concluding that he quoted from Matthew or Mark, from which Gospels the story of Jairus had been textually transferred. I have already pointed out important verses and passages that had been shuffled to and fro between the three Synoptic Gospels, and it will be seen hereafter that there were others also, of which the parable of the prodigal son is most prominent. The exclusion of the story of Jairus' daughter from the Marcionite and the original Canonical Gospel of Luke is according to the record, that is to say, the documentary authority that is available to us. To go beyond the record is to follow hypothesis, or one's own fancy or preconceptions. In Epiphanius' quotation, the great parenthetical clauses in verses 43 and 44 are omitted. These parentheses made their first appearance in Jerome's collection of the Gospels. They have a strong family likeness to the string of parentheses in Luke iii. 1-3, which were likewise interpolations.

The next passage (Luke ix. 1-6), the mission of the twelve apostles, is clearly alluded to by Tertullian in ch. xxi., and this is a guarantee that it existed in both Gospels. The next passage (Luke ix. 7-9) is shortly but distinctly alluded to by Tertullian, as well as the feeding of the five thousand in Luke ix. 10-17. In the next passage (Luke ix. 18-22) Tertullian states that the answer of Peter was "Thou art

the Christ," which shows a variance from our present Gospel. The text of Peter's answer is repeated in ch. xxii.; and in verse 22, the words in the original were "elders, and scribes, and priests." Tertullian alludes to all the subjects of the next passage (Luke ix. 23-27), except the first and last verses. These verses are: 23, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me"; 27, "But I tell you of a truth, there be some standing here which shall not taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God." These verses appear to me to be suspicious, and I should have been glad to have had a direct guarantee of their existence in the Marcionite Gospel. I do not, however, consider that it would be justifiable to reject them. Tertullian quotes verse 26 somewhat differently from the received text: "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me of him shall I also be ashamed." The words *confusus* and *confundar* employed by him are hardly equivalent to 'be ashamed' in the received text; and he substitutes the first personal pronoun for 'the Son of man' of our present text. This will necessitate a change in the pronouns in the clause that follows, which, however, is not quoted by Tertullian. With these textual corrections and qualifications, the passage must be accepted as existing in both Gospels.

The next incident, the transfiguration (Luke ix. 28-36), is spoken of by Tertullian in ch. xxii. His account and quotation of the passage are in accord with our received text so far as they go. Epiphanius omits the words 'who appeared' in verse 31 (Sch., xvii.). The next passage (Luke ix. 37-42) must be accepted as existing in both Gospels, as Tertullian quotes verse 41, "O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you, how long shall I suffer you?" The quotation is a little varied from our received text, and is merely a chip, but we must accept it as indicating the existence of the whole block. Epiphanius quotes verse 40, and makes a remark that there was something more in the Marcionite Gospel than in the Canonical (Sch., xix.). He says, Εδεήθη τῶν μαθητῶν σου. Εἶχε δὲ παρὰ τὸ οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὸ, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὃ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; And I besought his disciples. He (*i.e.*, Marcion) had *something* besides the "they could not cast him out," and "to them, O faithless generation, how long shall I suffer you?" Petavius understood the remark in this sense. He translates: "Habebatque cætera, præterquam, non potuerunt ejicere illud et ait ad ipsos Generatio incredula:¹ quamdiu vos patiar?" Tertullian does not say that there was any difference in Marcion's text; and hence I conclude that the addition was a subsequent Marcionite interpola-

¹ Petavius has *credula*, which is a manifest error for *incredula*.

tion, and that Epiphanius knew it, as he does not take the trouble to state what the addition was. His appended Refutation gives no information on the subject. Tertullian shows no consciousness of the next passage (Luke ix. 43-45), and makes no allusion to it. Epiphanius, however, quotes verse 44, "For the Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men," and does not say that Marcion cut it out, or even that he had it in his Gospel. His object in making the quotation is not clear; and it may have been to show that there was no docetism in the Canonical Gospel. He makes the crushing remark: "Son of man, and who was to be delivered into the hands of men, not the vision of [*dokesis* or] semblance, or of phantasy, but a sight of body and limbs;" and this is the whole of his Refutation xx. !¹ I have a misgiving of the existence of the passage in either Gospel, but as it is connected with the previous passage, the quotation of verse 41 by Tertullian may be accepted as covering the whole passage from verses 37-45.

The next passage (Luke ix. 46-48) is clearly alluded to by Tertullian, and hence existed in both Gospels. He says Christ loves little ones, and taught how all should be like them if they wish to be greater; and this is the whole substance of the passage (ch. xxiii.). Tertullian does not refer to the next incident in our present Gospel related in Luke ix. 49 and 50, in which a man who was not a disciple cast out devils in Christ's name; nor does Epiphanius. I hence do not think there is authority for admitting this passage into either Gospel, and I have no misgiving in deleting it from both. In the same chapter, Tertullian refers to the subject of the next passage (Luke ix. 51-56); he speaks of the fire from heaven sent at the request of Elias, and immediately alludes to Christ rebuking his disciples, when they desired a like visitation on the obscure village of the Samaritans, without noticing verses 55 and 56, which are expunged from the R. V. He then immediately passes to the man who offered himself as a companion to Jesus, using the words, "I will follow thee whithersoever thou shalt go"; and to the other man who made an excuse of burying his father, and the response of Jesus, "Let the dead bury their dead"; and to the third man who wanted to bid his family farewell, and whom Jesus forbade to look back. All this satisfactorily guarantees the existence of the passage Luke ix. 57-62 in both Gospels; but it does not guarantee the text. In R. V. the terms of the rebuke given in the A. V., viz.: "and said, 'Ye know not what manner

¹ Volckmar, p. 119, regards Epiphanius' remark as "höchst unnöthiger und armseliger," i.e., very unnecessary and miserable. He retains the passage from verses 43-45, p. 158.

of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them'" (verses 55 and 56) are omitted. Tertullian makes no allusion to these words, nor to the words of verse 58 nor of 62, in this passage in his ch. xxiii., but he does elsewhere. In his treatise on *Idolatry*, he alludes to the Lord's want of a home, "for the Son of man hath not where to lay his head" (ch. xviii.); and in the same treatise (ch. xii.), he quotes verse 62 as follows: "No one putting his hands to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the work." I consider that these were the words of the original text. The words "Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests" were probably in the original sacred writings, but in some other connection, which I am unable to ascertain. Clement of Alexandria, in his *Stromateis*, iv. vi., sects. 31 and 32, quotes the words, not in connection with the Lord's want of a home, but in connection with the love of money, and the accumulation of wealth. Although suspicion has arisen in my mind that these words were not in this passage of Luke, there are not sufficient grounds for deleting them. In verse 62 there is the direct authority of Tertullian for the original words "fit for the work," and not "for the kingdom of God" as in our present versions. With regard to the clause in verse 54, "even as Elias did," which is deleted in the R. V., I think the allusion of Tertullian to Elijah may be accepted as indicating its existence in the original Canonical and Marcionite Gospels.

The next passage (Luke x. 1-20) introduces into Christian history of the second half of the second century, a new fact which was apparently unknown in the previous hundred and fifty years. Neither Justin Martyr nor any of his predecessors (c. 150) knew of the seventy other apostles now mentioned for the first time in the Christian chronicles. The story of Judas, which also possessed the peculiarity of having been unknown for the first hundred and fifty years, was related in all four Gospels, but the mission of the seventy is strictly limited to the Gospel of Luke, and hence there can be no reasonable doubt that its source was the Marcionite Gospel. Tertullian has a full notice of this passage (ch. xxiv.) and enters into much detail. He begins his account (ch. xxiv.) with a statement which I regard as a quotation, viz.: "He elected seventy other apostles, besides the twelve." Tertullian had the habit of beginning his chapters with a quotation from the Marcionite Gospel. He begins ch. xv. with a quotation. "'In like manner,' he says, 'did their fathers unto the prophets'" (Luke vi. 26). Ch. xvi.: "'But I say unto you which hear' (displaying here that old injunction of the Creator: 'Speak to the ears of those who lend

them to you'), 'Love your enemies,' etc. (Luke vi. 27). Ch. xvii. : "And now, on the subject of loan, when he asks, 'And if ye lend to them of whom you hope to receive,' etc. (Luke vi. 34). Ch. xviii. : "Likewise, when extolling the centurion's faith, how incredible a thing it is, that he should confess that he had 'found so great a faith not even in Israel'" (Luke vii. 9). Ch. xix. : "The fact that certain rich women clave to Christ, 'which ministered unto him of their substance'" (Luke viii. 3). Ch. xx. : "But 'what manner of man is this? for he commandeth even the winds and water'" (Luke viii. 25). Ch. xxi. : "'He sends forth his disciples to preach the kingdom of God'" (Luke ix. 2). Ch. xxii. : After two introductory sentences, Tertullian quotes, "'This is my beloved Son; hear him'" (Luke ix. 35). Ch. xxiii. : "I take on myself the person of Israel. Let Marcion's Christ stand forth, and exclaim, 'O faithless generation! how long shall I be with you?'" etc. (Luke ix. 41). Such being Tertullian's habit, I consider it reasonable and certain that he commenced ch. xxiv. with a quotation from the Marcionite Gospel, which I have already cited. It strikes me as singular that the word 'apostles' should have been struck out from the received text. I am unable to tell at what exact period the deletion had been made, but I think it not improbable that it was first made in the second edition of the Gospel under the influence of Irenæus. I think I can state the probable motive for the action. In the first century and early part of the second, apostles were held in honour, and they were the highest functionaries of the Christian society and Church. They were in great numbers also. All the Christian communities scattered throughout the Roman dominions had their own apostles. Apostles were the writers of most of the epistles in the New Testament, and they speak of other apostles, who are, however, degraded by our English translators and revisers into 'messengers' or errand boys. These apostles were originally devoted men who preached the Gospel, visited the sick, and consoled the afflicted, gratuitously, and naturally obtained hospitality, their food and bed. As the Christian communities increased in numbers and wealth, in an evil moment the scheme of compensating them for their labours was adopted, and ten per cent. of the produce and profits of all members was the rate notified. Alongside of the apostles laboured other officials, who were named prophets. These also probably enjoyed the remuneration accorded to the apostles. To meet the increasing wants of the growing communities, other officials became necessary—deacons, presbyters, or bishops, the latter being subsequently separated into two distinct classes, presbyters and bishops, of

whom the latter formed the superior grade. The functions of these secondary classes of officials were originally distinct from those of the apostles and prophets, being of an administrative or executive character, while the latter were preachers and teachers. The functions of the two classes became gradually blended, so that the deacons, presbyters and bishops performed the functions of apostles and prophets as well as their own. Even the titles of the superior grades gradually came to be shared by the administrative grades, for we read of apostles who were also deacons and presbyters. The administrative grades were originally entirely voluntary, but they also, in course of time, came to receive remuneration. From the operation of causes, not specifically stated in history, the administrative grades came to supersede the higher grades of apostle and prophet. From the interpolations of the Epistles of Ignatius, the date of the interpolations being probably late in the second century, the fact is plain that the administrative grades had risen in importance and had begun to patronise the apostles and prophets who were now disappearing from history. The last Christian prophet known to history was Peregrinus Proteus, of whom Lucian (*c.* 166) has given a graphic description. Neither Athenagoras, Irenæus, nor Clement of Alexandria—writers of the close of the second century—makes any allusion to a living apostle. These once high functionaries, created by the Lord himself, had manifestly sunk in Christian public estimation and become extinct before the close of the second century. On the general theological principle that the Holy Ghost governs the Church, the abolition of the apostle can hardly be attributed to its operation, for it is not conceivable—to use a common theological expression—that the third person would undo the work of the second person, the Son of God. The occult governance of the Holy Ghost is, however, beyond the perception of an investigator who is wanting in the fine mental organ, a peculiar endowment of theologians, needful to grasp celestial ether. The extinction of the apostle is possible of explication by the normal rules that govern human conduct in all historical ages, namely, the circumstances and requirements of an occupation and its remuneration. While the remuneration of an apostle was adequate and ample, and the duties of the office of a high order, there was one concomitant factor which was onerous and disagreeable. The duty of itinerant preaching necessitated constant travelling at an age and in countries in which the conveniences for locomotion were limited and personal risk was great. When the administrative official was allowed to participate in the emoluments and duties of the apostle, it naturally followed that he endeavoured to free himself from the disagreeable portion of the apostle's office

which interfered with personal comfort and safety. The gradual preference and aggrandisement of the administrative office thus became a normal consequence coincident with the gradual deterioration and final extinction of the apostle. The title 'apostle' shared in the progressive humiliation of an office the peregrinative duties of which were ultimately delegated to an inferior ecclesiastical class, the monks, and amongst Protestant sects of the present day, the missionaries. But it was undesirable that the title borne by great early Christian leaders should sink in public estimation; hence arose a motive and necessity for rehabilitating it. The device adopted was one that had met with success in attaining other objects also, namely, the policy of silence and of ignoring all apostles, except the twelve, with Matthias and Paul. This policy has been pursued by the Church since the third century, or rather from the close of the second century, and has been eminently successful. I venture to say that in the present day there are not many who are aware of the historical fact that for the first two centuries there were numerous apostles besides the twelve, or fourteen. Speaking for myself, the discovery of this fact during my investigations was a surprising revelation. In pursuance of this policy of the Church, the word 'apostles' in Luke x. 1 was obliterated in the third century,¹ or perhaps at the close of the second century.

There can be no doubt that the number seventy was stated in the Marcionite Gospel, because Tertullian proceeds to remark that if the twelve followed the number of the twelve fountains of Elim, the seventy corresponded with the like number of the palms of that place. This was said in reference to Exod. xvi. 27: "And they came to Elim, where *were* twelve wells of water, and three score and ten palms." The same number was also stated in the Canonical Gospel, or Tertullian would have noted the variance. Irenæus quotes the number as seventy (II. xxi. 1). The number was, however, subsequently changed to seventy-two in the Canonical Gospel, for this is the number that was stated in the Gospel in the hands of Epiphanius. This author, in his section on the heresy of Herodianus (ch. xx. 4; *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 50) speaks of 'seventy-two others,' whom Christ 'sent to preach.' He even gives the names of many of the latter, and amongst them he mentions Luke, whom he calls, in connection with

¹ As an illustration of the policy of the Church spoken of in the text, I may cite the fact that the reverend and learned translator of Tertullian's work, *Against Marcion*, ch. xxiv., page 277, in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library (T. & T. Clarke, 1868), translates Tertullian's words "Allegit et alias septuaginta Apostolos super duodecim": "He chose also seventy other missionaries besides the twelve." The same policy prevails amongst all theologians—Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Plymouth Brethren, and others.

Paul, "a fellow-worker of the same Gospel and Apostle." I observe Irenæus does not, in the passage already quoted, speak of the seventy as 'seventy other apostles,' but as 'seventy others' only, but he mixes them up with the twelve, and does not make a clear distinction, so that it does not appear plain whether he counted them to be apostles or not. This astute ecclesiastic was the person, I suspect, who gave the *môt d'ordre* regarding the common use of the title 'apostle.' It is to be remarked that Epiphanius makes no mention of Luke x. 1 in his Scholia, although the fact is patent that there was a difference as to the number between the Marcionite Gospel and the Canonical Gospel in his hands. It is probable, however, that he was aware of the suppression of the word 'apostles,' and approved of the reason, as well as of the change of number. Tertullian states that Christ commanded his disciples not to carry even a staff on their journey. So that this appendage must be added to the text of our present Gospel, as it is omitted in verse 4. He mentions so many details and sayings of the passage that the existence of the whole passage is practically guaranteed in both Gospels without variance, of which he says not a word. There are, however, certain salient omissions, viz., he makes no statement regarding healing the sick (verse 9), and has no reference whatever to the curses in the passage from verses 12 to 15. I have serious misgiving regarding the existence of the latter, but there are not sufficient grounds for excluding them from the Gospels. The curses are inconsistent with the character of Christ as depicted in the Third Gospel.

The next passage (Luke x. 21-24) is fully alluded to by Tertullian (ch. xxv.). The prayer of Jesus is given differently from the received text; thus, "I give thanks and confess, Lord of heaven, that those things which were hidden from the wise and prudent, thou hast revealed unto babes." The next verse (22) is also differently given, viz., "All things are delivered to me of the Father, and no man knoweth who the Father is but the Son, and who the Son is but the Father, and he to whom the Son may have revealed *him*." Verse 24 is also variant: "For I tell you that the Prophets have not seen the things which ye see." Tertullian does not tell us that there was any difference between the two Gospels. Epiphanius, however, says that Marcion cut out the words 'and earth' and 'O Father' from the prayer, and avers that the latter must have been cut out because 'even so, Father,' follows (Sch., xx.). I do not feel convinced by the reason, but, on the contrary, conclude that these seeming cuttings were really additions made to the Canonical Gospel, thus affording testimony to the accuracy of Tertullian. Irenæus quotes verse 22 four times in Bk. iv. of his great work against heresies, and it is

well to study these quotations in connection with their authenticity. In Bk. iv. vi. 1 he quotes the passage twice, and his object in doing so is clearly ascertained from the context to have been to show that while in three Canonical Gospels¹ the words are "no man *knoweth*," they who wish to be wiser than the apostles, that is, the Marcionites, write "no man *knew*." This, so far as his context indicates, was his sole object, and he declares what the object of this change made by the Marcionites was, viz., "they explain *it*, as if the true God was known by none before the coming of our Lord; and they say that the God who was announced by the prophets was not the Father of Christ." The Marcionite text, apart from the word *knew*, in Irenæus is different from that given by Tertullian² :—

IRENÆUS.

No man knew the Father but the Son, nor the Son but the Father, and he to whom the Son may have willed to reveal *him*.

TERTULLIAN.

No man knoweth who the Father is, but the Son: and who the Son is but the Father, and he to whom the Son may have revealed *him*.

Tertullian does not say that the Canonical text differed from the Marcionite, nor does Irenæus, except in the word *knew* for *knoweth*. Irenæus quotes the Canonical text four times, thus³ :—

No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son may have willed to reveal *him*. iv. vi. 1.

No man knoweth the Father, but the Son. iv. vii. 4.

No man knoweth the Son but the Father; nor the Father but the Son, and those to whomsoever the Son may have revealed *him*. iv. vi. 7.

No man knoweth the Father but the Son, nor the Son but the Father, and those to whomsoever the Son may have revealed *him*. iv. vi. 3.

¹ Irenæus states that this verse existed in his time in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. It has, since his time, been removed from the Gospel of Mark.

² Irenæus: Nemo cognovit Patrem nisi Filius, nec Filium nisi Pater, et cui voluerit Filius revelare.

Tertullian: Nemo scit qui sit Pater, nisi Filius; et qui sit Filius, nisi Pater, et cuicumque Filius revelaverit.

The words *voluerit* and *revelaverit* may be taken to be either the perfect or the future subjunctive. I think it is the perfect, 'may have willed,' and 'may have revealed,' and not 'shall have willed,' and 'shall have revealed.'

³ Nemo cognoscit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem quis cognoscit nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare (iv. vi. 1).

Nemo cognoscit Filium nisi Pater: neque Patrem, nisi Filius, et quibuscumque Filius revelaverit (iv. vi. 7).

Nemo cognoscit Patrem nisi Filius (iv. vii. 4).

Nemo cognoscit Patrem nisi Filius, neque Filium nisi Pater, et quibuscumque Filius revelaverit (iv. vi. 3).

The first two clauses of the first two of these quotations are in the reverse order of the text as given by Tertullian, while in the next two quotations they correspond with the latter. The fourth quotation, which I have put below the others, is a close copy of Tertullian's text with the unimportant difference of the number of the relative pronoun, *cui* and *quibuscumque*, *to whom* and *to those whomsoever*. Bishop Westcott's explanation, hereafter referred to (p. 280), is the best that I know of to account for these variations in the quotations made by Irenæus, viz., that the Latin translator of Irenæus was tainted by the prevalent literary immorality and modified the quotations. It is apparent that this unscrupulous translator followed in some of his quotations the Canonical text as it was settled probably in the fourth century by Eusebius. The fourth quotation ¹ above given (iv. vi. 3) supports Tertullian's text, which is the earliest reliable quotation of Luke x. 22, and must be taken as the text of the original Canonical Gospel. Regarding the word *knew* which Irenæus says the Marcionites had in their Gospel instead of the Canonical *knoweth*, it may be regarded as a corruption introduced subsequently by the Marcionites, after Marcion's death. The Marcionites were as little likely to be Simon-Pures as the orthodox Fathers of the Church, and, as Tertullian says, they changed their Gospel as they were refuted, or the past tense may have been a clerical error in the Marcionite manuscript used by Irenæus. The text used by Tertullian was the Marcionite Gospel, and he does not quote *knew* as the text of Marcion. I see no ground for going outside his record. Epiphanius makes no note of any difference between the two Gospels.²

The next passage (Luke x. 25-28) is fully discussed by Tertullian in ch. xxv., so that there is no doubt that it existed in both Gospels. A lawyer, or, as Tertullian calls him, *legis doctor*, or doctor of law, enquired of Jesus, in Tertullian's translation, "Quid faciens, vitam consequar?" This passage is given in our A. V., "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" Tertullian points out that while the Canonical

¹ It is odd that the learned translator of *Irenæus* in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library has mistranslated this quotation (iv. vi. 3). He translates, "No man knoweth the Son but the Father, nor the Father but the Son." The Latin in Stieren's edition of Irenæus is "nemo cognoscit Patrem, nisi Filius, neque Filium nisi Pater." The Ante-Nicene translator perhaps followed the text in Harvey's edition, which I do not possess.

² Volckmar, p. 78, concludes that the Marcionite text had 'knew,' but Tertullian translated it 'knoweth,' *scilicet*, because he thought nothing depended on the word, "darauf nichts beruhe." This, he says, is so much the surer, because Tertullian in quoting the *common gospel*, i.e. common to Marcion and himself, uses the word *cognovit*, 'knew' (*Anti-Marcion*, ii. 27). Whatever the word was, it was used in both Gospels alike. I prefer to follow the record as stated by Tertullian in iv. 25. The reason that Volckmar assigns is one that a textual critic cannot accept. Fanciful reasons cannot be a safe guide to ancient texts, as ingenious theologians have a good stock of them in hand.

Gospel had 'eternal life,' the Marcionite Gospel had 'life' alone, so it is clear the word 'eternal' was wanting in the latter. I should not, however, translate the enquiry in this manner, but rather 'what doing, shall I follow or pursue life?'¹ The lawyer enquired what course of life he should follow; it was a question regarding conduct in present life, not future reward. The Greek word in the original Canonical and the Marcionite Gospels, translated *consequar* by Tertullian, could not have been κληρονομήσω, shall inherit, as in our received Greek text. This is evident from Tertullian's remarks on the omission of the word *eternal*: "So that the doctor seems to have taken counsel about that life which is promised in the Law by the Creator *to be* long," and "because it was a question about the Law of life." The lawyer's question was not regarding future life in the next world, but regarding the course of conduct to be pursued in this life. The Greek word 'to inherit' was a later substitution. Tertullian admits that the word *eternal* was interpolated in the Canonical Gospel, for he says, *Viderit nunc si æternam nostri addiderunt*, which the reverend and learned translator of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library renders, "It matters not, then, whether the word *eternal* was interpolated by us," and adds in a footnote "as Marcion pretended" (*Anti-Marcion*, p. 287); a remark which is not only without Tertullian's authority, but is absurd, as Marcion was now dead some thirty or forty years, and it further indicates the one-sided interest of the clerical translator. Epiphanius has no note on this passage, from which I draw the inference that he did not find the word 'eternal' in his Canonical Gospel. This inference supports Tertullian's admission that the word was interpolated. It was withdrawn in the Canonical Gospel, which Epiphanius used: but re-introduced afterwards, as we find it in our present Gospel, with a change of the Greek verb associated with it, κληρονομήσω, for probably ἄξω. In the corresponding passage in Matt. xix. 16 the verb used is not 'inherit,' but 'have.' The Lord's reply to the lawyer is quoted by Tertullian, but he stops short at 'with all thy strength.' The clause 'and thy neighbour as thyself' appears to me to have been a later interpolation in the second edition of the Gospel, of which advantage was subsequently taken to serve as an introduction to the interpolation of the parable of the Good Samaritan, which was in neither Gospel, but follows in our present Gospel. Clement of Alexandria twice quotes the verse thus: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself"; on these commandments he says that the whole law and the prophets hang and are suspended: and again, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,

¹ French lends itself better to translation: 'Que faisant, dois-je mener la vie?'

he says, with all thy heart, and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (*Strom.*, ii. 15, sect. 71; iv. 3, sect. 10). Tertullian thus quotes the original text: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul (*anima*), and with all thy strength" (*Anti-Mar.*, iv. 25). The additions and omissions of Clement's text have been partially rectified in our received text, which runs thus: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul (*ψυχῆς*), and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind (*διανοίας*); and thy neighbour as thyself": thus showing a partial reversion to the original text as given by Tertullian. The clause "and thy neighbour as thyself" was an amiable, generous and ethical addition made by Clement, the learned Alexandrian master, who preferred the inculcation of ethics, or morality, or good manners to that of superstitious doctrines or dogmas, a marked characteristic of this excellent man in all his works that have survived to our days. The clause was probably derived from the *Didache*, ch. i. It is painful to add that Clement told deliberate falsehoods in his accounts of the origin of the Gospels. (See p. 424.) Godfrey Higgins, the learned author of the *Celtic Druids*, tells us that a learned clergyman, Rev. Mr Hughes, "has shown that all the quotations of Clement from Homer and Hesiod are false—nothing but pious fraud" (*op. cit.*, p. 285). In Bk. ii. 17 of the *Stromateis*, Clement appeals to some fictitious authorities in support of his precepts inculcating kindness and humanity to the lower animals. This good man was a counterpart of Jamie Soutar in Ian Maclaren's (Rev. John Watson's) charming stories of *Auld Lang Syne*, "who used to cloak his good deeds with falsehood to escape praise instead of proclaiming them at the corners of the street as the good people used to do."

Tertullian does not say a word regarding the Good Samaritan (Luke x. 29-37), from which the only inference to be drawn is that the parable was absent from both Gospels. Epiphanius is also silent about it, though in the case of the parable of the prodigal son, which was also absent from both Gospels, he does not fail to say that Marcion cut it out from his Gospel, the real fact being that it was interpolated in the Canonical Gospel. I have failed to discover any allusion to the *parable* of the Good Samaritan in Christian literature till after the days of Epiphanius, *i.e.*, the second half of the fourth century; hence I conclude that it was introduced into the Gospel very late, probably by Jerome, in whose collection it appears for the first time. Irenæus makes a reference to some story, not preserved in the Gospels, which in its incidents bears a close resemblance to the parable. The passage is the following: "Therefore the dew of God is necessary to us, that we may not burn, nor be rendered infructuous, and where we have

an accuser, there we may also have Paraclete : the Lord commending to his Holy Spirit his own man, who had fallen amongst thieves, and whom he pitied, and bound his wounds, giving two royal pennies ; that we, receiving through the Spirit the image and inscription of the Father and the Son, might fructify the penny entrusted to us, counting *it* out multiplied to the Lord " (III. xvii. 3).¹ I do not recognise the *parable* of the Good Samaritan in this reference. It is obviously an allusion to an incident in the Lord's life related in an apocryphal writing in which the Lord was represented as taking a personal part. Irenæus omits the passage in his list of incidents and passages peculiar to Luke (III. xiv. 3). The apocryphal story contained the details which were worked up, probably in the fourth century, into the beautiful parable which we find in our Gospel of Luke. There is an allusion to the story in ch. vi. of *The Oration on the Palms* of Methodius, an excellent writer who flourished in the second half of the third century and beginning of the fourth. This author supplies two additional details which we find in the parable ; but unfortunately he does not state the source of his information, and there are no means of ascertaining it. If proof can be found of the antecedent existence in the Gospel of Luke of the parable of the Good Samaritan, the Gospel may then be regarded as the source of the allusion ; otherwise the apocryphal source, from which Irenæus drew, must be assigned to it. Methodius does not say that it was parable, and his allusion is to incidents, and perhaps indicates that the apocryphal story had undergone elaboration. The passage is : " Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord, to pour wine and oil upon him who had fallen amongst thieves, and had been passed by " (*Methodius*, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, p. 218). I regret that I do not possess the original Greek, so that I am unable to verify the translation. So far as my opportunities enable me to speak, the first appearance of the *parable* in surviving Christian literature is in Jerome's collection of the New Testament writings in the fourth century.

I have the same observations to make on the next passage in our Gospel (Luke x. 38-42), regarding which Tertullian and Epiphanius are silent ; and I have not succeeded in finding the least trace of it in Christian literature for the first three centuries. Irenæus omits it in his list. It had, probably, a different origin from the parable of the Good Samaritan, and was a late invention *de novo*. I do not feel

¹ Quapropter necessarius nobis est ros Dei, ut non comburamur, neque infructuosi efficiamur, et ubi accusatorem habemus, illic habeamus et paracletum ; commendante Domino Spiritui sancto suum hominem, qui inciderat in latrones, cui ipse misertus est, et ligavit vulnera ejus, dans duo denaria regalia, ut par Spiritum imaginem et inscriptionem Patris et Filii accipientes, fructificemus creditum nobis denarium, multiplicatum Domino annumerantes (*Ad. Her.*, IV. xvii. 3).

that I have the least authority, presumption, or pretence, for admitting the story of Mary and Martha into the Marcionite or into the original Canonical Gospel. It also is found for the first time in Jerome's collection. The story is very charming in itself, and is further recommended by being found in our Scriptures. But to admit it into the original Canonical Gospel would be yielding to sentiment, which should be avoided in textual criticism. Some light might be thrown upon it by the following remarks, which I extract from Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, Apostolic Constitutions (Alexandria), App. B., iv., vol. ii. p. 307. "In can. 26 a strange allusion is made to a tradition probably contained in the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians,' about a conversation of Christ with Mary and Martha. 'Martha said about Mary: Look how she laughs. Mary said: I laughed not. (What follows is conjectural, for both texts are now unintelligible.) But what the Lord said is good: The weak when comforted will be strong' (the weakness of woman may be strengthened). In the conversations of Christ with his disciples, after his resurrection, as related in the Pistis Sophia, Mary and Martha are very conspicuous interlocutors."

In ch. xxvi. Tertullian enters closely into detail in speaking of the contents of the next passage (Luke xi. 1-13), so that I think it unjustifiable to depart from the text of the Marcionite Gospel as he describes it. And if the Marcionite text be constructed according to his account of it, the text of the Canonical Gospel must necessarily be regarded as the same, as he does not tell us that there was any difference between the text of the two Gospels. Epiphanius also does not note any difference between the Lord's Prayer in the two Gospels. The Lord's Prayer (verses 2-4), according to Tertullian's account of it, was not a collective or general prayer by or for a multitude, but a personal prayer by an individual for himself. The first person singular is employed in all the clauses with the exception of one; and some of the clauses in our modern text are omitted. Tertullian in this chapter, perhaps more than elsewhere, discloses in a most offensive and blasphemous manner his hatred to Marcion and to his Christ, in much the same spirit in which, in the memory of many still living, our Anglican clergy were accustomed to speak of their own places of worship as Churches of God, and of the Dissenting Churches as the chapels of the devil. I quote the introduction of ch. xxvi. in the words of the translation of *Anti-Marcion* in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, p. 288: "When in a certain place he had been praying to that Father above, looking up with insolent and audacious eyes to the heaven of the Creator, by whom in His rough and cruel nature he might have been crushed with

hail and lightning—just as it was by Him contrived that he was [afterwards] attached to a cross at Jerusalem—one of his disciples came to him and said, ‘Master, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.’” As Tertullian employs the word *Domine*, I do not see why the learned translator did not translate *Lord* and not *Master*. I shall quote categorically Tertullian’s allusions to each clause of the Lord’s prayer. “To whom can I say ‘Father’?” The expression “Our Father, who art in heaven” is hence excluded. “Of whom may I ask the Holy Spirit?” Hence “hallowed be thy name” did not exist, but a clause which I may construct thus, “Give me the Holy Spirit,” occupied its place. “Shall I wish his kingdom to come, whom I have never heard of as the King of glory?” This confirms the clause in our text, “Thy kingdom come.” There is no allusion to the next clause in our text, “Thy will be done,” etc. “Who shall give me daily bread?” This indicates that the clause in the prayer was “Give me my daily bread.”¹ “Who will forgive sin

¹ Tertullian’s reference to the clause is:—*Quis dabit mihi panem quotidianum; qui nec milium mihi condit an qui etiam de cælo panem angelorum quotidianum populo suo præstilit?*” (*Anti-Mar.*, iy. 26). “Who will give me daily bread; he who does not produce millet for me, or he who even from heaven provided the daily food of angels to his people?” Tertullian translated the Greek off-hand without the least hesitation or qualification. Hence I consider the Greek text before him was clear and simple, thus: *Τὸν ἄρτον ἐμὸν τὸν καθ’ ἡμέραν δίδου μοι*, “Give me my daily bread.” The received Greek text of this passage was not the original, and I think it was introduced by Origen, but Jerome rejected it as not found in the old Greek codices. *Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ’ ἡμέραν* would have made Tertullian meditative, and reflective over the meaning of the strange word *ἐπιούσιον*. In his treatise *On Prayer*, Tertullian expounds the Lord’s Prayer as given in Matthew’s Gospel. In this Gospel, the strange word *ἐπιούσιον* occurred in the clause (ch. vi. 11), and it did make Tertullian contemplative and reflective. He begins by remarking how elegantly the divine wisdom had arranged the order of the prayer, beginning with celestial subjects, and then descending to commonplace earthly necessities: although he reflectively says we should rather understand “Give us this day our daily bread” spiritually or in a spiritual sense, *Quamquam Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie, spiritualiter potius intelligamus* (*De Oratōne*, vi.). It is clear that the strange word *ἐπιούσιον* caused this reflection on the sense in Tertullian’s mind. This curious word has caused a great deal of reflection and outpouring of erudition amongst modern theologians of all nations. But I look at it without theological spectacles, and it is clear to me from the plain facts stated above that the word was in the original Canonical Gospels, present only in Matthew but not in Luke. Jerome in Matt. vi. 11 translates it *supersubstantialem*, the sense in which Tertullian understood it; but in the corresponding passage in Luke xi. 3 he employs the word *quotidianum*; so it is clear that the Greek word in Luke in Jerome’s Old Greek codices was not *ἐπιούσιον*, but *τὸν καθ’ ἡμέραν*. The word *ἐπιούσιον* is *sui generis*. All the learning of Greek, German, French and English theologians has not sufficed to indicate its occurrence in any other Greek writings but the Old and New Testaments, in which latter it occurs in these two passages alone; and, as I have pointed out above, it had been put into Luke by Origen (but rejected by Jerome) in order to keep the word in Matthew in company and countenance. Jerome, in his Commentary on Matthew vi. 11, gives two explanations of the meaning of the word in Matthew, one theological and the other critical; and the latter is a straw that has guided me in my investigation into the origin of the Gospel according to Matthew. Speaking as a theologian, Jerome says that *ἐπιούσιος* is the Greek equivalent for the Latin

to me?" indicates a clause which may be thus stated, "Forgive me my sins." There is no allusion to the explanatory clause in our present text, "For we also forgive every one that is indebted to us."

supersubstantialis; but this Greek word the Septuagint translators have 'very frequently' changed into *ἐπιούσιος*, which word they use in translating the Hebrew word *Sgolla*, which Symmachus translates *ἐξαιρετός*, i.e., 'principal,' or 'pre-eminent,' and in one passage 'peculiar.' Hence the meaning of the 'bread' is the bread of life which descended from heaven. This theological explanation which pretends to explain the word *ἐπιούσιος*, drops this word *en route*, and finishes by explaining the word 'bread,' may be cast contemptuously into the waste-paper basket. Jerome's critical explanation is of more value. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, he says: "The Hebrew word used for *supersubstantialis* is *Mahar*, which means *crastinus*, or of to-morrow or to-morrow's, so that the sense is, Give us to-day our to-morrow's, i.e., future bread." So that the inference is justifiable that the text in the Gospel of Matthew was a translation of the Hebrew of an apocryphal Gospel, probably the Logia of Matthew, the Greek word employed being a coinage the nearest in meaning to the Hebrew word. The variance of the idiom of the Greek and Hebrew occasioned the difficulty. The equivalent of 'daily' in Greek is *δ, ἡ, τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*, in or according to a day; but in Hebrew 'of to-morrow,' and it will be perceived that the idea in the word 'daily' takes in the future. The Greek translator tried to translate the Hebrew idiom. This criticism of Jerome clearly indicates that the passage in Matthew was a literal translation from the Hebrew, its original source. There are special idioms in all languages. 'Half past two' in English is expressed in French *deux heures et demie*, i.e., 'two hours and a half,' and in German, *halb zwei uhr*, or 'half two o'clock,' and it is the same in Hindoostanee, *sadd̐ dho guntā*. Funny mistakes are made when the idioms get confused, or when idiomatic expressions are literally translated or misapplied; as when a French lady said her youngest child was 'half past two years of age,' and her eldest 'half past twelve.' The word *cul* in Hindoostanee means both yesterday and to-morrow: *cul āya* means 'I came yesterday,' *cul avenge*, 'I will come to-morrow.' *Ἐπιούσιος* is of the same coinage as *δμο-ούσιος* and *δμοιο-ούσιος*, which were minted later. *Ἐπιούσιος* was a coined Greek word used to translate the Hebrew word *Mahar*, 'of to-morrow,' so as to retain the Hebrew idiom. It closely resembles the Greek participle *ἐπιών, -ιούσα, -ίδον*, of the verb *ἐπι-εμμι*, 'to be coming or to impend': thus, *ἡ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα*, 'the coming day' or 'the morrow' (Acts vii. 26, and elsewhere); *δ ἐπιών*, 'the first comer in the future'; *τὸ ἐπιδόν*, 'what occurs to one hereafter.' The evidence is clear that *ἐπιούσιον* was in the second century present in Matt. vi. 11, but not in Luke xi. 3, nor in any other passage of the New Testament, nor in classical literature. Tertullian and Jerome, donning theological spectacles, put a spiritual meaning on the coined word, very alien from the intention of the original translator, who I suspect was Pantænus, a Greek Stoic philosopher who became a Christian, and was head of the school at Alexandria in the later years of the second century. (See p. 413.) I shall further add that the Hebrew idiom being 'Give us to-morrow's bread,' the addition of *σήμερον*, or 'this day,' was needed to correct it in Greek and English, and thus a sentence was produced which is neither good Greek nor good English. We are so accustomed to hear the sentence, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' that we are not sensible of its inaccuracy. But, suppose we change it to another, and say 'Give us this day our daily pay,' or 'Give us this week our weekly wages,' or 'Give us this quarter our quarter's salary,' we would become sensible that the language is redundant and strange. 'Give us our daily bread,' or, as the Marconite Gospel had it, 'Give me my daily bread,' is good idiomatic Greek and English, without any admixture of Hebrew idiom or the need of a corrective.

The strange word *ἐπιούσιον*, from the accident of its position in the Lord's Prayer, has acquired in the revolution of the ages, a sanctity and importance equivalent to that attained by the 'blessed word Mesopotamia.' I have endeavoured in this footnote to gratify the only human interest in the word, that derived from the fact of its occurrence in the Lord's Prayer, where it is *de trop*. But Bishop Lightfoot, following in the wake of German theologians, Tholuck, Seller, and others, has written a monograph of forty pages on this single and

"Who shall not permit us to be led into temptation?" confirms the clause in our present text, "Lead us not into temptation." The Lord's Prayer was thus, according to Tertullian's description of the text, much shorter than in our present Canonical Gospel: several clauses were omitted, and one supplied, namely, "Give me the Holy Spirit," the existence of which clause in the original prayer is clearly indicated in verse 13, "How much more shall *your* heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him?" Tertullian winds up his account of the simple prayer in the Marcionite Gospel with the following words, thus translated in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, p. 289: "If any one, with such a form, invokes another god¹ and not the Creator, he does not pray: he only blasphemes:" a remark conceived in the evil ecclesiastical spirit which, though much mollified by the influence of modern civilisation, is still alive amongst contending and competing branches of the Holy Catholic Church, and is offensively prevalent amongst the baser writers of rival sects. The clauses omitted by Tertullian are five in number, viz., Which

singular word (published as an Appendix to his brochure called *A Fresh Revision of the New Testament*, 1872, pp. 195-234) in which he expounds its Orthography, Etymology, Syntax and Prosody! From this interesting dissertation I extract the following statement of Origen (*De Orat.*, xxvii. 1, p. 245, Delarue), that the word does not occur once in Greek literature, and is not current in the colloquial language. "It seems," Origen adds, "to have been coined (πεπλάσθαι) by the Evangelists. Matthew and Luke agree in using it without any difference. The same course has been taken in other cases also by persons translating from the Hebrew. For what Greek ever used either of the expressions ἐνωρίζου or ἀκουτίσθητι . . . A similar expression to ἐπιούσιον occurs in Moses, being uttered by God, 'But ye shall be to me a people' περιούσιος. And it seems to me that both words are formed from οὐσία." We should be thankful to Origen that he has told so much of the truth, and not be too exigent as to require from a theologian a statement of the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The following is a *résumé* of the various idioms:

Hebrew.—Give us our to-morrow's bread. (Gospel according to the Hebrews.)

Greek.—Give me my daily bread. (Marcionite Gospel.)

Syriac.—Our-bread continual of the day give-to-us. (Matthew.)

„ (Curetonian).—Give to-us the-bread continual of-every-day. (Luke.)

„ (Peshito).—Give to-us the-bread of our necessity this day. (Matthew.)

„ Give to-us the-bread of-our-necessity every day. (Luke.)

„ (Mrs Lewis).—Give us the continual bread of every-day. Luke.

„ (Acts of Thomas, or Ancient Syriac MS.)—The-bread continual of-the-day give to me.

Egyptian (Memphitic).—Our bread of-to-morrow give it to us-to-day. (Matt.)

„ „ Our bread that cometh give thou to us to-day. (Luke.)

„ (Thebaic).—Our bread that-cometh give thou to us to-day. (Matt.)

Latin, Quotidianum. German, Täglich. French, Quotidien.

The reader will note that the Marcionite prayer corresponds to the Syriac prayer in the Acts of Thomas, or in the poems of Jacob of Sarug, a Syriac writer who died A.D. 521. Bishop Lightfoot says of the former: "It must be a very ancient work, for it has a distinctly Gnostic character."

¹ Please note the small g to indicate the God whom Marcion worshipped. This mean display of ecclesiastical rancour is not encouraged by Bishop Westcott and the nobler minds among theologians, who always spell the God of Marcion with a capital G.

art in heaven ; hallowed be Thy name ; Thy will be done ; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us ; but deliver us from evil. Of these five the R. V. has expunged three from our present Gospel, viz. : Which art in heaven ; Thy will be done ; but deliver us from evil. It is clear that Tertullian's quotations of the Lord's Prayer in his treatise *On Prayer* were not derived from Luke but from Matthew ; and the same remark is applicable to the quotations made by other writers. This prayer, though given by the Lord as a model, was not much in vogue in ancient days. The short personal prayer of the Lord was manifestly a stumbling-block to ecclesiastics in the third and fourth centuries, who were receiving handsome pay and mercenary consideration for praying in public for other people. They naturally preferred long public prayers, in which their rhetoric could be displayed, and which would look, in quantity and quality, like a fair return for the money they were receiving. Hence the desire to attempt to eke out the Lord's Prayer, which was given as a model, by supplementary clauses. The *Codex Bezae* has an admonition by the Lord, in verse 2, viz. : "He said, When ye pray do not babble, like the others, for some think that in their much eloquence they shall be heard, but you praying, say, Our Father," etc.¹ Tertullian proceeds : "In like manner from whom shall I ask, that I may receive ? of whom seek, that I may find ? to whom shall I knock, that it may be opened unto me ?" The singular number is employed throughout, and the verb is the subjunctive present in the

¹ Here are samples of ancient prayers, which were not formed on the model of the Lord's Prayer. St Augustine (fourth century) thus prayed : "Come to my help, thou one God, one true eternal substance, where is no discrepancy, no confusion, no transience, no indigency, no death ; where is supreme concord, supreme evidence, supreme constancy, supreme plenitude, supreme life ; where nothing is lacking, nothing is over and above ; where he who begets and he who is begotten of him are one ; God, above whom is nothing, outside whom is nothing ; God, beneath whom is the whole, in whom is the whole, with whom is the whole—hearken, here then hearken unto me, my God, my Lord ; open thy door unto me that knock !" (*Soliloquies of St Augustine*).

"Holy Trinity, superadmirable Trinity, and superinenarrable, and super-inscrutable, and superinaccessible, superincomprehensible, superintelligible, superessential, superessentially surpassing all sense, all reason, all intellect, all intelligence, all essence of supercelestial minds ; which can neither be said, nor thought, nor understood, nor known, even by the eyes of angels !"

"O three co-equal and eternal persons, one and true God, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, who by thyself inhabitest eternity and light inaccessible, who hast founded the earth in thy power, and rulest the world by thy providence, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, terrible and strong, just and merciful, admirable, laudable, amiable, one God, three persons, one essence, power, wisdom, goodness, one and individual Trinity, open unto me that cry unto Thee the gates of righteousness." *Book of Soliloquies*, popularly ascribed to St Augustine, and printed with his works, but probably of a later date and author. The above prayers are copied from Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*. The ancient liturgies of the second and third centuries given by Bunsen in his *Hippolytus* are of a length and tediousness which would not be endured by modern congregations.

final clauses ; verse 9 must be reconstructed accordingly. Verse 10 appears to me to be guaranteed by the remark "if to receive, and to find, and to be admitted, is the fruit of the labour and perseverance to him who has asked, and sought, and knocked." Tertullian then refers to the parable in verse 5, which he says preceded the previous precepts, as we find in our present Gospel. Tertullian has "not a serpent for a fish, nor a scorpion for an egg," and says nothing about a stone, as we find in verse 11. Epiphanius twice gives us the whole passage from verses 11 to 13, with a little variation in each quotation, thus : "For a son asking any father amongst you for a fish, and instead of a fish will ye give him a serpent ? and instead of an egg a scorpion ? If ye then being evil know to give good gifts unto your children, how much more your heavenly Father ?" (Sch. and Ref., xxiv.). This, then, must be taken as the text of the two Gospels, for neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius tells us that there was any difference between them in these passages. In verse 13 the existence of the concluding clause after 'heavenly Father,' where Epiphanius stops short, is guaranteed by Tertullian's remark, "And so he will give the Holy Spirit by whom (or in the power of whom) is also the unholy *spirit*."

The next passage (Luke xi. 14-26) is alluded to by Tertullian in ch. xxvi. He speaks of Jesus casting out a demon that was dumb, and quotes verse 19 : "If I by Beelzebub cast out demons, by whom do your sons cast them out ?" and "But if I by the finger of God cast out demons, has not therefore the kingdom of God come near to you ?" (verse 20), and mentions the parable of the strong man overpowered by the stronger man (verses 21 and 22). There is no allusion to verses 23-26 ; and these verses are not quoted by him in his other writings, nor by Irenæus or any other writers of his time, and Epiphanius gives no assistance and is silent on the whole passage. But being part of the entire passage, they must be regarded as covered by the allusions already noted.

In Luke xi. 27, 28, which Tertullian refers to next, is an incident in the Marcionite Gospel, in which the human birth of Jesus is plainly implied. A woman says to Jesus, "Blessed *is* the womb that bare thee, and the breasts which thou hast sucked." And Jesus replies, "Yea, rather, blessed *are* they that hear the word of God and keep it." It is impossible to believe that Marcion would have introduced this incident, which he could easily have omitted, into his Gospel, if he had denied a human birth from a mother to his Christ. Tertullian, however, is not to be daunted, and he employs this passage to refute and convict Marcion of denying what he had repeatedly asserted in his Gospel, viz., the human birth of Jesus.

A man who has invented a great falsehood must be brazen-faced and audacious, in season and out of season, to keep it up : L'audace, encore l'audace, toujours l'audace. Epiphanius saw no opportunity for refutation in this passage, and as it existed in both Gospels, he does not mention it. The honest bishop had no knowledge of Tertullian's version of Marcion's theology, that Jesus was not born of a woman, but dropped from the sky a full-grown man.

In ch. xxvii. Tertullian alludes to Jesus' refusal to give a sign which we find in verse 29 of the next passage (Luke xi. 29-32), but he does not allude to the rest of the passage. In ordinary circumstances I should have regarded the allusion as covering the whole passage ; but here Epiphanius comes to our assistance and assures us that the verses regarding Jonah, the Queen of the South, Solomon and Nineveh, were wanting in the Marcionite Gospel (Sch. and Ref., xxv.). Epiphanius, in his honest but mistaken zeal, says Marcion cut them out ; but as Tertullian has not said so, and further, has made no remark of any difference between the two Gospels in this place, my conclusion is that verses 30 to 32 had been interpolated in the Canonical Gospel long before Epiphanius wrote, and the latter had no knowledge that these verses had been interpolated. Thus verse 29 only of this passage existed in the Marcionite and the original Canonical Gospels. The rest were not cut out by Marcion, as Epiphanius says, but were added to the Canonical Gospel. The concluding clause of verse 29 must be cut out. The next passage (Luke xi. 33-36) must be accepted *en bloc* as existing in both Gospels, on the strength of Tertullian's remark about a candle not being hid, but put upon a candlestick that it may give light to all.

The next passage spoken of by Tertullian (ch. xxvii.) is the dinner given by the Pharisee (Luke xi. 37-54). He refers to the surprise of the Pharisee that Jesus had not washed before lying down to dinner (verse 38) ; quotes verse 39, that "they make clean the outside of the cup and platter, but their inward part is full of ravening and wickedness" ; verse 41, "Give what ye possess as alms, and all things shall be clean unto you," and refers to the tithing of small herbs, like rue and mint, and the passing over of the calling and the love of God (verse 42). He further upbraids the Pharisees for their love of the uppermost seats and the honour of salutations (verse 43), and the lawyers because they load others with burdens grievous to be borne which they do not themselves touch with their little finger (verse 46) ; woe is pronounced against them, because they built monuments to the prophets, who were killed by their fathers (verse 47). He then refers to the key possessed by the lawyers, and the woe addressed to them for not entering in themselves and for shutting the door against

others (verse 52). The whole passage is guaranteed with the exception of verse 44, perhaps, and verses 49-51, which are not alluded to; and further, Tertullian does not speak of any variance between the two Gospels, and hence the text was the same in both. I must necessarily take verse 44 as covered by the other allusions, as I can find no information about it elsewhere. But Epiphanius comes to our assistance in the matter of verses 49-51, *i.e.*, the quotation from the work called *The Wisdom of God*, regarding the sending of apostles and prophets, and the statement, which is unhistorical, regarding the blood of Zacharias, who perished between the altar and the temple. He says Marcion had not the passage, "Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send to them Prophets, and concerning the blood of Zacharias and Abel and of the prophets, that it shall be required of this generation" (Sch. and Ref., xxviii.). It is clear therefore that if at the beginning of the third century Tertullian found no difference between the two Gospels, but Epiphanius found verses 49-51 in the Canonical Gospel and not in the Marcionite, that these verses had been since interpolated in the former. It is rather hard that the dead Marcion should be blamed for what he did not do; but honest Epiphanius indignantly points out that it was no good at all that Marcion should have acted thus, for the passages which he secretly removed and mutilated are easily found out, and are published in every copy of the Gospel according to Luke. This passage in Epiphanius indicates a design to point out all the passages mutilated or removed by Marcion. The Scholion and Refutation xxviii. have no other object but to call attention to Marcion's delinquency; and there are several others like it. Epiphanius further points out another variance between the two Gospels in his day, *viz.*, in verse 42; the Canonical Gospel had, he says, "You pass over the judgment of God," while the Marcionite Gospel had "You pass over the calling of God," *i.e.*, the Canonical word employed was κρίσιν, and the Marcionite κλησιν (Sch. and Ref., xxvi.). The word employed by Tertullian is *vocationem*, which he repeats three times, and hence there can be no doubt that κλησιν was the original word in both Gospels.¹ In this Refutation, Epiphanius throws a doubt upon the word associated with *judgment*, which he links with *mercy*, whereas Tertullian uses the word *dilectio*, which corresponds with the word used in our present Canonical text, *love*.

In ch. xxviii. Tertullian speaks of the next passage (Luke

¹ Volckmar retains *judgment*, κρίσιν, but gives no reason for doing so. He says "Das ferner 11, 42 nur κρίσις nicht κλησις eine Stelle haben kann, bedarf wohl keiner Erinnerung." The further passage (xi. 42) can have only *judgment* not *calling*, and needs perhaps no mention (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

xii. 1-12). He quotes, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy" (verse 1); "There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, and nothing hid which shall not be known" (verse 2); and again, "But I say unto you, my friends, be not terrified by those who can only kill the body, and after that have no power over you" (verse 4), which latter clause is slightly varied from our received text. He further quotes verses 5, 8, and 9, somewhat differently from our received text: "For I say unto you, every one who shall confess me before men, I shall confess him before God; and every one who shall deny me before men, shall be denied before God." This was the text of both Gospels, as he makes no statement of variance. Epiphanius points out that the Canonical Gospel of his day had "before the angels of God," which was of course an interpolation (Sch. and Ref., xxx.). Epiphanius is silent regarding the addition of "Son of Man" in verse 8, which we find in our present text. Cyprian, in his treatise *On the Lapsed*, thus quotes these verses: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven; but he that denieth me, him will I also deny" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Cyp.*, i. p. 366). Tertullian quotes verse 10, omitting 'a word,' and using 'speaketh against' for 'blasphemeth,' and refers to the contents of the two following verses. Epiphanius points out that verse 6, "Are not five sparrows," etc., was not in the Marcionite Gospel (Sch. and Ref., xxix.); but he says nothing of the following verse, which, however, is closely dependent on verse 6, and would be unintelligible without it. I infer that verse 7 did not exist in the Canonical Gospel of his time, but was subsequently added. Both these verses were hence interpolations.

Before the close of ch. xxviii. Tertullian briefly alludes to the next passage (Luke xii. 13-21). He quotes verse 14, "Who has made me a judge over you?" and verse 20. Epiphanius does not refer to this passage. The only interpolation in this passage that can be detected is the addition in verse 14, "or a divider," and the change of "they shall require thy soul" to "thy soul shall be required of thee," in verse 20.

In ch. xxix. Tertullian speaks of the next passage (Luke xii. 22-31), and refers to the subject of every verse with the exception of verses 25 and 26. These two verses appear to be out of accord with the rest of the passage, and rather silly; but as I can find no authority for deleting them, and they are protected as belonging to the whole passage, they must stand. Epiphanius tells us in Scholion and Ref. xxxi., that Marcion had not "God clothes the grass," and he stops short there; but I take it that he means that the whole clause in

verse 28, "If, then, God so clothe the grass, which is to-day in the field, and to-morrow is cast into the oven," was omitted. Tertullian does not refer to this clause of the verse, but he does to the following clause, "O ye of little faith." This part of the passage has hence to be reconstructed from the data supplied by Tertullian and Epiphanius. The former thus refers to the passage in verse 27: "His lilies and grass weave not, nor do they spin, and yet they are clothed by him; and his Solomon was most glorious, but not more adorned than any little flower." I propose, then, between Tertullian's reference and our received text, to reconstruct the passage thus: "Consider the lilies and grass how they grow; they weave not, they spin not, yet they are clothed. I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not more adorned than any little flower; how much more *will he clothe* you, O ye of little faith?" As Tertullian does not say the two Gospels differed, the omission spoken of by Epiphanius was really an interpolation in the Canonical Gospel.¹ Clement of Alexandria, in his *Pædagogus*, II. x., sects. 102 and 103 (Ante-Nicene Christian Lib., vol. i. p. 255), refers to the whole passage, and quotes verse 27, as in our present Gospel: "If God so clothe the grass which is to-day in the field, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, how much more you, O ye of little faith?" His testimony hence is contradictory to that of Tertullian and Epiphanius, for the latter says this verse was wanting in the Marcionite Gospel, while Tertullian does not say that there was a difference between the two Gospels, justifying the conclusion that the verse was an interpolation. I consider their testimony as of greater value than Clement's in dealing with this verse. Clement was the head of the great School or College in Alexandria, where the probability, if not certainty, is that the Synoptic Gospels were compiled and subsequently amended from time to time. Clement's testimony, like that of his successor at Alexandria, the great Origen, must be taken with considerable caution, as both these Fathers were instrumental in amending and improving the Gospels. I take the quotation by Clement of verse 28 as indicating that the work of amending the Gospel began at the close of the second century, and the insertion of the verse was a part of this work, for which the credit, or discredit, must be attributed to this Father. In fact, Clement quoted from the second edition, which he himself

¹ Volckmar is of opinion that the omission was clerical. See his work, p. 48. I think the omission is too considerable to be regarded as an oversight of the Marcionite scribe. It is clear from Clement's quotation of the verse, about which Tertullian is silent, that it was an interpolation made in the second edition of the Canonical Gospel, the first edition used by Tertullian being without it. Volckmar brings *arguments* as evidence, not historical facts, or quotations, which are the guides of the textual critic.

put forth as Alexandrian master. In quoting verse 27, Clement has "Consider the lilies, how they spin not, nor weave," which is variant from our present text; and the use of the word 'weave,' *ὑφαίνει*, corresponds with Tertullian's word 'texunt.' The more I investigate the Marcionite Gospel, the more am I convinced of the accuracy and trustworthiness of Tertullian's account of it, and of his testimony regarding the original Canonical Gospel.

The next passage (Luke xii. 32-40) is fully alluded to in ch. xxix. Many of the verses are quoted, such as verse 35, the wedding in verse 36, and the thief in verse 39. The passage existed in both Gospels without variance. Epiphanius points out two differences in text in the two Gospels. The Marcionite text of verse 32 had 'the Father' instead of the Canonical 'your Father' (Sch. and Ref., xxxiv.), and 'in the evening watch' in verse 38, instead of 'in the second watch or in the third watch' (Sch. and Ref., xxxv.). The latter verse is found quoted by Irenæus (*Ad. Her.*, v. xxxiv. 2), thus: "And if he shall come in the evening watch, and so find *them*, blessed are they, because he shall make them lie down, and shall minister to them; be it (*licet*) the second, and be it the third, blessed are they." It will be thus seen that the 'evening watch' was in the ancient Gospel, and the process by which our present text was evolved is shown in an interesting manner. This is an example of what Dr Hort calls 'conflate reading' (see p. 343). The Marcionite text was hence the text of the original Gospel in both passages, as Tertullian does not speak of variance.

The next passage (Luke xii. 41-48) is clearly referred to in ch. xxix. Tertullian speaks of Peter's enquiry whether the parable was "unto them or even to all" (verse 41), of the steward who treated his fellow-servants well during his lord's absence, and of the one who did otherwise (verses 42-46), and of the apportionment of stripes according to the knowledge or ignorance of the delinquent (verses 47, 48).

Luke xii. 49-53 is next noted by Tertullian. He points out that Marcion made an emendation in verse 51, using the word 'division' instead of 'sword' as was written in the Canonical Gospel. The Marcionite text is, however, reverted to in our received text. Verse 53 is quoted in full. Beyond the difference pointed out, the text of both Gospels was alike. It should be noted that in 53, the Marcionite Gospel quotes Micah vii. 6, which is a fact not in support of the statement that Marcion abolished the Law and the Prophets. Tertullian lamely remarks that Micah must have predicted it to Marcion's Christ. Verse 50, in our text, is "But I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitened till it be accom-

plished!" It is thus quoted by Irenæus: "I have to be baptised with another baptism, and I am rapidly hastening to it" (*Ad Her.*, i. xxi. 2). As the Greek is preserved,¹ I think this rendering may be taken as that of the original Gospel, removing the word 'another,' which looks very like an addition made by Irenæus so as to make a contrast with the baptism of John, of which he was discoursing in the passage. Origen, the head of the Alexandrian college in the third century, is the first who renders the passage as we have it in our Canonical Gospel (*On John*, vi. 26). It probably underwent other changes before Origen's reading was finally established. Epiphanius tells us that Marcion administered three consecutive baptisms in order to expiate sins after the first and second baptisms. He assigns, rather ill-naturedly, the origin of the practice to Marcion's desire to expiate his own sin, viz., the alleged violation of a virgin after his first baptism; and proceeds to say that Marcion defended the practice on the ground that the Lord, after being baptised by John, said to his disciples, "I have a baptism to be baptised, and what do I wish if I have already accomplished it?" and again, "I have a cup to drink, and what do I wish if I shall presently fulfil it?"² (xlii. 3). Marcion, however, in his Gospel, did not speak of the baptism of Jesus by John, but rather ignored it, and refused admittance to the story in his Gospel. The second quotation is not to be found in the Marcionite Gospel, nor in any that we know of. Perhaps we have lost the colloquial meaning of the expressions *τί θέλω εἰ ἤδη* and *τί θέλω ἤδη*; I note that Epiphanius appends the mark of interrogation to the latter, but not to the former.

The next passage (Luke xii. 54-59) is alluded to at the close of ch. xxix. Tertullian speaks of the denunciation against hypocrites who discern the face of the sky and earth, but were ignorant of the signs of the times (verse 56), and who could not judge themselves what is right (verse 57); and finally of the judge who commits to prison, till the *novissimo quadrante*, which may be taken as the equivalent of 'the very last mite,' was paid.

In our Gospel, the next passages are Luke xiii. 1-5, in which are mentioned the slaughter of the Galilæans, whose blood Pilate mixed with their sacrifices, and the death of the eighteen upon whom the

¹ Καὶ ἄλλο βάπτισμα ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πάνυ ἐπείγομαι εἰς αὐτό. Aliud baptismus habeo baptizari et valde propero ad illud. Baptismo alio habeo baptizari, et ad eum magnopere festino.

² Βάπτισμα ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἤδη τετέλεκα αὐτό. Καὶ πάλιν ποτήριον ἔχω πιεῖν, καὶ τί θέλω ἤδη πληρώσω αὐτό; Petavius, vol. i. p. 304, thus translates: Baptismus habeo baptizari, et quid volo nisi ut perficiam ipsum? Ac rursus: Calicem habeo bibere, et quid volo nisi ut impleam illum?

tower in Siloam fell; and Luke xiii. 6-9, the parable of the fig-tree in the vineyard. Tertullian does not mention these two passages, but proceeds in his next chapter (xxx.) directly to speak of the cure on the Sabbath day, recounted in the following passage, beginning at verse 10. Epiphanius informs us that these two passages, regarding which Tertullian, as I have said, is silent, were cut out of his Gospel by Marcion the pirate, as he calls him, which expression Petavius translates *nefarius prædo*, who thus deprived his followers of so much truth. As Tertullian does not say that any difference existed between the two Gospels in this place, my conclusion is that the two passages in question existed in neither Gospel, and that instead of having been cut out of the Marcionite Gospel, they had been added to the Canonical Gospel. Had they existed in the Canonical Gospel in Tertullian's hands, he would most assuredly have mentioned the fact, just as in the passage a little before he took care to point out that a single word was different in the two Gospels, *sword* in the Canonical and *division* in the Marcionite Gospel. It is difficult to think that a writer who could note differences in single words, would have failed to have pointed out differences of extended passages, amounting together to nine verses. There can be no doubt, however, that the Gospel in Tertullian's hand varied from that in the hands of Irenæus towards the close of the second century; because while it is clear from Tertullian that the parable of the fig tree was absent in his Gospel, it is equally clear from Irenæus that it existed in his Gospel, for he mentions it in his list of the contents peculiar to Luke's Gospel (*Ad Her.*, III. xiv. 3), and again in IV. xxxvi. 8, where he quotes verse 7. The only explanation possible to account for these facts is that the parable of the fig tree in the vineyard was an addition or interpolation in the copy used by Irenæus, which was the second edition, while Tertullian used the first edition. That it was a very early interpolation is supported by the fact that Epiphanius was not aware of it, for, as I have pointed out elsewhere (see page 140), he abstains from mentioning *cuttings*, when he was cognisant of canonical interpolation in the copy of the Gospel in his own hands.

The next passage alluded to by Tertullian is Luke xiii. 10-17. He speaks of the cure performed on the Sabbath day, and quotes verse 15, "Doth not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ass or *his* ox from the stall, and lead *him* to watering?" The passage was in both Gospels. The two parables that follow in our present Gospel (Luke xiii. 18-21) are most briefly alluded to in the same ch. xxx. Tertullian quotes verses 18 and 19 thus: "The kingdom of God is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed

in his garden." It is probable that the interrogative introduction in verse 18 of our Gospel was a subsequent embellishment. The parable of the 'leaven' is referred to (verses 20 and 21).

The following passage (Luke xiii. 22-35) presents some difficulties. The earlier verses are not alluded to by Tertullian, viz., 22-24. They are also not mentioned by Epiphanius; but as they are connected with the succeeding verses, there is no alternative but to admit them. The next verses 25-28, to the first clause, are clearly alluded to by Tertullian. He quotes intermittently verse 25: "When the master of the house has risen up . . . and hath shut the door, the wicked of course to be excluded, he will reply to those who knock: I know not whence ye are. And again to those who recount that they have eaten and drank with him, and he has taught in their streets, he adds, Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth." These allusions guarantee the text so far. Tertullian proceeds to say: "Where? outside, of course, where they have been excluded, the door having been shut by him: therefore there shall be punishment, by him by whom the exclusion is made for a punishment, when they shall see the just entering into the kingdom of God, but they themselves are detained outside." These remarks guarantee verse 28 in a general way, but not its exact words. Here Epiphanius gives us assistance (Sch. and Ref., xl.). He tells us Marcion cut out "Then ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God," and instead of these words he had, "When ye shall see all the just in the kingdom of God, but you (plural) thrust out." And he further says, Marcion added: "Vanquished outside, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." I propose from these data to reconstruct the text of verse 28, after the first clause, thus: "When ye shall see all the just in the kingdom of God, but yourselves thrust out, vanquished outside, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." This was the Marcionite text as Epiphanius declares, and as Tertullian does not say there was a variance, it must be taken as the text of the Canonical Gospel also. Tertullian says not a word about the following verses, 29-35, but Epiphanius assures us (Sch. and Ref., xli.) that Marcion cut them all out, and as he quotes the initial words of the verses excised, there can be no mistake. As Tertullian does not say the Gospels varied, these verses were certainly interpolations of an ancient date in the Canonical Gospel beyond Epiphanius' knowledge. Irenæus quotes verse 34 and the first clause of the following verse (iv. xxxvi. 7), but he does not tell us from which Gospel he took it. They were either in another Gospel, or interpolated in his copy of Luke. I should here bring to the

reader's notice that Epiphanius devotes his Scholion and Refutation xli. to no purpose of refutation, but solely to expose Marcion's audacity in excising so large a portion of the Gospel. He says Marcion's conduct was like that of a man who cut an animal into two, and showed one half only to the ignorant, and persuaded them to believe that the half was the whole body of the animal, with nothing removed.

Tertullian says nothing of the next two passages in our Gospel (Luke xiv. 1-6), the healing on the Sabbath day of the man with dropsy, and (7-11) the parable regarding the choosing of the chief rooms. Epiphanius, who has devoted a few Scholia and Refutations solely to expose Marcion's erasures, is also silent. The only conclusion to be drawn from the silence of both these authors is that the two passages were absent from the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels in their hands. Irenæus, however, mentions both passages in his list of the contents of the Gospel of Luke (*Ad Her.*, III., xiv. 3), and he further states that they were in Luke alone, and not in the other Gospels; and I have no reason for disbelieving him. These passages were interpolated in the copy of the Gospel of Luke which he had in his hands (the second edition), but they were certainly not in Tertullian's copy of that Gospel, or he would have mentioned them. From what has already been found in this investigation as far as it has gone, the fact is apparent that passages and texts were shuffled about in different periods and centuries from Gospel to Gospel; and further facts will be discovered as we proceed which confirm the conclusion that the contents of the Canonical Gospels were in an unstable condition late in the second and in the third century, and even later. I do not feel that I have authority for admitting these passages into the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospels, and to admit them will be passing beyond the record. They cannot be regarded as covered by Tertullian's remarks. The removal of these passages necessitates the excision of the words "also to him that bade him," in verse 12.

In ch. xxxi. Tertullian deals with the passage Luke xiv. 12-24. What kind of persons, he says, did Jesus bid should be invited to a dinner or a supper? (verse 12), viz., those who are unable to recompense, and the recompense should be expected at the resurrection (verse 14). He proceeds to discuss the parable, "A certain man made a supper and called many." The word 'great' applied to supper was an interpolation. He details the excuses made by the persons invited: 'I have bought a field,' 'I have bought oxen,' and 'I have married a wife.' The host grew wrathful, and invited others from the same city; but although the guests abounded, he commanded

that men should be gathered from the highways and hedges. There can be no doubt that the passage existed in both Gospels.

I find no allusion made by Tertullian to the passage that follows in our Gospel (Luke xiv. 25-35), and Epiphanius is also silent regarding it, and hence there is no authority for admitting it into either Gospel. Epiphanius quotes verse 26 in a modified form in his Refutation lxx. of a passage further on: "If any one leave not father and mother and brothers and wife and sons, etc., he cannot be my disciple." This quotation bears a certain resemblance to verse 26: "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." Epiphanius does not say that he quotes it from Luke; but as he associates it with two quotations from Matthew, that Gospel may be regarded as the source of it. Nor does he connect the quotation with the Marcionite Gospel.

In the shortest chapter in his work (ch. xxxii.) Tertullian refers to the parables of the lost sheep and the lost piece of money (Luke xv. 1-10). There can be no doubt that this passage existed in both Gospels; but the reading of Clement, "Great is the joy with the Father, on one sinner being saved" (*Strom.*, ii. sect. 69), must be substituted for the received text in verse 10. There is the same freedom from doubt in my mind that the next passage in our present Gospel (Luke xv. 11-32) did not exist in either Gospel, for Tertullian makes no mention of the parable of the Prodigal Son, and does not say that the Canonical Gospel contained it. Epiphanius, however, asserts that Marcion cut it out bodily from the Gospel; and this statement, collated with Tertullian's silence, is clear proof to my mind that it had been interpolated in later times into the Canonical Gospel of Luke. Irenæus does not mention it in his list of the contents of this Gospel (*Ad Her.*, iii. xiv. 3). It is certain, however, that it was contained in one of the Gospels, for Irenæus makes accurate reference to its details in two passages (iv. xiv. 2 and xxxvi. 7). Tertullian also has accurate references in his other writings to the parable, and he calls it by its conventional name of the Prodigal Son (*Of Patience*, xii.; *On Repentance*, viii.; *On Modesty*, viii. and ix.). As the parable was not in Luke, it must, I think, have been in one of the other Gospels. Matthew probably contained it in the second century, as the recital of the incidents of the parable is put into the mouth of the Apostle Matthew in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Bk. 11. xxxix. and xli., a work probably of the third century, but much interpolated in later centuries. (See my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 98, footnote.)

The next passage in our Gospel (Luke xvi. 1-17) is fully alluded to by Tertullian in ch. xxxiii. The story of the unjust steward is

mentioned, the saying that two masters cannot be served (verse 13); the admonition, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness" (*injustitiæ*) is quoted, without, however, the clause which follows in our present Gospel, "that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." This latter clause is so important and so intimately connected with the precept that precedes it, of which it is the corollary, that its omission by Tertullian is, in my judgment, conclusive that it did not exist in either Gospel. Tertullian further quotes "Ye cannot serve God and mammon" (verse 13), as well as verses 11 and 12. The latter, however, is varied from our received text, viz., "Who shall give you that which is mine?" instead of 'your own' in our text. As he repeats the words 'that which is mine' twice, it must be taken as the original text.¹ He further quotes from verse 15, "What is highly esteemed among men is abomination to God"; and verse 16, "The law and the prophets *were* until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached," without the final clause "and every man presseth into it"; and finally (verse 17), "Therefore heaven and earth may more easily pass away, just as also the law and the prophets—than one tittle (or point, *apex*) of the words of the Lord." Tertullian does not tell us that there was any variance between the two Gospels, and hence the expression 'the words of the Lord' was in both Gospels, showing an interpolation in our received text of the words 'the law to fail.' Epiphanius has no remark upon the text of this passage; and hence it is very obvious that this interpolation, *i.e.*, the substitution of 'law' for 'words of the Lord,' was not in all codices in his days of the Canonical Gospel. On the great subject of the abolition of the law and prophets by Marcion, Tertullian in this chapter admits that, like Marcion, he also regarded John as the boundary where Judaism ceased and Christianity began: the difference between his and Marcion's view being in the divinity of their respective Gods.

Although I am not engaged in the work of exegesis, I am tempted

¹ The earliest form of this text will be found in the writing called the Second Epistle of Clement (ch. 8), "For the Lord saith in the Gospel, if ye kept not that which is little, who shall give you that which is great? For I say unto you that he which is faithful in the least, is faithful also in much." This appears to me to be a quotation from a collection of *Αθήνα*, from which Clement of Rome probably also quoted (First Epistle, ch. 13), and which was also probably the source of the collection of moral precepts in the *Didache*. The change made in it in the Marcionite Gospel was probably intended to refer to the perversion of conduct and doctrine made in the original teaching of Christ by the orthodox Church, in continuation of the satire in the preceding parable. The final change in our received Greek text was made from a sectarian motive. This change is nonsensical, but it turned the edge of the satire. A man cannot be given that which is already his own. The earliest form of the text is the best in sentiment and thought of the three forms. Irenæus quotes the verse thus: "If ye have not been faithful in that which is little, who will give you that which is great?" (II. xxxiv. 3).

here to make a digression. The commendation bestowed upon the unjust steward is unjustifiable. This man is represented in the parable to have falsified the debts due to his lord, by suggesting and conniving at their unjust and dishonest reduction ; and is commended for doing so. To an ordinary judgment like mine his conduct was immoral and not deserving of commendation. The whole parable is, in my eyes, a satire on the morality prevalent in the times of the second century amongst Christians, and especially the clergy. It contains not dubious morality, but indubitable immorality, which would be punished by our magistrates and judges as a criminal offence. What puzzles me is that amongst the early Christian writers who refer to the passage, with the exception of two, I am unable to discern a consciousness of its immorality. Commenting upon it, Tertullian says : " For admonishing us, to provide help for ourselves from friends in worldly matters, according to the example of that steward, who, being removed from his office, relieves his lord's debtors by diminished bonds as a help for himself. ' And I,' he says, ' say unto you, make for yourselves friends of the mammon of injustice,' that is, of money, of which also that steward *did*. For we all know that money is the author of injustice, and the ruler of the whole age. Seeing the servile cupidity of the Pharisees for which, he flung out this sentence : Ye cannot serve God and mammon. Then the Pharisees, covetous of money, derided, when they had understood that mammon was in fact said for money," etc. ; and he runs on to make use of the parable as an argument against Marcion's view of two Gods, and gives no thought whatever to the substantial immorality of the parable and of the precept, " make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." Irenæus quotes this precept thus : " Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity, that these, when ye shall be discomfited, may receive you in eternal tabernacles ; " ¹ and he employs it to defend and justify the proceedings commonly called ' the spoiling of the Egyptians.' On the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, Moses commanded, " Let every man borrow of his neighbour, and every woman of her neighbour, jewels of silver and jewels of gold " (Ex. xi. 2), under circumstances in which there was little likelihood and apparently no intention of returning the loans. The R. V. attempts to improve the moral situation by translating ' ask ' instead of ' borrow.' Irenæus was clearly unconscious of the immorality of the precept he quoted, but on the contrary accepted its force, for he remarks immediately ² after the

¹ Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis, ut hi, quando fugati fueritis, recipiant vos in æterna tabernacula (*De Her.*, iv. xxx. 3).

² Quæcunque enim, quum essemus ethnici, de injustia acquisivimus, hæc, quum crediderimus, in dominicas utilitates conversantes, justificamur.

quotation, "For whatsoever, when we were heathen, we have acquired from injustice, we are justified, when we have become believers, applying these things for useful purposes of the Lord" (*Ad Her.*, iv. xxx. 3). Clement of Alexandria justifies the spoiling of the Egyptians on two grounds: that the Israelites, regarding themselves as conquerors, as in fact they had worsted the Egyptians in their struggle by preternatural aid, exercised the rights of conquest, in taking away the property of the conquered; that they took the spoil in lieu of wages, for they had been compelled to serve the Egyptians without recompense (*Strom.*, Bk. i. xxiii.). But he does not employ the argument which Irenæus derived from the precept, "Make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness"; and I have not succeeded in finding any reference to this precept in his writings, from which omission the inference may be drawn that it did not meet with his approval. Nor do I think did Origen approve of it. He refers to the parable of the unjust steward, but his remarks upon it take the mystic form in which Captain Bunsby in Dickens' amusing story delivered his wisdom: I conclude that he leaves the estimate of the conduct of the unjust steward to God, and I infer that he was unable to express approval (*On Matthew*, xiv. 8). He makes no reference to the precept, "Make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." Methodius, towards the close of the third century, quotes verse 9 with approval, and in the exact form in which it exists in the present Gospel. His explanation of the precept and corollary is funny; he uses Paul's grotesque metaphor of a house for an overcoat; 'habitations,' it appears, means the same as the 'clothing' of Paul in the passage 2 Cor. v. 2-4; and 'friends of unrighteousness' are the equivalent of the apostle's dissolved houses. This is much the same as if tails were equivalent to noses and toes to ears. From these premises the logical conclusion drawn is, "As then, when the days of our present life shall fail, those good deeds of beneficence to which we have attained in this unrighteous life, and in this world which lieth in wickedness, will receive our souls; so when this perishable life shall be dissolved, we shall have the habitation which is before the resurrection—that is, our souls shall be with God, until we shall receive the new house which is prepared for us, and which shall never fall" (*Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Method.*, Discourse on the Resurrection, v. p. 164). This venerable and respectable Father clearly understood the passage thoroughly, and explains it with a lucidity which no fellow can understand!

The existence of the parable of the unjust steward, of the commendation of the latter, and of the precept put into the mouth of Jesus, "Make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," in the Canonical Gospel is indisputable, and being there we must regard

the passage as declaring the morality that prevailed amongst Christians in the times of the second century. I can find no reference or allusion to the details of the parable, or to the precept, in the Christian literature of the first hundred and fifty years ; and hence I conclude that this passage was altogether a new invention, and has no retrospective bearing, and does not provide an index of the morality of the earlier Christians. I have not found in the Christian writings of the first century, barring interpolations, any indication of a morality (excluding Paul's visions, revelations, and speaking in tongues, which were transient aberrations) that will not be approved in the present day. This passage in the two Gospels is a proof to my mind of the moral degeneration of the Christians of the second century, of a lowering of the moral standard that prevailed in the first century. We find in the passage that the inculcation of a form of immoral conduct is put into the mouth of Jesus ; but we are unable to find in earlier writings any allusion to or support, direct or indirect, of the immoral precept, " Make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." I think it is not justifiable to imagine that the parable or the precept was uttered by Jesus : because I can find no trace of either in the early Christian writings, and because the precept is inconsistent and not in accord with his teaching. The parable and the precept were fresh inventions and the outcome of the desire to justify and give divine sanction to the degenerated morality that had sprung up among Christians in the second century, and had gathered strength and acquired extension in the second half of it. A marked index of such moral degeneration are the admonitions to be found in the literature of the second century regarding the remuneration and emoluments of the clergy, and the double honour to be rendered to them ; and in the struggle for ascendancy of the presbytery, and the extinction of the office of apostle which was instituted by the Lord himself. In my previous work on the Fourth Gospel, I have given historical proof of the degenerated sexual morality prevalent at this period amongst the great Christian communities in Alexandria, Carthage, and Rome, and have shown how the Bishops of Rome, Zephyrinus and Callistus, interpolated John xx. 21-23 into the Fourth Gospel, in order to invest themselves with divine authority and sanction to grant remission of sins, or indulgence in sexual immoralities (*A Free Enquiry into the Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 306-326). These proofs, derived from the Gospels themselves, and from Christian writings, support each other, and consistently point to the early and rapid corruption of morals effected by ecclesiastical Christianity. Ecclesiastical history subsequent to this period is a long story of corrupt morality.

While I have found no consciousness of the immorality of the precept, or only an inferential disapproval of it amongst the theologians of the second and third centuries,¹ there can be no mistake that both parable and precept are disapproved by our modern theologians. These learned and upright men, however, find the parable and precept in the Holy Scriptures, in writings declared to be the revealed Word of God, inspired by the Holy Ghost; and to add to their difficulty, the parable and precept are the utterances of Christ, whom they regard as a divine personage and the second member of the Trinity. As under these circumstances it would be irreverent to discountenance the precept, to modify its language, or to erase it from the Holy Scriptures, these learned, estimable, and honourable theologians have felt themselves compelled—much against the grain, I perceive—to change the meaning of the precept without interfering with the text. In the early years of my investigations, these tergiversations of interpretation of plain language raised in my mind feelings of anger and exasperation; but such violent emotions have gradually softened down into a sentiment of commiseration and pity for the unfortunate false position occupied by theologians of learning and great intellect and probity. Turning to the comments on the parable in the *Speaker's Commentary*, I find the writer alludes to 'ingenious interpretations' of the parable, all devised with the intention of turning its edge and changing its purport; and I gather, to the best of my judgment, that the commendation of the steward is limited to his having "exercised skill and judgment in the use of the means which had been placed in his hands, so as to secure a refuge when he should be driven from his present position, so the disciple of Christ should make such a use of the gifts of fortune with which God has blessed him, so as to secure, when he 'fails' (*i.e.*, dies), an eternal place in God's heavenly kingdom." This is not felicitous—as the disciple of Christ should have a better pattern, who had used 'the gifts of fortune' honestly and honourably and not fraudulently. Regarding the precept, the commentator interprets, "There can be no doubt that the friends whom we are exhorted to conciliate by a prudent use of the 'mammon of unrighteousness' are the poor, and all who stand in need of assistance." The expression 'to make friends' is a colloquial mode of saying to be on friendly terms, so to make friends with a man means to become on friendly terms with him. To make

¹ I think Clement of Alexandria and Origen are deserving of credit for abstaining from giving the support of their great names to the immoral precept. The precept being already in the Gospel of Luke, these great theologians could not oppose it, as Tertullian and Hippolytus opposed the grant of the power of remission of sins before it was put into the Gospel of John. See my work on the Fourth Gospel, pp. 306-327.

friends of the poor, or of other persons, by the use of the 'mammon of unrighteousness'—that is, I should say, of money got by breach of trust, thieving, swindling, or prostitution, is not moral. Perhaps the honourable poor or necessitous would not feel flattered and would decline to be relieved, or to have their friendship purchased, by what in popular parlance is called 'dirty money.' I do not think that this final tergiversation of interpretation, the summit of the ingenuity of ecclesiastical scholars exercised upon this parable and precept for the last seventeen centuries, is to be approved. I take it that the textual form into which this interpretation will put the precept is, **Make friends with the poor out of the mammon of iniquity or unrighteousness, *i.e.*, out of money procured by dishonest and dishonourable means.** It is an interpretation immoral in itself, derived by extremely tortuous hydraulic pressure out of a parable and precept founded upon it, and the addition to them of an extraneous sentiment, compassion for the poor. There is not a word in the parable and precept, nor the remotest allusion bearing on the poor. There is no reference made in the parable or precept to wealth honourably acquired, but only to wealth dishonestly and dishonourably gathered. The poor would prefer to be relieved and their gratitude obtained by wealth honourably acquired. The consciousness that they were being relieved by 'dirty money' would naturally evoke in their minds emotions that are undesirable. I am unable to commend the interpretation which the Speaker's commentator puts on the clause "that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." He says: "The question remains how these can be said to receive into everlasting habitations those who have shown them kindnesses and relieved their necessities here on earth. Trench observes that the key to the difficulty is found in Matt. xxv. 35-40, where our Lord identifies Himself with those to whom for His sake kindness or any kind has been shown on earth." The poor, then, represent the Lord, who identified himself with the poor. The final form of the precept would thus be, according to this commentator, "Make friends of the poor or of the Lord out of the mammon of iniquity." I am afraid that the struggles of learned and pious theologians to extricate the Scriptures from a moral quagmire have ended in sinking the latter deeper into it. I can hardly believe that theologians seriously mean that the Lord should be conciliated with the mammon of iniquity, in order that he may receive them into everlasting habitations.

But although the making friends of the mammon of unrighteousness is repudiated by modern theologians, history discloses the sad fact that this immoral precept has been in practice largely followed

by the Church. No collective body in history has been on better terms with the mammon of unrighteousness than the Church. Many Christian nations, beginning with the Roman Empire, have felt compelled to take legislative precautions to limit the extent of the friendship of the Church with the most valuable form of unrighteous mammon, the land. The friendship with unrighteous mammon is very prominent amongst Christian peoples. The precept, however, is not recognised in our present system of morality, though the fact is apparent that it is largely followed in practice. The fact of the presence of the precept in the Gospel is a proof that it was recognised in the Christian moral system in the second century, at which period the foundations of ecclesiastical Christianity were laid, of which it formed a prominent component.

Before, however, quitting this unfortunate passage, I must make a suggestion, which seems to me of great probability and reasonableness arising from a consideration of the whole passage Luke xvi. 1-13—a suggestion, further, that the rules or usages of textual criticism justify and demand. The concluding verses from 10-13 are utterly inconsistent with the immoral precept in verse 9. The remarks on faithfulness and justice in small matters and even “in the unrighteous mammon,” and the admonition on the impossibility of serving God and mammon, are assuredly inconsistent with the precept to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. But the inconsistency will be entirely removed by the addition of a negative to the precept in verse 9, thus, “Make [not] to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness,” and omitting the concluding clause “that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations,” which, it is fair to bear in mind, is not noticed or quoted by Tertullian or by Epiphanius. In the manuscript of the Marcionite Gospel before Tertullian, the particle *μή*, ‘not,’ insignificant in size but great in meaning, was in all probability, if not certainty, omitted by the scribe by a clerical slip; and the replacement of this little particle will remove the marked and most unreasonable inconsistency between the precept and the remarks that follow it. The passage would then become perfectly consistent throughout, and the parable of the unjust steward would thus be seen to be, what on the face of it is the plain object of the Marcionite writer, a satire on the degenerate morality that had become prevalent amongst Christian communities at this period of history. The original Canonical Gospel was a copy of the Marcionite Gospel with its clerical mistakes and its distinctly sectarian characteristics. I do not, however, think that the omission of the negative was a clerical error in the Canonical Gospel; as

the immoral precept was adopted and appropriated by the orthodox Church, and strengthened by the clause subsequently added, "that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations."¹

The text of the passage Luke xvi. 1-17 was the same in both Gospels. The main portion of the text is guaranteed by Tertullian's remarks. The clause, "that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations," in verse 9 is not cited by Tertullian or Epiphanius, and is quoted in a modified form by Irenæus, to suit his argument, as already shown. The clause has undoubtedly been mutilated and muddled; it is unintelligible in its present form, though it appears to be correlated to the precept in the same relation, which the statement in verse 4, "they may receive me into their houses," bears to the conduct of the steward. I propose to supply the omitted negative, and to delete the final clause; and for this course the rules of textual criticism and the authority of Tertullian are the justification. I draw the inference from the quotations made above, that this clause was introduced by the influence of Irenæus, against the judgment of the Alexandrian masters, Clement and Origen.

The next passage (Luke xvi. 18) is textually quoted by Tertullian in ch. xxxiv.; and in the same chapter he speaks of the parable of Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19-31), and details many of the incidents in it. In ch. xxxv. he quotes the first two verses of our next passage (Luke xvii. 1-4), somewhat differently from the received text: "Woe to the author of offences! it were better for him if he had not been born, or if, a millstone² being tied to his neck, he had been cast into the sea, than that he should have offended one of

¹ *The Quarterly reviewer* (1882, p. 371, footnote) of Bishop Westcott's and Dr Hort's *Introduction*, points out that the omission of μή, 'not,' is not unfrequent in the Greek codices of the New Testament. A famous instance, he says, occurs at Col. ii. 18, where in the margin of the R. V. it is stated "many authorities, some ancient, insert *not*," which means that the little word was sometimes omitted. I think it very strange that the *apparatus criticus* of Tischendorf's seventh edition has no note of this occasional omission of μή. In the A. V. the omission is supplied by the translators, which means that in their view the majority of the codices omitted the word. In the R. V. the omission is not corrected, hence in the view of the revisers of 1881 the word was added in many codices. The translation of Col. ii. 18 is easy and natural in the A. V., but forced and requiring explanation in the R. V.

² The word 'millstone' in Tertullian's translation of the Marcionite Gospel is '*molinum saxum*,' which means a hand-millstone, worked by a woman. The Greek words in the Canonical Gospel of Luke and in Matt. xviii. 6. are *μύλος ὄνικος*, i.e., an ass-millstone, worked by an ass. In Mark ix. 42 occurs *λίθος μυλικός*, a hand-millstone. Volckmar (p. 109) makes a joke on these passages. The ass-millstone was of course of greater weight than the hand-millstone. Marcion was content with the less weighty stone to attach to the neck of the wicked! Theology admits of the introduction of humour.

those little ones," namely, his disciples. He also refers to forgiving your brother seven times. I do not think the first clause in our Canonical Gospel of the words of Jesus, viz., "Then said he unto the disciples, It is impossible but that offences will come, but woe," etc., existed in the Marcionite Gospel. Tertullian, in quoting the words, distinctly omits it. He says: "Then Jesus, having turned to the disciples, says, Woe to the author of offences"; the first clause was non-existent. There was no difference between the two Gospels.

The next passage in our present Gospel (Luke xvii. 5-10) is not at all alluded to by Tertullian, and he does not state that there was a variance between the two Gospels. The inference is that the passage was absent in both Gospels. Epiphanius tells us that Marcion cut out this verse: "Say, we are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do" (Sch. and Ref., xlvii.), but he is silent about verses 5-9, and the initial clause of verse 10, which precede. I draw the inference that the Canonical Gospel in his hands had only the clause which he quotes, and not the rest of the passage which preceded, or that the remark includes the previous verses.

Tertullian refers in the same ch. xxxv. to the passage (Luke xvii. 11-19) in which Jesus encounters ten lepers, and heals them, but one only of the ten rendered thanks; and he does not say that there was any variance between the two Gospels. Here we find an apparent variance between his testimony and that given by Epiphanius, who says that there was much difference in this passage between the two Gospels. His exact words are: "Sch., xlviii. When ten lepers met. He cut out many things, and made (or wrote), he sent them, saying show yourselves to the priests. And he made (or wrote) some things instead of others, saying, that there were many lepers in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none was healed except Naaman the Syrian.¹ Ref., xlviii. And here the Lord names the prophet Eliseus, and himself fulfilling the things that had formerly occurred figurately regarding him, that he may refute Marcion and all those who set aside the prophets of God." I infer from these not very definite remarks, that amongst the words in the Canonical Gospel stating the meeting with the ten lepers and the command of Jesus, there were words in the Canonical Gospel which were wanting in the Marcionite Gospel. I do not find Tertullian alluding to the preliminary words,

¹ Σχολ. μὴ. Ὅτε συνήντησαν οἱ δέκα λεπροί. Ἀπέκρινε δὲ πολλὰ, καὶ ἐποίησεν, ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς, λέγων· δείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερευσιν. Καὶ ἄλλα ἀντ' ἄλλων ἐποίησε λέγων· ὅτι πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισαίου τοῦ Προφήτου, καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμᾶν ὁ Σύρος.

such as the entrance to a village, and the lepers standing afar off, for after mentioning the case of the ten lepers, he says he simply commanded them to show themselves to the priests, from which may be inferred that these preliminary words did not exist in his Canonical Gospel, but had been interpolated in Epiphanius' Canonical copy. A discrepancy with our present Gospel is plainly perceptible in verse 11, in which it is said "he passed through Samaria and Galilee," whereas Tertullian distinctly states that the miracle was performed in the regions of Samaria; so that Galilee should be deleted. The probable interpolations in the Canonical Gospel of Epiphanius seem to be the initial and concluding clauses of verses 12, 13, and the initial clause of verse 14. The words of Jesus, "To go that they might show themselves to the priests, and he cleansed them on the way," are quoted by Tertullian, so they must stand, as well as the rest of the passage. Tertullian says that only one out of the ten was thankful for his cure (verses 15 and 17); that he glorified God (verse 15); that he was a Samaritan (verse 16); and that Jesus said to him "thy faith hath made thee whole" (verse 19); these statements guarantee verses 15-19. Epiphanius' text, "He sent them, saying, Show yourselves," etc., may be adopted. After reflecting over this passage off and on for several months, I have come to the final conclusion that by applying the rule of contrary to Epiphanius' remarks, it will be seen that his testimony corresponds with Tertullian's testimony. There cannot be a mistake as to the fact of the text in the rival Gospels, as both Tertullian and Epiphanius had the Marcionite Gospel and the Canonical Gospel of their day before them while writing, and each writer stated what he actually saw in the respective texts before him. Tertullian remarks that Marcion had already said that there were many lepers in Israel, etc.,¹ and a reasonable inference from that remark is that he said it again in this passage (Luke xvii. 11-19). It will be reasonable to conclude that the same statement was found by Tertullian in Luke v. 12-15 and xvii. 11-19; writers do occasionally repeat themselves. Applying the rule of contrary, of which I have already spoken (see p. 97), to Epiphanius, the remark of this writer that Marcion put into his Gospel "He sent them, saying, Show yourselves to the priest," means, not that Marcion added the words to his Gospel, but that these words were cut out of the Canonical Gospel in his hands, for we have Tertullian's testimony that they existed in both Gospels in his day. Again, Epiphanius' statement that the clause regarding the lepers in the days of Elisha, of whom only Naaman was cured, was

¹ "Nunc etsi præfatus est, multos tunc fuisse apud Israëllem in diebus Elisei prophetæ," etc. (*Anti-Marcion*, iv. 35).

put in by Marcion, really means that it was cut out of the Canonical Gospel in his hands. Epiphanius is thus found to corroborate Tertullian, who states that this passage existed in both Gospels in his day. There can be no doubt that it existed in the Marcionite Gospel, as Epiphanius says it did; and as Tertullian does not say that there was any variance between the two Gospels, the logical conclusion is that it had been cut out of the later Canonical Gospel in the hands of Epiphanius. What was substituted in the Canonical Gospel used by Epiphanius for the above clauses, I have no means of ascertaining.¹

The next passage (Luke xvii. 26-37) is alluded to in ch. xxxv. Tertullian speaks of the enquiry of the Pharisees about the coming of the kingdom; quotes verses 20 and 21, with a slight difference, "neither do they say," instead of "shall they say" as in our Gospel; refers to verses 25, 26, 27, 28, and verse 32, "Remember Lot's wife." Here his references cease; and hence there is no guarantee for verses 33-37. Epiphanius is silent regarding them, and in the whole passage he refers only to verse 22 (Sch. and Ref., xlix.). I can find no reference to these verses in the early Christian writers, nor does Epiphanius refer to them elsewhere. In his ch. xlii. 5 (*Pet.*, vol. i. p. 305), he quotes the verse, "Wherever the body is, there eagles will be gathered together"; but he does not say from which Gospel he quoted, and his quotation may have been from Matt. xxiv. 28. I find verse 36 is expunged in the R.V., because "wanting in most of the Greek copies," as stated in the margin in the A.V. The verses seem to me foolish, and have an apocryphal flavour. There may be a certain connection between them and the previous verses which are guaranteed, but of a very weak kind. I do not feel satisfied that these final verses 33-37 were in the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospels, nor even in the copy of the latter in the hands of Epiphanius.

In ch. xxxvi. Tertullian briefly alludes to the next passage (Luke xviii. 1-8). He speaks of the parable of the judge compelled to listen to the widow, on account of her importunity, and quotes verse 8,

¹ Volckmar (*op. cit.*, pp. 83 and 163) omits the final clause of verse 18, which Tertullian does not quote, and adds in this position the verse regarding Naaman. The passage would thus read: "But where are the nine? they are not found returning to give glory to God; for many lepers were in Israel," etc. Volckmar, however, does not mean that this was the text in both Gospels, but only in the Marcionite Gospel. He is wrong there, as Tertullian does not say that the text of the two Gospels differed. His reading, however, is critically unobjectionable. The final clause of verse 18 may be regarded as covered by Tertullian's remarks, but not necessarily so. The position of the verse regarding Naaman cannot be positively decided. Hahn and De Wette place it after verse 14, Baur after verse 19, and Hilgenfeld either in verse 14 after the words "Go show yourselves unto the priests," or after verse 18.

"God will avenge his elect." The attribute of revenge or vengeance is still, in the minds of Christians, associated with the Deity. It is an evil passion, and civilised nations do not encourage its manifestations; the punishment of criminals is no longer regarded as revenge or vengeance. Civilisation in this, as in many other points, is ahead of theology; it teaches a more advanced morality. Civilisation will ultimately compel theology, in spite of the Scriptures, to purify its conception of God, and to purge it of the evil passion of vengeance. Civilisation has outstripped ecclesiastical theology in the domain of morality. The conception of God in the mind of the early Christians was, in my judgment, inferior to that formed in the minds of thinking men and women of our times. In the same chapter Tertullian briefly alludes to the parable of the Pharisee and publican (Luke xviii. 9-14), who went to worship in the temple, the former in pride and the latter in humility. Neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius makes the least allusion to the next passage in our Gospel (Luke xviii. 15-17), the blessing of little children. There is hence no authority, presumption, nor pretence for admitting it into the Marcionite or Canonical Gospels. It was clearly an interpolation introduced into the Canonical Gospel after the time of Epiphanius. On the supposition that it existed in both Gospels, or on the supposition that it existed in one only, whether this be the Marcionite or the Canonical Gospel, there was matter for controversy and refutation both for Tertullian and Epiphanius. On either supposition Marcion could have been attacked: on the one supposition, for introducing into his Gospel in a commendatory manner the blessing of children, contrary to his alleged condemnation of marriage; and on the other supposition, much reproach may have been cast upon him for excising this beautiful passage.¹

The next passage (Luke xviii. 18-30), is dealt with by Tertullian in the same chapter. He refers to verse 19 in the statement, "But who is good, except one, he says, God?" to verse 18, "A certain man asked him: Good Master, what doing shall I inherit (*possidebo*) eternal life?" to verse 20 in the remark that Jesus asked, "Whether he knew, that is, performed, these precepts of the Creator?" to verse 21, in the reply of the questioner that he had observed the more important commandments from his youth, and finally to verse 22, which is verbally quoted, "One thing is wanting to thee. Sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure

¹ These, however, are considerations which the textual critic should not allow to dominate his mind. They excessively influenced Volckmar, who retains this passage on the farcical ground that Marcion, like Christ, loved children, and accepted this antithesis to the children-eating bears of the Demiurge! See pages 119 and 163 of his work.

in heaven, and come, follow me." Here Tertullian's allusions cease ; so that he guarantees the passage from verses 18-22, but not the portion from verses 23-30. Epiphanius refers to the passage, and quotes from his Canonical Gospel verses 18 and 19 thus : "A certain man said to him, Good Master, what having done shall I inherit eternal life? and he *said*, Do not call me good : one is good, God." He remarks that Marcion added, 'the Father.' His further remark that Marcion substituted "I knew the commandments," *οἶδα*, instead "thou knowest the commandments," *οἶδας*, can be explained by the accidental omission of the final letter in the Marcionite manuscript. We can gather no further information from the refutation (Sch. and Ref., l.). The addition of 'the Father' was certainly an interpolation in the Marcionite Gospel, as Tertullian quotes the words without the addition. Both Tertullian and Epiphanius concur in the reading 'a certain man,' and not 'ruler' as in the received text. Tertullian's rendering of the text, being a reliable and more ancient writer, should be followed in the main, though Epiphanius' rendering must not be neglected. I propose to render verse 19 thus : "Do not call me good ; who is good except one, *that is*, God?" and to use the interrogative form in verse 20, "Knowest thou the commandments?" etc., because Tertullian used the interrogative form. The verses from 23-30 not being referred to by either writer, are not guaranteed. The critic would be justified in excising these verses ; and I feel strongly tempted to erase them, as they are not quoted by any writer of the second and third centuries. But they may be regarded as covered by the initial verses of the passage, and the doubt be given in favour of the Canonical text ; and if admitted into the Canonical text, they must also be admitted into the Marcionite text, as Tertullian does not say that there was a variance. The word *possidebo* used by Tertullian may be taken as guaranteeing the Greek word *κληρονομήσω* : whereas in the previous passage (Luke x. 25), the word employed by him, *consequar*, does not, as I have already pointed out (see p. 165). I might here direct the reader's attention to the repudiation of the word 'good' by Jesus, as inapplicable to any one but God alone, thereby implying that he was not God.

Tertullian makes no allusion to the next passage in our Gospel (Luke xviii. 31-34) ; but Epiphanius tells us that Marcion cut out the passage from "Then he took *unto him* the twelve," to "the third day, he shall rise again," *i.e.*, from verses 31-33 (Sch. and Ref., lii.). This means, according to the rule of contrary, that these verses had been interpolated in the Canonical Gospel. Some interesting information regarding the Canonical Gospel is unwittingly

supplied by Epiphanius in Sch. and Ref. lii., as well as in the preceding Scholion li., which, however, is not of use in my present undertaking, namely, the recovery of the text of the original Gospel. Epiphanius does not account for verse 34, which was certainly not in the Marcionite Gospel, and obviously not also in the Canonical Gospel in Epiphanius' hands. It is also obvious that in the Canonical Gospel the next passage in our present Gospel (Luke xviii. 35-43), the blind man of Jericho, preceded and did not follow the passage Luke xviii. 31-34, as Epiphanius speaks of the blind man in Sch. li., before the latter in Sch. lii. It is plain that he followed the order in which these passages occurred in the Canonical Gospel in his hands. This is another proof of the existence of the practice of shuffling passages not only from one Gospel into another, but also in the same Gospel.

In the same chapter (xxxvi.), Tertullian speaks of the next incident, the blind man of Jericho (Luke xviii. 35-43). The man hearing Jesus pass by, cried, "Jesus, son of David, have mercy upon me." There is no mention made of a multitude, and hence verses 36 and 37 are somewhat discredited. The rebuke to the blind man was intended to apply to the cry, "Son of David," but Tertullian forms an argument to divert it to the vociferation. Thus verse 39 is guaranteed as well as the saying of Jesus, "Thy faith hath saved thee" (verse 42). Verse 40 is quoted "stood patient" and the Lord's patience is shortly after again spoken of. In the beginning of the next chapter (xxxvii.) he alludes to all the people offering praise to God (verse 43). These copious references may be taken as covering the entire passage. I should not, however, translate Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωπαῖος in verse 37, 'Jesus of Nazareth,' but 'Jesus the Nazarite,' which name, according to Tertullian, in common with the Nazarene, was the form of appellation by which Jesus was known in his own times and in the second century (see p. 134). Epiphanius refers to the passage in Sch. and Ref. li. as already stated, and he gives it in an epitomised form thus: "And it came to pass when he came nigh unto Jericho, a blind man cried out, Jesus, son of David, have mercy upon me. And when he was cured, he says, Thy faith hath saved thee."

The next passage (Luke xix. 1-10) is dealt with by Tertullian in ch. xxxvii., which he begins with the remark, "And the house of Zachæus pursues salvation." The word employed is *consequitur*,¹

¹ *Consequitur et Zachæi domus salutem.* The Ante-Nicene Christian Library translates, "'Salvation comes to the house' of Zachæus even" (*Anti-Marcion*, iv. 37). Here the translation appears to me to have been forced to correspond with the A. V. in verse 9.

which is the same verb he uses in quoting Luke x. 25, and which, I think, is not fairly represented by the word *κληρονομήσω*, 'shall inherit,' in our Greek text (see pages 165 and 196). He quotes verse 8: "If I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore *him* fourfold"; he repeats verse 9 more accurately, as the words of the Lord, "To-day there is salvation to this house," *Hodie, inquit, salus huic domui*, without the clause in our Canonical text, "forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham." This is clearly a later interpolation, as Tertullian expressly says that Zacchæus was not a Jew, but probably of another race, *allophylus fortasse*, which he most certainly would not have said if the clause existed. He quotes verse 10 thus: "For the Son of man has come to save that which was lost," which points to an interpolation in the received text of the words 'to seek.' Clement of Alexandria quotes the verse somewhat differently, thus: "The Son of man coming this day has found that which was lost"; in this quotation also there is nothing said about seeking (*Strom.*, iv. 6, sect. 35). There was no difference between the two Gospels; and hence the text, corrected as indicated by Tertullian, was the same in both.

Towards the conclusion of ch. xxxvii. Tertullian briefly refers to the next passage (Luke xix. 11-27), the parable of the nobleman and his ten servants, who, he says, received their several rewards according as they had increased their lord's money by trading, and he refers to the plea of the servant who regarded the master as an austere man, who takes up what he had not laid down, and reaps what he did not sow. He cursorily refers to the parable again in ch. xxxix. I have a strong doubt about the addition of the words 'with usury' in verse 23, for Clement speaks fully of this parable and quotes verse 23, not exactly as in our received text, but without the words 'with usury' (*Strom.*, i. 1, sect. 3).

The next passage in our Gospel (Luke xix. 28-48) is not alluded to by Tertullian, and my conclusion is that it was absent in both Gospels. Epiphanius (Sch. and Ref., liii.) refers to this deficiency in the Marcionite Gospel, and says that Marcion cut out the chapter about the ass (verse 30), Bethphage (verse 29), the city (verse 41), and the temple (verse 45); the fact, however, being that this long passage was a subsequent addition or interpolation to the original Canonical Gospel. I do not think that verse 28, and verses 47 and 48 are included in the limits mentioned by Epiphanius, *i.e.*, the story of the ass in Bethphage, and the casting out of the tradesmen in the temple; in fact, he gives us the lower limit, *viz.*, the words, "Since it was written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye make it a cave of thieves." There is a slight

difference in his quotation from our received text (verse 46), but with this I am not concerned. I think these three verses, viz., 28, 47, and 48, existed in the Marcionite Gospel, and the first verse in the following chapter, "It came to pass *that* on one of these days," which was in the Marcionite Gospel, clearly indicates that they existed.¹

The next passage (Luke xx. 1-8) is spoken of by Tertullian in ch. xxxviii. He begins by remarking that Christ knew the baptism of John, whence it was; this may have been the form of the question in verse 4; he alludes to the dilemma of the Pharisees in replying, to their fear of being stoned (verse 6), if they answered that it was human; and if it was from heaven, "Why," says Christ, "have you not believed him?" (verse 5). Their refusal to answer was met by the response, "And I do not tell you by what authority (*virtute*) I do these things" (verse 8). Epiphanius quotes verse 1 in the following terms: "It came to pass in one of those days, as he taught in the temple, they sought to lay hands upon him and they feared." The concluding clause is twice repeated in Ref. liii. and Sch. liv., and hence I shall accept it as the original text. It is clear that this verse was subsequently split into two, the concluding clause being transferred to verse 19, which did not exist in the Marcionite or the original Canonical Gospel, as the clause appended to it says that the parable of the vineyard was the cause of the hostility of the chief priests and scribes; it will be shortly seen that this parable was absent from the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospel. It is not always that so clear a proof of interpolation and tampering can be obtained.²

Tertullian is silent regarding the next passage (Luke xx. 9-18), the parable of the vineyard; and the conclusion is that it was absent in both Gospels. Epiphanius supports this conclusion, for he says Marcion cut it out, which means, according to the rule of contrary, that it was added to the Canonical Gospel (Sch. and Ref., lv.). He also adds that verse 18 was cut out, but says nothing about the following verse, which, however, being dependent on verse 18, must necessarily have been also wanting, but put in subsequently. The conclusion is that these two verses, like the whole parable, were interpolations in the Canonical Gospel.

The next passage (Luke xx. 19-26) is alluded to by Tertullian in

¹ Volckmar omits verses 47 and 48, and his reason is fanciful, that the connection is rendered easier. He is certain, because Hilgenfeld says so! If Tertullian or Epiphanius said so, I should of course strike out these verses, but they did not.

² I think Volckmar coincides with me in the restoration of this passage, but he is not sufficiently precise. He says 1-8 joined with the beginning of verse 19; but he does not show the manner of the union, though he omits verse 19 in the text of the Marcionite Gospel (*op. cit.*, p. 165).

ch. xxxviii. It must be premised that verse 19 did not exist in either Gospel, on the grounds already mentioned. Tertullian quotes verse 25 : "Render unto Cæsar the things which are of Cæsar, and to God the things which are of God," and refers to the penny. Tertullian here makes merry with Marcion's God, who, he says, has not a penny of his own, and satirically advises him to look after his own mint !

The enigma propounded by the Sadducees on the Resurrection (Luke xx. 27-40) is the next passage taken up by Tertullian. He quotes verses 35 and 36 thus : "But they whom God has counted worthy of the possession of that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage ; for they will not die any more, for they are equal to the angels, having been made the children of God and of the resurrection." He further alludes to the question of the Sadducees, "Whose wife shall she be after the resurrection?" (verse 33), and also to verse 34, in which Jesus replies, "The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage." There can be no doubt that Tertullian's quotation of verse 35 was the exact transcript of the verse in both Gospels, and hence the received text must be modified accordingly. The word 'God' occurred in the original text, whereas it is not found in our present Gospel. That this was the case is rendered certain by the digression which Tertullian makes *ex abundanti*, he says, *i.e.*, over and above the needs of his subject or "by way of supererogation," as the Ante-Nicene translator renders it, to show how 'they,' that is, I think, the later Marcionites of his time, read and interpreted verse 35. It appears they read or understood it thus : "They whom the God of that world has deemed worthy," thereby making another God of that world : whereas the Scripture was, "They whom God has accounted worthy of the possession of that world." Tertullian does not attribute this misinterpretation of the Scripture to Marcion, but to 'they,' which word I understand to refer to the Marcionites of his day, and these were perverts from the Church of Marcion. The pretended or alleged misinterpretation put upon the words of the text is a forensic trick of Tertullian's. The textual critic is unconcerned with the interpretation put upon the text by Tertullian or the Marcionites of a later date ; his only interest lies in the actual words of the text.¹ Tertullian gives us the actual text of the Marcionite Gospel in full, which I have quoted at the

¹ Volckmar has forgotten the limitations of the function of a textual critic in his restoration of this passage. Instead of adopting the actual words of the Marcionite Gospel as quoted by Tertullian, he has adopted the words of the alleged misinterpretation, "The God of this world" : and he without scruple asserts that Tertullian actually gives these words as the text (*op. cit.*, pp. 80 and 165). This is deliberate falsification of the Marcionite text.

beginning of this paragraph, and he does not say that it differed from the Canonical text, nor does Epiphanius speak of a difference in this passage. This verse contains the doctrine that prevailed in the first two centuries, that the Resurrection was limited, and was not participated in by all mankind. As the doctrine, in this qualified form, is put in the Gospel into the mouth of Jesus, it ought to be the present doctrine of the Churches, but it is not. No Church, so far as I know, limits the Resurrection to a few persons, but all intend it to include the whole of mankind. A few individuals, however, still retain the primitive belief, and amongst them I have heard the late Mr Gladstone was numbered. Tertullian winds up by quoting the ultimate reply of the Sadducees, "Master, thou hast well said" (verse 29).

Epiphanius informs us that Marcion cut out verses 37 and 38, which he quotes thus: "And that the dead are raised, Moses showed at the bush, as the Lord says, the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. For he is God of the living and not of the dead." There is a difference from our received text, and the final clause, "for all live unto him," is omitted (Sch. and Ref., lvi.). In addition to this, Epiphanius tells us that Marcion cut out the following also: "That the dead rise Moses also has shown, saying the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, God of the living." And in the Refutation he remarks, as Petavius translates, "Because the same parable was repeated twice by the Saviour, we have so placed it twice, that, like Marcion the vagabond (Pet., *circumforaneus*), we may not seem to have omitted any of those things which were written" (Sch. and Ref., lvii.). The repetition is not to be found in our present text, nor is it alluded to by Tertullian; hence the pious epithet¹ employed by Epiphanius to relieve his conscience ought properly to be applied to somebody else, and not to Marcion. The second repetition probably occurred in verse 39, and was a continuation of the answer of the Sadducees. I need hardly remark that these alleged erasures by Marcion were really interpolations introduced into the Canonical Gospel.

At the conclusion of ch. xxxviii. Tertullian briefly alludes to the

¹ Epithets of this nature applied personally were rarely, if at all, employed by the Christian writers of the first century. They were very common in the second and subsequent centuries. They form one phase of the influence of ecclesiastical Christianity on manners. To call Marcion a vagabond is like applying that epithet in our times to Wesley and Dr Martineau. Civilisation has corrected this defect of manners bred by ecclesiasticism. The last relics of ecclesiastical bad manners of this nature survive in our smart curates who call Agnostics like Darwin, Spencer, Huxley and others, ignoramuses in their brilliant sermons delivered from the pulpit, and in some dissenting ministers, who with pious fervour say, "God damn the Sultan."

next passage (Luke xx. 41-44). It is rather an abortive passage, as there is no explication given of the question, "How is Christ the son of David?" It appears to me to be a hit either at the alleged genealogy and descent of Jesus from David, all which Marcion regarded as moonshine, or rather at the reckless application of so-called prophecy to Jesus. It is a pure Marcionite passage, introduced into the Canonical Gospel by error of judgment.

The next two passages (Luke xx. 45-47 and xxi. 1-4) are not alluded to by Tertullian. They have no connection with the previous passage, and are not covered by it. Epiphanius is also silent regarding them. There is thus no authority or pretence for admitting them into either Gospel.

In ch. xxxix. Tertullian enters fully into the next long passage (Luke xxi. 5-28). Throughout Bk. iv. of his work, *Against Marcion*, Tertullian's quotations are from the Marcionite text of the Gospel, and his comments are upon the Marcionite text: this fact is set forth very clearly in the introductory passages of this chapter. He says: "And so also will his [*i.e.*, the Marcionite Jesus'] impudence be evident, when he says that many will come in his name, because it is not his, if he is not the Christ and Jesus of the Creator, to whom the ownership of names appertains." He would have abstained from making the remark if he was quoting and commenting upon the Canonical text; and similar remarks are scattered over the whole fourth book; so that no doubt has arisen in my mind that he was dealing with the Marcionite text throughout Bk. iv. Where this differed from the Canonical, he notes and declares the variance. He refers to the false Christs mentioned in verse 8, thus: "And they will in fact come, saying, I am the Christ." Thus the word Christ existed in the original Gospel, though it is wanting in the received Greek text, the omission, however, being supplied in our English translations, in italics. He speaks of the signs of the times (verse 7), wars, pestilence, famines, earthquakes, and portents from heaven; and before all these (verse 12), persecutions and sufferings, for testimony and for salvation (verses 9-13). Jesus forbade premeditation (verse 14), predicted persecution from one's relatives (verse 16), and said, "But by endurance ye shall save yourselves." This reading supersedes verse 19 of the received text as it is quoted from the Marcionite text: *per tolerantiam, inquit, salvos facietis nosmetipsos*. He refers to Jerusalem being encompassed with armies (verse 20), and narrates the signs of the final end, portents of the sun, moon, and stars, and on earth the distress of nations astounded as if by the sound of the sea tossing about from the expectation of imminent evils on the earth (verses 25, 26). Verses 27 and 28 are thus quoted by Tertullian as said by the Lord: "And

then shall they see the Son of man coming from the heavens with very great power (*virtute*). But when these things shall come to pass, ye shall rise and shall lift up *your* heads, for your redemption hath come near." This, then, was the original text. Throughout this long passage it is clear that the original Marcionite text was not verbally the same as our received Greek text, but the latter has been amplified and embellished, though the general sense has been retained. For the correction of these changes we are helpless, and I do not feel justified in altering the received text except in verses 19, 27, and 28. In ordinary circumstances I should have passed the whole passage as covered by Tertullian's remarks, but here Epiphanius comes to our assistance, and declares verses 18, 21, and 22 were erased by Marcion, that is to say, they were interpolated in the Canonical text. Tertullian does not allude to these verses, nor to verses 23 and 24. But these verses may be regarded as covered by Tertullian's allusions to the whole passage. I think that I would be justified in adding after verse 28 the verse 18, which Epiphanius says was cut out in the Marcionite Gospel after verse 17, as well as some more verses. Hippolytus quotes this passage thus: "For the Lord says, And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth near. And there shall not a hair of your head perish. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Hippolytus*, vol. ii. p. 38, Treatise on Christ and Anti-Christ, 64). I do not possess the original Greek, and am hence dependent on the reverend translator, who has broken up the continuous quotation into three separate citations, by marks of quotation, which, however, were certainly not in the original. Hippolytus was a contemporary of Tertullian, and his quotation of this passage is the earliest that I can find. I think a textual critic is justified in accepting Hippolytus' quotation as the original text. It is certainly of more historical and critical value, being given by a writer of the beginning of the third century, than our received Greek text, which has been prepared from codices of which nobody knows anything. Epiphanius says that verse 18 was cut out by Marcion; but as the Refutation lviii., following this statement, has been obliterated in the text of Petavius, a very suspicious proceeding, we cannot say that verse 18 was not in the position in which Hippolytus quotes it. The passage is now found in Matt. xxiv. 27 and 28, somewhat altered.

The parable of the fig tree and the remarks that follow (Luke xxi. 29-36), are noticed by Tertullian in ch. xxxix. He quotes verses 30

and 31. I have a very strong doubt whether verse 32 contained the words 'this generation.' Tertullian refers to the subject thus: "That heaven and earth shall not pass away till all be fulfilled." A few lines further on he remarks, "Now let heaven and earth pass away. For so their Lord designed, while his word may remain for ever," which, I think, covers verse 33. I propose, therefore, to delete 'this generation' in verse 32 and to substitute 'heaven and earth.'¹ This change, which appears to me to be authorised by Tertullian, would remove a foolish prophecy put into the mouth of Jesus which has certainly not been fulfilled. For the generation of Jesus has passed away; but his second advent (verse 27) which was included amongst the things to be fulfilled, has not yet taken place! Tertullian refers to verse 34 thus: "For so Esaias also predicted, and let the disciples be warned: lest when their hearts are heavy with surfeiting and drunkenness, and worldly cares, and that day should come upon them suddenly, like a snare." Methodius quotes this verse in the same way (*Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Methodius*, p. 49), and hence I think it justifiable to strike out of verse 35 the words following 'snare.'

Luke xxi. 37 and 38 is a short passage, but by no means insignificant. Tertullian very clearly alludes, at the close of ch. xxxix., to verse 37, his teaching by day in the temple, and his retirement at night to the mount of Olives; and to verse 38, in which it was stated that the people resorted to him "early in the morning." It is amusing to find Tertullian stating that these practices of Jesus had been predicted by the Hebrew prophets, and he quotes the prophecies, and winds up his chapter by a hit at Marcion's abolition of the law and prophets. "If this is to dissolve the Prophets," he says, "what will it be to fulfil them?" As my readers are more enlightened than the third century readers of Tertullian, they will be able to appreciate the force and value of these prophecies. The daily teaching in the temple was foretold by Hosea, in the prophecy, as he quotes it, "In my temple they have found me and there it was disputed against them." Tertullian left his readers to infer that the temple at Jerusalem was referred to by the prophet. In Hos. xii. 4, the A. V. and R. V. has, "He found him at Bethel, and there he spake with us." The allusion of the prophet is to the dream of Jacob, in which he saw angels ascending and descending from heaven on a ladder, and the name of this place of the dream was Bethel, which was in

¹ My first impression was that verse 32 was omitted, but I have ultimately given the above reading the preference. I obtained the hint from Hahn, whose reading is quoted by Volckmar (*op. cit.*, p. 106 and 183). Ritschl's and Hilgenfeld's objection that Tertullian simply made a mistake in reading one line for another, appears to me to be rather foolish.

the immediate neighbourhood of Beersheba (Gen. xxviii. 10-19), nowhere near the temple of Jerusalem. How Tertullian procured his prophecy is plain, for he quoted from the Septuagint, where the passage is ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ᾧ ἐύροσαν με, *i.e.*, "in the house On they found me." The Septuagint translators translated the proper name Bethel, which in Hebrew meant House of God; and thus Tertullian found his prophecy. The nightly retirement to the mount of Olives was, according to Tertullian, predicted by Zechariah (xiv. 4) when he said "And his feet shall stand on the mount of Olives." The prophet speaks of the siege and sacking of Jerusalem by the nations: "And the Lord shall fight against the nations, and shall stand on that day upon the mount of Olives": but there was no mention by the prophet of nightly retirement to the mount for the purpose of going to sleep. The value of Tertullian's guarantee of this short passage is, however, the assurance that the Marcionite Gospel represented Jesus as an anchorite, and thus clearly stamped itself as the Gospel of a sect. The early Fathers, and also the other Gospels, do not represent Christ in the character of an ascetic or anchorite. The Marcionite Gospel has several references to retirement to desert places (iv. 42, v. 16, vi. 12), but in no passage is this personal feature so clearly declared as in the passage under notice, where it is definitely stated that Jesus passed the day teaching in the temple, and at night he went out and abode in the mount of Olives. This hill is arid, rocky, and uninhabitable; it has no village; there was no house on it in which Jesus could pass the night, and hence the conclusion is reasonable that he used a cave or rocky recess for sleeping in, like an anchorite. This is represented in the Marcionite Gospel as his daily life (verse 37) during his stay in Jerusalem. In the other Synoptic Gospels Jesus is represented as lodging in villages. In John viii. 1-2, the Marcionite representation is followed; in the previous verse, vii. 52, every man is said to have gone to his own house, but Jesus went to the mount of Olives, and returned to the temple in the morning; but this passage is an interpolation and is expunged from the R. V.

In ch. xl. Tertullian refers to the next passage (Luke xxii. 1-6). He speaks of the passover (verse 1), of betrayal (verse 6), and of the price to be paid for it (verse 5). Epiphanius quotes verse 4, but omits 'chief priests' (Sch. lx.) so that the negotiation of Judas was with the 'captains' only. The next passage (Luke xxii. 7-20) presents difficulties, for although there are clear references to essential passages, there are portions to which Tertullian makes no allusion. He is silent about the mission assigned to Peter and John in our present Gospel, to go into the city, where they will meet a man

bearing a pitcher of water, that they were to follow him into the house which he entered, the good man of which will show them a room in which they were to make ready. Epiphanius, who quotes from the passages, also does not speak of this incident, but he quotes verse 8 in this form: "And he said to Peter and the rest, Go and prepare that we may eat the passover." This quotation may be assumed to cover the story of the mission, though I feel that it does not satisfactorily do so, and the existence of the passage 9-13 in both Gospels is doubtful. I can find no references to the passage in contemporary writers. I give the doubt in favour of the received text.¹ Both Tertullian and Epiphanius (Sch. and Ref., lxii.), quote verses 14 and 15. The latter tells us that Marcion cut out verse 16, which means that this verse was interpolated in the Canonical Gospel. This verse, together with the two following, conveys the meaning that Jesus, though present at the paschal meal, did not himself partake of it. Tertullian shows no consciousness of this, nor does Epiphanius. The former was utterly unaware of the contents of verses 16-18, and his refutation is restricted to showing that the bread and wine were declared by the Lord to be his real body and blood, and hence there could have been nothing of the nature of a phantom about him. The refutation of Epiphanius is restricted to showing that Marcion's motive in this erasure was his objection to eating and drinking in the kingdom of God; and he points out that the Lord himself testified and said, "Ye shall sit at my table, eating and drinking in the kingdom of heaven." But neither of these authors shows the slightest consciousness of the inherent meaning of the three verses, namely, that Jesus did not partake of the meal, though he presided at it and distributed the food and wine. These three verses are in our present Gospel as follows: "16. But I say unto you, I will not any more eat this passover with you until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. 17. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide *it* amongst yourselves. 18. For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God shall come." There is a slight but important difference in a particle in our received Greek text and the corresponding particle in the quotation of the verse as Epiphanius found it in his Gospel. In the former, *οὐκέτι* in verse 16 is used, which means 'no more' or 'any more'; in the latter

¹ A rigid textual critic, following the indications given by Tertullian and Epiphanius, would be justified in erasing verse 7, substituting 'the rest' for 'John' in verse 8, and erasing the whole passage from verses 9-13 inclusive. The connection would not be interrupted. The connection, or consistency of subjects, in ch. xxii. from verses 1-30 of our present Gospel is by no means smooth; but on the contrary, rather distorted.

ἀπῶρι, which means 'from now,' 'just now,' or 'even now.' The intention of rectification is apparent in the change. Bishop Westcott omits οὐκ ἐτι in verse 16, but adds ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, 'from now,' to verse 18. These three verses are a direct contradiction of the preceding verse 15, in which Jesus says, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." Thus notwithstanding the strong desire expressed by Jesus to eat the passover in verse 15, in verses 16, 17, and 18 he is represented as not eating it—a very strong proof of the interpolation pointed out by Epiphanius, which includes the latter three verses. Our modern theologians are sensible of this contradiction; but they try to reconcile it by making out two feasts in this single meal. The commentator on this passage in the *Speaker's Commentary* says: "Our Lord desired to partake of the passover in its integrity for the last time. After this, he institutes a new feast, of which he does not Himself partake, to fill up the void between the abrogated paschal feast and the spiritual feast in the kingdom of God in which it should be fulfilled." In this explanation there are two assumptions which are not justified by the narrative in the Gospel of Luke: viz., firstly, that there were two feasts; and secondly, that the passover was abrogated. Here is another example of the hard task imposed by their unfortunate situation and obligations on learned and honourable theologians to reconcile what is irreconcilable, the unscrupulous interpolations made in the original text for the attainment of doctrinal and also of mercenary objects in the early centuries. The interpolation made in the original Canonical Gospel at this passage is limited by Epiphanius to verse 16, which alone he quotes and states was erased by Marcion. Verses 17 and 18 are of the same purport, that is, while verse 16 states that Jesus did not take part in the *eating*, verses 17 and 18 state that he did not partake of the *drinking*. If these latter verses were in the Gospel in Epiphanius' hand he would have mentioned them; but his silence regarding them gives ground for the conclusion that they were absent. These two verses were an afterthought, and interpolated in the Gospel after the time of Epiphanius, so as to complete the situation, viz., that Jesus neither ate nor drank the passover. The interpolation, in my opinion, was the outcome of the paschal controversy that raged between the Eastern and Western Churches in the second half of the second century, and continued for a century and more subsequently. The Eastern Churches observed the passover, which was practically their Lord's Supper, commemorated annually, on the historic ground that the Lord ate it before suffering, and that the Apostle John and other apostles and contemporaries of the Lord, and a long

succession of churches and bishops up to that date, observed the passover according to the Gospel and the rule of faith. The practice of the Eastern Churches was, however, not in accord with the practice of the Western Churches, for the former held a *feast*, the Lord's Supper, on the very day that the latter held a *fast*. Victor, the Bishop of Rome at the time, having failed to change the practice of the Eastern Churches, threatened to excommunicate the latter, as heterodox, from the common unity. Eusebius, who largely discusses the controversy, informs us that this severe measure was averted by the good offices of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons. The letter of Irenæus to Victor is quoted in which the former pointed out that the practice of the Eastern Churches was of ancient date, and that nevertheless peace had hitherto existed between the Eastern and Western Churches—a fact that was not disputed and was well known to Victor, and it can hardly be taken as sufficient persuasion and inducement to this imperious prelate to permit the *status quo* to persist. Eusebius winds up the chapter (*Ecc. Hist.*, v. 24) with the remark that Irenæus, acting as peacemaker, a character that suited his name, exhorted and negotiated these matters in the interest of the peace of the Churches. Eusebius, however, is silent regarding the nature and scope of these negotiations undertaken by Irenæus; and it is about these negotiations that information is needed, and my personal curiosity is interested. I cannot persuade myself that Victor, who assumed a position and authority of which we now first become aware, as the dictator and predominant power of Christendom, which no bishop of Rome had hitherto asserted, had been appeased by mere arguments and protestations in favour of peace. Some substantial advantage had been offered to the imperious prelate to conciliate him to permit for a time a practice that he was in no mood to tolerate, and which he had already uncompromisingly condemned. The question of supremacy in the Church had not been settled at this period. The Churches scattered over the Roman dominions appear to have had a territorial organisation only, but there was no imperial organisation. Great questions that affected the whole Christian Church were discussed in assemblies of bishops in each country, presided over by one or two bishops, and their decisions were intercommunicated by epistolary correspondence. According to Eusebius (*Ecc. Hist.*, v. 23) the paschal question was deliberated upon by many assemblies, and epistles passed between them. Eusebius speaks of one great gathering, where is not stated, over which presided Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea, and Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, conjointly, and they wrote an epistle. Another epistle, he says, bore the name of Victor; a third from the bishops

of Pontus, over whom Palmas, as the most ancient, presided ; a fourth from the Churches of Gaul, over whom Irenæus presided ; a fifth from those of Osrhoene and the cities there ; a special epistle from Bacchylus, Bishop of the Corinthians, and many other epistles from other countries : all these, Eusebius adds, advanced the same doctrine and voted the same way. Notwithstanding so large a measure of unanimity, the bishops of Asia, or Asia Minor, over whom presided Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, refused to conform. Amongst all these various congeries of churches and bishops there is no indication of supremacy appertaining to any one of them. The epistle of the Ephesian assembly, however, being sent by Polycrates to Victor, Bishop of Rome (*Ecc. Hist.*, Bk. v. 24) would seem to imply some predominance in the latter ; but as these epistles were of the nature of circulars and sent all round, and Victor himself sent a similar one, the idea of predominancy is weakened. The action of Victor, however, in threatening or endeavouring to excommunicate the Asian Churches, clearly indicates that if he had not any recognised supremacy, he assumed it. Eusebius states definitely that he published abroad letters and proclamations that the churches of Asia were wholly excommunicated. This sentence of the Bishop of Rome was not concurred in by all the bishops, and how the matter was ultimately settled is not stated by Eusebius, except in general terms, that Irenæus negotiated peace. From this it may be justifiable to conclude that Victor was prevailed upon by the negotiations of Irenæus to withdraw his sentence of excommunication. As Eusebius is silent on the subject of the details of the negotiations of Irenæus, there is no alternative but to leave the subject in its present indefinite form, or to endeavour to form a reasonable conjecture of the nature of Irenæus' efforts in favour of peace. The silence of Eusebius may be understood to imply that these negotiations were not of a nature to bear publicity : they were not to the credit and honour of the Church. We hear no more of the excommunication of the Asian Churches, and we may conclude that Victor's sentence was withdrawn ; and the inducement for this action may be reasonably conjectured to have been the practical grant of the Supremacy to the Bishop of Rome. Victor, in consideration of a solid and valuable advantage, was conciliated to leave the Asian Churches alone. The Bishop of Rome became henceforth the head of the whole Church : and as there were no reasons, beyond the worldly ones, of Rome being the capital of the empire, and the Church of Rome influential and rich, divine sanction was obtained for the new distinction by the interpolation of Matt. xvi. 18 and 19 : "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church :

and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." The utter absence of any opposition to the elevation of Victor, Bishop of Rome, to the supreme control of all things in heaven and earth, was probably due to the thoroughness of the negotiations of Irenæus, about which the pious historian Eusebius has maintained a discreet reticence. I do not know whether the Asian bishops gave their consent, as history is silent on the subject ; the only signs of dissent to the supremacy of Peter and his successors that I can discover, are the insertion of statements in the Fourth Gospel, which was revised probably at Ephesus, that John was more beloved than Peter, and that he was also able to run faster than the latter ! (John xiii. 23, xx. 4). There can be no doubt that the placing of the supreme control of the Catholic Church in the hands of one man was a sound and useful measure ; but the means whereby this consolidation of authority was brought about can hardly be considered honourable and creditable to the Church. Eusebius passes over the negotiations of Irenæus without mentioning details, and the character of the Bishop of Lyons hardly disposes me to imagine that his negotiations were honest and above-board. The deficiencies in the available evidence are due to the pious silence of Eusebius regarding the scope of the negotiations with Victor and the bishops who coincided with him, and hence recourse must necessarily be had to reasonable conjecture. Irenæus himself was originally a member of the Church of Smyrna, of which Polycarp was bishop, and was personally sensible of the historical accuracy and truth of the Eastern practice of celebrating the annual passover or Lord's Supper. He was, however, willing to secure the peace of the Churches, by abandoning a practice which, whatever may be its historical claims, was by no means of an essential nature. There were doubtless other practices prevalent in the Churches founded upon Jewish ideals, which were not desirable to retain. Nothing, then, was more sensible than to set up a power which could decree and enforce the discontinuance of such practices. Such power the Bishop of Rome could reasonably exercise. The supremacy granted to the Pope was in itself neither unwise nor dishonourable. But the methods actually adopted to effect the supremacy were assuredly immoral, though there can be little doubt they were in harmony with the methods prevalent in those days in the Christian Churches. These methods were the foisting into the sacred writings of interpolations and changes of text to introduce matters of which there is not the slightest trace

to be found in the Christian literature of the first hundred and fifty years.

In my previous work on the Fourth Gospel I have discussed the subject of the paschal controversy, and of its effects on the text of that Gospel. (See *Free Enquiry into the Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, ch. vi. pp. 132-137; ch. viii. p. 256 ff.). I there showed how the original text of Cerinthus had been modified very gradually, so as completely and absolutely to change the accurate evangelical history of the Lord's Supper of the original writing of Cerinthus into false history. The account of the Lord's Supper in the Fourth Gospel was tampered with to the extent of suppressing it altogether; that is to say, the best attested fact in the Lord's biography, his eating of the passover before he suffered, was totally suppressed. I perceive similar tactics resorted to with the Third Gospel. The change of the text in ch. xiii. of the Fourth Gospel was very gradual and slow, and extended over a couple of centuries. The change of the account of the Lord's Supper in Luke was inaugurated very early. It took definite shape either at the close of the second or at the beginning of the third century, and was completed probably in the fifth century, after the time of Epiphanius, or the close of the fourth century. The text itself does not appear to have been interfered with, but an addition was made to it, very early, which completely changed its meaning. The plea of the Western Churches was that the Lord did not eat the passover, but was himself the passover. Hippolytus, at the beginning of the third century, quotes Luke xxii. 16 in support of this plea, in a fragment from his lost work on the Holy Supper, preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale*. The passage is thus translated in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Hippolytus*, vol. ii. p. 94:—"Now that neither in the first nor in the last¹ there was any thing false is evident; for he who said of old, 'I will not eat any more the passover,' probably partook of supper before the passover. But the passover He did not eat, but He suffered; for it was not the time for him to eat." It will thus be seen that the emendation of the evangelical history to suit the views of the followers of Victor began at an early date. The interpolation of verse 16, to convey the meaning that Jesus did not *eat* the passover, was apparently considered sufficient to effect the desired object; but a couple of centuries later it was deemed advisable to complete the change by adding verses 17 and 18, in which Jesus was represented as also abstaining from *drinking* the passover cup. I remark here, parenthetically, that verses 17 and 18 are wanting in Mrs Lewis's Syriac Gospels, now called the *Codex Lewisianus*. I do not under-

¹ The expressions 'first' and 'last' apparently refer to the Gospels.

stand on what grounds Hippolytus made out that it was not the time for eating the passover; for it is impossible to doubt that Jesus and the apostles celebrated the passover on the same day and time as other Jews did. But it is clear from the narrative that the passover as celebrated on this occasion by Jesus had not the traditional mode of celebration. The manner of celebration is given in Ex. xii. 11: "With your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand"; Jesus ate the passover reclining on a couch, as was the custom in his days (Luke xxii. 14). The ancient custom is in our A. and R. versions altered to our modern custom, 'sat down' being substituted for 'lay down.' Standing was the posture ordered by the Mosaic Law. There is no mention of the lamb at the meal, but only of bread, which was unleavened. The drinking of wine was not enjoined by the Law. So that the passover as eaten by Jesus on this occasion was altogether different in its details from the original festival. But it was, nevertheless, the conventional passover, and was celebrated by Jesus in the same form and manner as was permissible in those days, and as was practised by tens of thousands and millions of other Jews. Perhaps the eating of a lamb at that time on the day of the passover was a physical impossibility for many, for the immense multitudes who congregated at Jerusalem could not all be provided with lambs and kids of the first year and without spot or blemish; and great numbers of poor Jews dispensed with the lamb from necessity. The drinking of wine was a pure innovation, but had become in the course of time to be regarded as a part of the ceremonial meal. It was certainly drunk on this occasion by Jesus and the apostles, since it had become the universal custom of the Jews to do so. These divergences from the details of the original ceremonial rite cannot, however, be regarded as proving the non-observance of the passover by Jesus, in the face of the statement in verse 15 of his earnest desire to eat the passover before he suffered, and of the previous verses regarding the preparation for the passover. I am of opinion that the liquor consumed by Jesus and the apostles at the final passover was not what we regard as wine, the fermented juice of the grape. Palestine could not produce the immense quantity of wine that would be needed for the multitudes of Jews who resorted to Jerusalem at the passover. The word *οἶνος* was a very wide expression, and covered a multitude of liquors, prepared from apples, pears, barley, the fruit and juice of the palm, as well as from grapes. Unless the kind was mentioned, it is very difficult to ascertain what the nature of the liquor was. The word *οἶνος*, 'wine,' is not, however, used in the passage under notice, but *ποτήριον*, 'cup,' which is equally indefinite. The social station of the partakers is perhaps the best general guide to the nature of the

liquor consumed. At the feast given by Herod the king, the liquor may be understood to be wine; but it would hardly be probable that the liquor consumed by a village carpenter and anchorite and his fishermen followers was wine. It would be more consistent with historical probability that it was a cheap and plentiful liquor in use by the poor, such as the liquor prepared from barley, which was either a coarse kind of beer or whisky. The liquor consumed by the guests at the marriage in Cana of Galilee (John ii. 1-11) and by Paul's saints at the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi. 20-22) was probably whisky rather than wine, for they were poor people, and were further speedily intoxicated. This, I believe, was actually the liquor consumed at the Lord's Supper in the early centuries, when Christianity was more spread amongst the poor than amongst the rich. The words "fruit of the vine" in verse 18 was a late interpolation probably introduced at the end of the fourth or fifth century, when Christians had grown into wealthy communities. The words may have been selected with the object of inducing a belief that the liquor used in the Lord's Supper in the earlier centuries was wine and not whisky.¹ In the *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae*, which is of great antiquity, the text of this passage is "I will not drink of this fruit," which may be apples, pears, dates, or even barley. The final two verses of our passage, verses 19 and 20, are guaranteed by Tertullian, who says that Jesus took the bread and gave it to his disciples, and "made it his body by saying 'This is my body,' that is, the figure of my body," and in the mention of the cup, "constituting a testament sealed with his blood, he affirmed the substance of the body" (ch. xl.). Tertullian makes no mention of the words "which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me," and "which is shed for you," which are found in verses 19 and 20 of our present Gospel. Bishop Westcott, in his *New Testament in the Original Greek*, puts the whole passage under

¹ There is a strong disposition manifested by all theologians and ecclesiastics to falsify the facts and probabilities of history in regard to their religion. The great poverty of the very earliest Christians is attempted to be concealed and covered over by misrepresentations of the position of the early converts. For instance, Paul's allusion to Cæsar's household is usually interpreted to mean great officials, whereas the probability is that Paul's allusion is to menial servants and slaves. It would be hardly respectable that the early Christians celebrated the Lord's Supper with coarse beer or whisky; hence the use of wine is inculcated as used, which is against historical probability. Wrong and unhistorical ideas are disseminated in church schools amongst children regarding the fertility of Palestine, "a land flowing with milk and honey." I remember a picture of two lusty lubbers carrying on a stout pole across their shoulders a single bunch of grapes, of a magnitude exceeding the bulk of the bodies of the two bearers combined: this was to illustrate the fertility of the land. We do not find this unworthy desire to conceal the poverty and meanness of early beginnings in other professional bodies, say the surgeons, who show no silly disposition to conceal the early association of their great profession with barbers.

double brackets, as non-interpolation, from "which is given for you," and the whole of verse 20. Tertullian, however, vouches for the words which I have quoted, so that there can be no doubt that Bishop Westcott's brackets exclude too much of the text. The R. V., however, excludes too little by retaining the words "This do in remembrance of me." I feel justified in accepting only so much of the text as Tertullian authorises. In his remarks Tertullian had not in mind the enforcement of the current theology regarding the correspondence of the bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ, but the refutation of the opinion which he erroneously attributed to Marcion, that Jesus had a phantom body, which was an opinion not held by Marcion, but by his renegade followers, who in Tertullian's time retained the name of Marcionites, but held opinions which were widely divergent from those inculcated in his Gospel by Marcion. The account of the celebration of the passover in the Third Gospel is, I believe, pretty generally understood to have been taken from Paul's account in 1 Cor. xi. 24 and 25. But I do not entertain that view, because I do not believe that the second century symbolism of the bread and wine had been invented in the first century. Throughout the Christian literature of the first century there is no allusion or the remotest reference made to such symbolism, except in the passage of Paul's writing above quoted.¹ The reader will search in vain for any such allusion in the early Christian writings. I have hence come to the conclusion that this passage of Paul had been presumably interpolated from the Third Gospel. Marcion obtained the information which he utilised in his Gospel from the writings collectively called by Justin Martyr (c. 150 A.D.) the *Memoirs of the Apostles*. The special passage which he followed in this instance is also quoted by Justin (*First Apol.*, lxvi.) as follows² :— "For the apostles, in the memoirs which are by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered that Jesus commanded them, taking the bread *that* was blessed, said, Do this to my memory, that is to say, my body; and similarly taking the cup, also blessed, said, This is my blood, and gave to them alone." Justin immediately remarks that this ceremony was imitated in the Mysteries of Mithra, in the initiation to which bread and a cup of water with some words were

¹ In 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, reference is made to the communion of the body and blood of Christ. These verses are very suspicious, being alien to the subject discussed, which is the eating of the flesh of animals sacrificed to idols. If they be omitted, the sense of the passage will not suffer.

² Οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλλαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τουτέστι τὸ σῶμα μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον· ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτό ἐστι αἷμά μου, καὶ μόνους αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι.—Otto.

employed. As the Mysteries of Mithra were a few centuries anterior in date, the imitation was in the reverse order ; and hence Justin here announces and reveals the real origin of the ceremonial form and language in which the Eucharist was celebrated in the second century. And of such ceremonial it is important to remember there is no allusion or record to be found in the Christian literature of the first century, when cleared from manifest interpolation.

The next passage (Luke xxii. 21-23) is briefly alluded to by Tertullian in ch. xli. He quotes verse 22 thus : " Woe *unto him* by whom the Son of man is betrayed." The preceding clause, " and truly the Son of man goeth as it was determined," is not necessarily discredited. The quotation of verse 22 may be taken to cover this short passage.

Tertullian is silent on the next passage (Luke xxii. 24-30). Epiphanius, in his Refutation lxiii., in which he tells us of Marcion's motive for erasing verse 16, namely, because he objected to eating and drinking in the kingdom of God, tells us that Marcion also cut out verse 30, which he thus quotes : " That ye shall sit at my table, eating and drinking in the kingdom of the heavens " ; but he does not expressly say that the long passage from verses 24-29 was erased. As Tertullian passes over the passage in silence, I understand Epiphanius meant that the whole passage terminating with verse 30 was cut out. Possibly the whole passage did not exist in Epiphanius' copy of the Canonical Gospel, but only some portion of it. Tertullian makes a statement in his *Treatise against Praxeas*, xxvi., that Christ awards the kingdom to his disciples, as he says it had been appointed to himself by the Father. This is the substance of verse 29 : " And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me." But Tertullian does not say in what Gospel he found the statement ; so that we can only conclude that the statement existed in one of the Gospels. There is hence no authority or pretext for admitting this passage into either the Marcionite or the original Canonical Gospel.¹ The passage probably existed in the other Synoptic Gospels in the second century, in pieces, more or less modified, scattered here and there.

The only guarantee that Tertullian gives of the next passage (Luke xxii. 31-34) is the remark in ch. xli. : " For he showed *himself*

¹ Volckmar retains this passage from verses 24-27 for reasons which I do not think should influence a textual critic, viz., that Tertullian passed it over *als unanfechtbar*, i.e., it contained nothing that he could fight against, and that it was consistent with Marcion's theology. But he omits verses 28-30, without noticing that Epiphanius actually stated the omission of verse 30 only. It is impossible to reject verse 30 only ; and if verses 28 and 29 are rejected, it is impossible not to exclude verses 24-27 also (*op. cit.*, p. 167). Fanciful reasons which may be invented to an indefinite extent are excluded by the principles of textual criticism.

a zealous God to you by destining Peter, who said something presumptuous, rather to a denial." Verse 33, in which Peter says, "Lord, I am ready to go with thee, both into prison and to death," may be justly regarded as covered by the remark that Peter said something presumptuous or pretentious; and as Peter's remark is consistently a reply to Jesus' observations in verses 31 and 32, Tertullian's remark may be stretched to cover them also. Clement of Alexandria quotes these two verses in this fashion: "Also the Lord himself says: 'Satan hath desired to sift you; but I have prayed'" (*Strom.*, iv. ix., sect. 76); and on his authority the words in our present Gospel, "as wheat," in verse 31 may be erased. I do not think Tertullian's allusion to the simple denial by Peter could be made to cover so precise and minute a prophecy as the denial three times before the cock crows. There was no need of prophetic power at all to foresee the denial of Peter; for the knowledge of his personal character would be a sufficient guide to a sagacious man to indicate his course of conduct in the impending crisis, which Jesus foresaw was inevitable from the persistent and fierce hostility towards him of the chief priests and Pharisees. The extravagant and unnecessary terms of the prediction are inconsistent with the moderation and sobriety of the narratives in the Marcionite Gospel. I find it hard to believe that it contained such a peculiar prophecy as this is. I cannot reconcile myself to its admission into this Gospel, and I have very serious doubt whether it was universally admitted into any of the four Gospels till late in the fourth century, when Jerome made his collection. The first note of the connection of Peter's denial with cock-crowing in Christian literature is towards the middle of the third century. Origen is the first writer who alludes to it in his *Commentary on Matthew*, xii. 40, where he says, "Peter denied Christ thrice before that well-known cock-crowing." But he does not say from which Gospel he derived the information. His peculiar expression, "well known cock-crowing," is hardly the form observed by ancient theologians in quoting Scripture. A theologian of the present day who should refer to the "well-known story of the Cock Lane ghost" would not be considered to be quoting Scripture. Origen, moreover, is a bad authority for second century texts, for, as I have already stated, he was addicted to amending and embellishing the Gospels. A second reference is in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, v. 14, a work that is full of interpolations, in which Christ is represented to have said to Peter, "Verily I say unto you, Before the cock crows thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, p. 131). This quotation does not correspond with the words in Luke xxii. 34, nor in any Gospel, and there is further no statement

from which Gospel the information was derived. Very careful and repeated searches which I have made have failed to discover any other allusion to the cock in Christian literature before Jerome. Peter's cock was unknown in the second century, but it was certainly known in the third century, but in an apocryphal form.¹ My hunt for Peter's cock in Christian literature has resulted in the discovery of another gallinaceous bird, manifestly of very ancient date, which has the look of being a progenitor of the egg from which Peter's cock was hatched. From the evident antiquity of this ancient bird, which had lost his feathers, I hardly think he could be regarded as the father of Peter's cock; but a generation being allowed to intervene, to account for natural developments, he may be fairly considered the grandfather of the well-known cock of the four Evangelists. The *Acta Pilati*, subsequently called the Gospel of Nicodemus, is an ancient official publication of the stipendiary apostles, and is quoted by name by Justin Martyr as an authoritative Christian work in his *First Apology* to the Roman emperors. The authenticity of the work is better attested than that of the Canonical Gospels, and its antiquity is greater, since it was named and quoted by Justin; but we are helpless in the endeavour to discover the additions and alterations made in it since Justin's time. Such as it is, we find in it a history of the progenitor of Peter's cock, in connection with the tragic fate of the traitor Judas. In Codex C. of this ancient document occurs the following simple story, which I thus translate literally: "And going to his home to make a halter with a rope to hang himself, he found his wife sitting to roast a cock on a heap of coals, ἔστω ἐντῇ σουβλά.² And, instead of tasting it, he says to her, 'Rise, woman, procure me a rope, because I wish to hang *myself*, as I was worthy' (i.e. as I deserved). And his wife said to him, 'Arrah,¹ why do you speak these words?' And Judas says to her, 'Know in truth that I have unjustly betrayed my master Jesus to the wicked to be put to death by Pilate; and he

¹ I have at this moment accidentally remarked that the English translation of the concluding clause of Luke xxii. 34 is the very reverse and the negation of the accepted Greek text, which is πρὶν ἢ τρὶς ἀπαρνῆσθαι μὴ εἰδέναι με, i.e. "Before that thou shalt thrice deny to know me not"; whereas in the A. V. and R. V. the final 'not' is omitted. Westcott renders the Greek text thus: ἕως τρὶς με ἀπαρνῆσθαι εἰδέναι, omitting the negative μὴ, and thus justifying the omission of the 'not' in the A. V. and R. V. (Westcott and Hort's *New Testament in Greek*, p. 178). The received Greek text has a redundant negative in the verse, which Bishop Westcott removes.

² The learned Tischendorf says that these words are in every codex. I do not know how to translate them, and the learned translator of the Apocryphal Gospels gives me no assistance, as he skips them (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 151, footnote). Cowper does not mention this entertaining story of Judas's cock.

³ The Greek ἄρα is, in this ancient and primitive anecdote, the exact equivalent of the Irish expletive Arrah! as in "Arrah, my boy!"

is going to rise on the third day, and woe to us.' And his wife said to him, 'Neither say nor think so; for just as this cock which is roasting on the coals is able to crow, so also Jesus will rise, as you say.' And immediately on the word, that cock flapped (*lit. gave*) his wings and crowed thrice. Then Judas being the more convinced, immediately made the halter with a rope, and hanged *himself*, and so was strangled out of life" (Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 269, footnote.) This story is as authentic as any other miraculous story related in the Gospels, that is to say, it is of exactly the same general character, and as much may be said in support of it as of any other evangelical miracle. The ludicrous element it contains can as little be made a ground of objection against it as against the miracle of Peter catching a fish with the Roman tax-money in its mouth. The antiquity of the story is supported by its extreme simplicity and by the fact that it was written in Greek; and it is with its antiquity that I am concerned. Judas's cock is a more ancient bird, *prima facie*, than Peter's cock, which has had the benefit of being modelled by more cultured men in a later age. The earlier story was the germ out of which the later story was developed. The triple crow of the cock is the analogue of the triple denial of Peter. An analogy of the development of an evangelical story from another more ancient one is derived from the history of the parable of the Good Samaritan, which was presumably constructed from the more ancient story referred to by Irenæus, as I have already shown¹ (p. 166).

The next passage (Luke xxii. 35-38) is not alluded to by Tertullian, and Epiphanius tells us (Sch., lxiv.) that Marcion cut out the passage

¹ I ought to mention here that my hunt for Peter's cock amongst the musty haystacks of the earlier Christian literature, though most strenuous and laborious, has not been exhaustive. I felt myself too weak-kneed to trudge through the extensive stubble of the *Panarion* of Epiphanius, and I was appalled by the magnitude of the two ponderous folios of Petavius. I do not possess the valour of Mr King, the author of *The Gnostics*, to undertake a task so "vast and laborious." A hunt through these rarely frequented literary wilds is likely to lead to the discovery of something surprising about Peter's cock, which may throw into the shade the text announced by a certain nervous and agitated curate on preaching his first sermon from the pulpit: "And immediately while he yet spake, the cock *wept*, and Peter went out, and *crowed* bitterly" (Luke xxii. 60 and 62).

Since writing the above, I accidentally met with a remark made in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. Cock, that "some persons have supposed that by ἀλέκτωρ in the N. T. is meant the sounding of the Roman trumpets to mark the watches of the night, for the reason that cocks were not permitted to be kept at Jerusalem, on account of the holiness of the place; but this fact is doubtful, and the explanation is fanciful and far-fetched." Travelling in Lower Bengal, I could not get eggs at some villages, because I was told the population was purely Hindoo, without intermixture of Mahommedans, and did not keep poultry, the latter being regarded impure. The ancient Jews may have had similar ideas of the impurity of fowls. The evidence, so far, appears to favour the curate's reading, that Peter crowed and not the cock, which would not be admitted into the premises of the high priest.

from "When I sent you" unto "he was reckoned among the transgressors." The final clause, "for the things concerning me have an end," may be regarded as included in the excision; but hardly the next verse (38), "And they said, Lord, behold here *are* two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough," which Epiphanius does not notice. My conclusion is that the whole passage was interpolated in the Canonical Gospel in Epiphanius' hands; but verse 38 was a later interpolation which Epiphanius knew nothing of.

Tertullian is also silent regarding the next passage (Luke xxii. 39-46), leading to the inference that it was absent in both Gospels. But Epiphanius quotes verse 41, "And he was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast, and kneeled down and prayed." But he does not say that Marcion cut it out; nor, on the other hand, do I find any statement in his Refutation lxxv. that the passage existed in the Marcionite Gospel. He quotes the passage as a proof that Jesus must have had a real body to be able to assume a kneeling posture. But he makes no reference to Marcion nor applies bad names to him. I do not feel justified in departing from Tertullian's record, on the strength of a merely neutral quotation by Epiphanius.¹ The references to the incidents in the passage in other contemporary writings were derived from Matthew, whose account is in many parts similar. The first complete quotation of the whole passage (verses 42-46) is in a fragment of Dionysius, the disciple of Origen, in the middle of the third century, with a commentary on Luke's Gospel—the translation of which will be found in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. xx., Writings of Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Archelaus, p. 251. I am not in possession of the original Greek, and cannot verify the text. The quotation would have been of more value for my purpose if its date had been previous to Origen, and if Dionysius had not been an Alexandrian follower and admirer of Origen, a notorious emendator and embellisher of the Gospels. There are good grounds for questioning the authenticity of verses 43 and 44.

¹ Volckmar retains the whole passage 39-46, on the fanciful grounds that Marcion and every other dogmatic of the second century *must* have accepted the subject-matter of the passage, prayer against temptation, the accomplishment of God's will, not of one's own, the difference made between God's will and the will of Jesus, and the fear and anxiety of Jesus. All that I can say is that Tertullian makes no mention of the passage, and Epiphanius does not say that it existed in the Marcionite Gospel, and these are sufficient reasons for excluding the passage from both Gospels. Volckmar perceives docetism in the drops of sweat like blood. This, then, ought to have been a strong reason for an attack by Tertullian, and an opportunity for Epiphanius for applying bad names to Marcion (*op. cit.*, 167). Epiphanius, by the way, thought the 'kneeling' spoken of in the Canonical Gospel was a proof against docetism.

They are wanting in the Vatican and Alexandrian Codices, as well as in the *Codex Lewisianus*, which is of great antiquity, and the oldest codex except one in our possession. The whole passage in our present Gospel is objectionable, for Jesus is therein represented to have been in an ignoble condition of terror, sweating in an agony of fear, and obtaining fortitude and encouragement from an angel. Such stories as these were in currency in the first half of the second century, for Justin speaks of them as related in the Memoirs of the ten per cent. apostles (*Trypho*, ciii.). He mentions a few physiological symptoms of abject fear recorded by these chroniclers in addition to sweating, viz., his heart and his bones trembled, and his heart melted like wax in his belly—comic statements which make one laugh. All these symptoms were foretold by ancient prophecy (Ps. xxii. 14). Marcion had the nobleness and strength of mind to reject these abject apocryphal stories fabricated for the purpose of fulfilling prophecy. They did not suit his representation of the character and bearing of a great moral teacher at a moment of personal peril. I wonder that the learned revisers of 1881 retained the ignoble verses 43 and 44 in the teeth of the evidence before them of interpolation (see the margin of the R. V.). It is an indication that their cultured minds were weakened by a certain moral debility.

The withdrawal of the passage Luke xxii. 39-46 from both Gospels, for Tertullian does not speak of a variance, implies that the arrest of Jesus took place at the house where the passover was eaten, and not at the mount of Olives. The story of this portion of the evangelical biography is confused and divergent in our three Synoptics. For instance, there is no mention of a garden in Luke, but there is in both Mark and Matthew; in Luke the admonition to Peter regarding the triple denial was administered in the house, but in Mark and Matthew on the mount of Olives. The mount appears to have been introduced as an afterthought. In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, v. 14, the admonition to Peter was given in the house. The discussion of this part of the evangelical biography had better be deferred till I have completed my investigation of the other two Synoptic Gospels.

The next passage (Luke xxii. 47-53) is not further noticed by Tertullian in ch. xli. than by an allusion to the Son of Man being betrayed with a kiss, which act Tertullian says was a fulfilment of prophecy. The reader will be amused to know the prophecy, in which, according to our theologian, "the prophetic Christ (or the Christ of prophecy) ought to be betrayed with a kiss, as he was, in fact, the Son of him who was honoured by the people with the

lips." Theologians tell us the prophecy is Isa. xxix. 13: "Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near *me* with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men." This single allusion must be taken to cover the whole passage. But Epiphanius here comes to our assistance, and quotes the conclusion of verse 47, "and Judas drew near to kiss him, and he said," etc., in order to refute Marcion by demonstrating that the act of kissing undertaken by Judas proved that the Lord and God made flesh had real lips and was not a *dokesis* or phantom! (Sch. and Ref., lxvi.). Both Tertullian and Epiphanius conclude that the kiss was implanted on the lips; the Gospel, however, does not state so, but leaves the place an open question: but the prophecy of Isaiah fixes the place, and hence the cheek and the forehead are excluded. Epiphanius further informs us that Marcion cut out what Peter did when he smote and cut off the ear of the high priest's servant, and the restoration of the ear by the Lord; that is to say, verses 49-51 were interpolated in the Canonical Gospel (Sch. and Ref., lxvii.).¹

The next passage (Luke xxii. 54-62) is not noticed by either Tertullian or Epiphanius; but we might admit it as covered by the remark of the former about the denial of Peter, but the words, or all the incidents in the passage, are not guaranteed. I do not, however, think that Tertullian's remark can be stretched to the extent of covering the crow of the cock; and hence the concluding clause of verse 60, and the words in verse 61, "before the cock crew," and "thrice" should be deleted.

The preliminary verses of the next passage (Luke xxii. 63-71) are not noticed by Tertullian, but Epiphanius quotes them (Sch. and Ref., lxviii.) thus: "Those who held him, mocked, smiting, beating, and saying, Prophesy, who is it that smote thee?" and he repeats these actions in his Refutation, without the least allusion to the statements in our present Gospel that they blindfolded Jesus and struck him on the face. These statements are hence interpolations, and should be struck out. The verse is quoted, not for the purpose of stating that Marcion had cut it out but for the purpose of displaying another mare's nest in the Marcionite Gospel, and proving that the person upon whom these indignities were perpetrated had a real corporation, a fact which Marcion never disputed,

¹ Volckmar conjectures that the introductory words in the following verse (52), "Then said Jesus," were also omitted. They are certainly superfluous, and the verse may have been "and unto the chief priests," etc. (*op. cit.*, 167, footnote). Volckmar retains verse 49.

and of which his Gospel is the best proof. Epiphanius has scored more than a half dozen cheap triumphs by these discoveries of mare's nests. The rest of the passage is minutely referred to by Tertullian in ch. xli. He speaks of Jesus being led before the council (verse 66), and interrogated whether he was Christ (verse 67), and his answer, "For if I tell you, ye will not believe," and he would still have to suffer (verse 68). He quotes verse 69, "Hereafter shall the Son of man be sitting on the right hand of the moral perfection or virtue (*virtutis*) of God," and verse 70, "Art thou the Son of God?" and "Ye say that I am."

Tertullian alludes to the next passage (Luke xxiii. 1-7), in which Jesus was brought before Pilate, and, Tertullian says, charged with saying that he was a king. Pilate asked him, "Thou art Christ," and he answered "Thou sayest" (verses 1-3). He was then sent to Herod, *velut munus*,¹ which I understand to mean as his duty, function, or jurisdiction, as stated in verse 7. Tertullian does not say that there was any variance between the two Gospels, but Epiphanius tells us that there was (Sch. and Ref., lxi. and lxx.). He says that after the words "We found this fellow perverting the nation," in verse 2, the Marcionite Gospel had "and destroying the law and prophets"; and after the words "and prohibiting to give tribute" was the addition "and turning aside women and children." Putting together the information given by the two authors, I construct the Marcionite text of verse 2 as follows: "And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this *fellow* perverting the nation, and destroying the law and prophets, forbidding to give tribute, and turning aside women and children, saying that he was king." This will also represent the Canonical text; because the clauses which Epiphanius says were added by Marcion, were, according to the rule of the contrary, subtracted from the original Canonical Gospel. (See p. 97.)

The next passage (Luke xxiii. 8-12) is very cursorily alluded to by

¹ The reverend translator of *Anti-Marcion* in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, translates the passage, *Nam et Herodi velut munus a Pilato missus*, 'He was sent to Herod gratuitously by Pilate'; and adds in a footnote: "*Velut munus*. This is a definition, in fact, of *xenium* in the verse from Hosea. This ξένιον was the Roman *lautia*, 'a state entertainment to distinguished foreigners in the city,' and refers in another note to "Hosea x. 6 (Sept., ξένια τῷ βασιλεῖ)." He thus, in fact, endorses the stupid and forced application of prophecy made by Tertullian. Whatever may be the meaning of the word translated ξένια, used by the Hebrew prophet, the Greek word ξένια means, when employed as a legal term, 'the state or rights of a foreigner, as offered to a citizen.' This was the sense that Tertullian had in mind. Tertullian had a better knowledge of Greek than our translator, and made a less stupid application of the alleged prophecy. There is no noun ξένιον in the Greek language. *Xenium* was not a feast, but a complimentary gift, like that offered to distinguished visitors in India, called *muzzur*, a word from the same root apparently.

Tertullian in ch. xlii. He says that "Herod, seeing Jesus, was glad, but he did not hear any word from him," which statements are derived from verses 8 and 9.

The only allusion made to the next passage (Luke xxiii. 13-26) by Tertullian is that Barabbas was released and that Christ was delivered to be put to death, as stated in verses 18 and 24. Epiphanius is silent on the passage. I can find no reference to it in Tertullian's miscellaneous writings or in other authors of this period. There is thus no alternative but to admit the whole passage.¹ The account of the trial and condemnation of Jesus in this Gospel and in the others is unique in the history of civilisation. It is the only instance, so far as my knowledge extends, in which the supreme judicial authority of a civilised government, after a prolonged enquiry, declared the innocence of an accused person, and forthwith sentenced him to death! There are numerous instances in history of the judicial condemnation of innocent persons, but in all these the court pronounced them guilty. The account, as we find it in the Gospel, is utterly improbable on the face of it. I do not think, therefore, that it existed in its present form in the Marcionite Gospel. Marcion was too reasonable a man to sanction the presentation of an utterly improbable account of the trial of Jesus to his Church. I think the account has been largely interpolated, and the repeated statements regarding the expressions of Pilate that he found Jesus innocent were subsequently added. Common-sense would have restrained an unscrupulous judge from judicially declaring his belief in the innocence of an accused person whom he ultimately condemned to death. There are, however, no critical reasons or means for modifying the passage.²

I find no allusion made to the next passage (Luke xxiii. 27-31) either by Tertullian or Epiphanius. Hence there is no authority or pretence for admitting the passage into either Gospel.

Tertullian, in ch. xlii., alludes to the next passage (Luke xxiii. 32-38). He mentions the two malefactors who were crucified around him (verses 32, 33); and tells us that Marcion cut out from

¹ Verse 17 is omitted in the R. V. and in Bishop Westcott's and Tischendorf's Greek Testaments, but no efficient reasons are assigned. The verse exists in Jerome's version, which is the most ancient continuous text that we possess. There is no allusion to the verse in any writer of the second or third century. Hence there is no authority for rejecting it. The verse exists in Mrs. Lewis's Syriac Gospel. There is no inherent reason for rejection in the verse itself. Volckmar admits it (*op. cit.*, 169).

² Dr Frazer's explanation of this curious episode in the history of Jesus is intelligible and may be true. He says that Jesus was made the victim in the celebration of the Saturnalia, a pagan festival which the Jews adopted under the name of the Feast of Purim, during which a man was crucified. (See *The Golden Bough*.)

his Gospel the partition by lot of the raiment (verse 34), so that here was a variance between the two Gospels. He refers to the mocking (verses 35-37), by the remark that the whole outcome, or details, *totus exitus*, are read in Ps. xxii. 16, 17, 18, which he quotes. These remarks cover the whole passage.¹ Epiphanius, in Sch. and Ref. lxxi., quotes this passage in an intermittent way, thus: "And coming to the place called a place of a skull, they crucified him, and parted his raiment, and the sun was darkened" (verses 33-45). The good bishop was so earnestly occupied with developing a mare's nest in his Refutation, and assuring Marcion, whom he here addresses as "O Pharaoh Marcion," that Jesus was no dokesis or phantom, which Petavius translates, "*inanis larva vel species*," but "truly a body, which the Lord took from Mary, flesh and our nature, and bones and other things," that he totally forgot to point out that Marcion had cut out the clause about parting the garments of Jesus and the casting of lots. It is, however, conceivable that the clause had been interpolated in the Marcionite Gospel which Epiphanius had.

The next passage (Luke xxiii. 39-43) is not noticed by Tertullian; but Epiphanius informs us that verse 43 was cut out by Marcion, and this statement may be understood to cover the whole passage, which was, of course, in accordance with the rule of contrary, an interpolation made in the Canonical Gospel. Or the passage from verses 39-42 may be regarded as an interpolation in the later Marcionite Gospel used by Epiphanius. Tertullian, however, was acquainted with the story of the colloquy of the malefactors, for he says in his treatise *On Modesty*, xxii., "For even in his very passion, he set the robber free." But he does not say where he found the story, which was certainly not in Luke, in his time. It may have been in the other Synoptic Gospels or in an apocryphal writing. The latter surmise is the more probable, as the story is related in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, v. 14, with some details wanting and others added. Tertullian's remark that Jesus set the robber free, which must necessarily be understood to mean, forgave his sins, is not found in the canonical story, but it was stated in the apocryphal story repeated in the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

Tertullian briefly alludes to the next passage (Luke xxiii. 44-46)

¹ In the Revised Version and in Tischendorf's and Bishop Westcott's Greek Testaments, the words "written in letters of Greek and Latin and Hebrew," in verse 38, are omitted, without efficient reasons being assigned. The authority of the Uncial and other manuscripts is inferior to Jerome's version, in which these words appear. No writers of the second and third century make any allusion to the words, so there is no authority for cutting them out. Volckmar retains these words; and he also retains verses 39-42, which I think is a mistake, as Tertullian does not refer to them by any hint or expression that I can find to justify their retention (*op. cit.*, 169).

in ch. xlii. He speaks of the darkness at the sixth hour (verse 44) and the rending of the veil of the temple (verse 45), which latter phenomenon he explains was due to "the eruption of the angel, relinquishing the daughter of Zion, as a watch-tower¹ in a vineyard, and as a cottage in a *cucumberarium*"; which latter observation shows the fulfilment of the prophecy: (Isa. i. 8) "And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city." The prophet, however, says nothing about an angel; but that is entirely the culpable omission of the prophet, and not blamable to Tertullian or to the veil of the temple. He says that Jesus "cries out loudly (*vociferatur*) to the Father, that even dying he might fulfil the prophets with his last voice"; but I regret that he did not quote the words uttered. "And having said this he expired" (verse 46). Epiphanius also refers to verse 46, but he quotes only the beginning and end of it, thus, "And having cried with a loud voice, he expired" (Sch. and Ref., lxxiii.). There is thus no positive guarantee of the last words uttered by Jesus which are given in the present Gospel, "Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit." Matthew says the last words were, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (xxvii. 46), which Mark repeats (xv. 34); but both these evangelists relate that he cried out again in a loud voice before he expired, but they do not record what he said. We have, however, a guarantee that the last words recorded in our present Gospel existed in the second century. Tertullian quotes the last words as given in the three Synoptic Gospels, which he says are not found in the Fourth Gospel, in his treatise *Against Praxeas*, xxv.; and as he states in his notice of this passage in the Marcionite Gospel that the last words were a fulfilment of prophecy, there can be no reasonable doubt that these last words were those recorded in the present Gospel of Luke. But the fulfilment of prophecy was not an object desired by Marcion, who, we are told by second century theologians, had "abolished the law and the prophets." These last words of Jesus are not, however, a fulfilment of prophecy, but an appropriate sentiment suited to the tragic occasion derived from Ps. xxxi. 5. Marcion did not abolish the law and the prophets, but he denied that Jesus was the subject of prophecy, and wisely abstained from torturing the words of the Hebrew prophets in the ludicrous manner adopted by second century theologians. But he appreciated and studied the magnificent religious literature

¹ This word does not here mean a building like the Tower of London, or the Tour St Jacques in Paris, but a structure of poles, a little elevated, on which a boy could watch and frighten away the birds. There is no English word for it, but it is called in India a *machan*.

of the Jews. This is evident from the references made to it in the Marcionite Gospel. Marcion, far from abolishing the law and the prophets, accepted the application of Hebrew prophecies as interpreted by the Jewish rabbis, while he rejected the forced and tortuous and utterly ridiculous applications of them to Jesus put forth by Christian theologians. Hence the dishonest outcry against him.

Neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius refers to the next passage (Luke xxiii. 47-49), in which the centurion remarks, "Certainly this was a righteous man." The remark is of no value, and the short passage is redundant, as it is not required even for maintaining the connection of the stream of the narrative. There is no authority or pretence for admitting it into either Gospel.

The next passage (Luke xxiii. 50-56) is cursorily alluded to by Tertullian at the end of ch. xlii. and the beginning of his next chapter. He refers to the begging of the body from Pilate (verse 52), the taking down of it from the cross, the wrapping in linen, and the laying of it in a new sepulchre (verse 53); to Joseph, who had not consented to the crime (verses 50 and 51); to the women who went to the sepulchre before daybreak with the spices which they had prepared (verse 56). Epiphanius also alludes to the passage, and quotes the beginning and end of it, with a few intermediate words (Sch. and Ref., lxxiv. and lxxv.). The passage must hence be accepted in its entirety. I should remark, however, that Tertullian speaks only of spices, without mentioning ointments; nor does Epiphanius. The word 'ointments' is not added to 'spices' in Luke xxiv. 1. The word might have been a later addition; but without more positive evidence I do not feel justified in cutting it out. The same remark is applicable to verse 54; the 'preparation' is not mentioned by either author. It cannot, however, be taken to refer to the preparation for the passover, which was already eaten, but for the Sabbath that was coming on.

Luke xxiv. 1-12 is referred to by Tertullian in ch. xliii. He alludes to the visit of the women before daybreak to the sepulchre (verse 1); to their not finding the body (verse 3); the appearance of two angels, *duo angeli*, not men, as in the present Gospel (verse 4); quotes the address of the angels to the women, "Remember what he spake unto you in Galilee, saying that the Son of man must be delivered up, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again," which must supersede the present Canonical text; and finally alludes to the disciples doubting the report of the women (verse 11). Epiphanius devotes Sch. and Ref. lxxvi. to the passage; but his quotations are a summary of the text, and it is difficult to

ascertain how much of the original words he repeated. His quotation is, "Those in brilliant [Petavius, white] raiment said, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is risen; remember what he spake while he was yet with you, that the Son of man must suffer many things, and be delivered up." In his Refutation he repeats, "He is risen, he is not here," and "remember that he said these things unto you while yet living, that the Son of man must suffer." The only alterations of the present text that I feel justified in making, as a reproduction of the second century text, is in verses 6 and 7, in accordance with Tertullian's quotation, and in verse 6, the reversal of the order of the words, according to Epiphanius. Tertullian, however, does not quote these words, and Bishop Westcott inserts them between brackets. And the substitution of angels for men in verse 4, a change which is supported by the statement in verse 23, "a vision of angels."

Tertullian refers to the next passage (Luke xxiv. 13-35) in ch. xviii. He does not mention the village called Emmaus, which he would naturally have done if the name was in the Gospel in his days. He merely speaks of two disciples taking a walk, or making a journey, *iter agerent*. Irenæus, who alludes to this incident in his list of the contents of Luke's Gospel (*Ad Her.* iv. xiv. 3), also is silent about Emmaus, but merely mentions what was said to his disciples, after the Resurrection on the way, *in via*. Nor does Epiphanius name the village. Tertullian speaks of the Lord joining their company, not seeming what he was, and dissimulating his knowledge of what had taken place (verses 16-18). He quotes verse 21, "But we thought that he was the redeemer of Israel." Tertullian does not say that the two Gospels varied. Epiphanius, however, points out a variance (Sch. and Ref., lxxvii.). He quotes verses 25 and 26: "O fools and slow to believe all that the prophets have spoken: ought not Christ to have suffered these things?" and says that instead of the words "all that the prophets have spoken," Marcion had in his Gospel "all that I have spoken unto you." He further says that Marcion can be convicted of making the change, from the words in verses 30 and 31, "He broke bread, and their eyes were open, and they knew him." Of course the former passage as given by Epiphanius is contradicted by the latter. It so happens that Tertullian also quotes the same verse from the Marcionite Gospel, thus, "O fools, and slow of heart in not believing all that he spake unto you"; which, being the same as in the original Canonical Gospel, must supersede the text in our present Gospel. It is exceedingly clear here that the change of words "the prophets" for "he" was not made by Marcion, but by the orthodox party who abused and misrepresented him, and accused him of

doing that which they themselves actually did, as above demonstrated. The good bishop's intelligence and religious warmth were unable to perceive that the change of the person in the Marcionite text, "I spake" instead of "he spake," was simply a clerical error, the scribe having written ἐλάλησα by mistake for ἐλάλησε(ν), an alpha instead of an epsilon, omitting also the euphonic ν. I have already pointed out a similar *lapsus pennæ* which was beyond the intelligence of Epiphanius to discover, and which Irenæus utilised as theological capital to disparage Marcion (see page 163). The next verse (27) is not referred to by Tertullian or Epiphanius, and I have failed to find a quotation or reference to it in any contemporary writer. The statement in it is not Marcionite, and it is impossible to think that the Marcionite Gospel contained it; and if it did not contain it, it must necessarily have been wanting in the Canonical Gospel also, as Tertullian does not speak of any variation, and finally, as Epiphanius is silent regarding it, the presumption is exceedingly strong that it was absent from the Canonical Gospel in his hands. The verse is: "And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself." For the above strong reasons, I feel justified in cutting out this verse from both Gospels. The excision of this verse necessitates the same treatment for the concluding clause of verse 32, "and while he opened to us the Scriptures." There can be no doubt that there was no variance in the whole of this passage between the two Gospels, or Tertullian and Epiphanius would have pointed it out. Whether the name Simon (verse 34) existed in the Marcionite Gospel may, perhaps, be doubted. Tertullian is silent regarding both, while Epiphanius mentions Cleopas only in this passage, and in another (ch. xlii. 6; *Pet.*, i. p. 67) he says Nathaniel was his companion. The first mention in Christian literature of both names in connection with this passage is found in Origen's treatise *Against Celsus*, ii. 68; but Origen was an innovator of the Gospel. The expression in verse 31, translated in the A. V. and R. V. "and he vanished out of their sight," and "ceased to be seen of them" in the margin of the former, is not translation but paraphrase. The translation is "became invisible to them," ἀφαντος ἐγένετο. Whatever christological view may be inferred from the expression, it should be remembered that the same expression was in both Gospels. The commentator in the *Speaker's Commentary* does not venture to give his personal opinion, but quotes Godet, who says that the strong expression implies a sudden supernatural disappearance, because the body of Jesus was now approaching its glorified condition and obeyed more freely than before the will of his spirit, and so on. In the *Codex*

Lewisianus the text is "he was lifted away." I take it that the orthodox view is that the disappearance was supernatural, in the same sense that Aladdin became invisible when he willed to become so. This view is an indication of debased superstition, which I do not think could fairly be attributed to Marcion when he put forth his Gospel. The sense in which Marcion used and understood the expression is that Jesus ran away, the words "became invisible" being a euphemism for bolted. This is the only sense that is consistent with Marcion's view that Jesus was a human being, and possessed a body no more glorified or more obedient to his will or his spirit than that of his fellow-men. It should be borne in mind that Jesus had been executed by judicial sentence, and his resurrection did not release him from the latter. Secrecy was essential to his safety, and I regret to say that the evangelical narrative does not give the impression that he relied much on the fidelity of all his disciples. I have changed the translation of *Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου* in verse 19, to 'Jesus the Nazarite,' instead of 'Jesus of Nazareth' in the A. V. and R. V.

The next passage (Luke xxiv. 36-43) is spoken of by Tertullian at the close of ch. xliii. He says that while the disciples were doubting whether Jesus was not a phantom, in truth believing that he was one (verse 37), he says, "Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your minds? Behold my hands and my feet that I am myself; for a spirit has not bones, as ye see me have." This reading must supersede the text of verse 39 in our Gospel. Tertullian further states that Jesus offered his hands and feet for examination (verse 40), and said in addition, "and know that I am," which clause is wanting in our Gospel and must be added to it. Finally, he says that while the disciples still believed not, he therefore asked for food (verse 41), in order, explains Tertullian, that he may show that he also had teeth! "*propterea cibum desideravit, ut se ostenderet etiam dentes habere.*"¹ The extraordinary mental

¹ Tertullian made this statement seriously, with no intention of joking. I must confess, however, that on first encountering it, I was greatly amused, and passed half an hour in laughing over it. I hope to be compensated for this loss of time by a proportional prolongation of my life. Tertullian was wanting in the sense of humour, and men of his sort unconsciously make sport for others. Modern theologians are more careful than Tertullian, and evade explaining why a glorified body that could suddenly vanish required food. Tertullian's explanation was not that Jesus wanted food to satisfy his hunger, but simply to show that he had teeth to masticate! Godel's explanation is that the body of Jesus was in a state of transition; on one side Jesus had still his terrestrial body, on the other side his body was already elevated to a superior condition; "Ce corps était déjà élevé à une condition supérieure" (Commentaire sur L'Évangile de Saint Luc, ch. xxiv., versets 33-43). He then adds we know nothing about this: "Nous n'avons pas d'expérience au moyen de laquelle nous puissions nous former une idée claire de cette transition, pas plus que de son terme, le corps glorifié."

perversity of the ancient theologian is apparent in this singular explanation. The demand for food was clearly due to the fact that Jesus was famished from the want of food since his escape from the sepulchre. The reader on perusing the passage in the Marcionite text will be utterly unable to perceive that Jesus as there represented was not a substantial human being, declaring that he is not a spirit, but a living man in want of food. Yet Tertullian will insist that that is not the meaning to be extracted from it, although the passage stood in the very same terms in the Canonical Gospel. Here is a specimen of his sophistry. "And Marcion was unwilling to erase certain things from his Gospel which were against him, I believe with this intention, that from those things which he could have erased, but did not erase, he might deny that he had erased the things which he did erase, or say that he had justifiably erased them. But he does not spare any *passages* but those which he subverts as well by interpretation as by deletion. And so he would have it thus said; as if, a spirit has not bones as you see me having. *The clause* 'as you see me having,' referred to the spirit, that is, not having bones like a spirit. And what reason *is there* of this tortuosity? since he could have simply said, that a spirit has not bones, as you see me not having."¹ This species of argumentation is common enough amongst theologians, and Bishop Westcott is a past master of it. (See my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 310 ff.) It is not, however, confined to theologians, but good examples of it may be found in connection with the renowned name of Sir John Falstaff in Shakespeare's comedies, as well as of other less eminent personages in Molière's plays and elsewhere. Ingenious argumentation of this sort is unknown in the domain of science in the present day, though common enough in mediæval times, but it is not unusual in the arenas of theology and of comedy, to which it is now restricted. Epiphanius, in Sch. and Ref., lxxviii., refers to verse 39, but he gives no particular information beyond pointing out that the Saviour himself puts on the finishing touch to the discoveries of mare's nests by himself stating that he had a body, bones and other things! It was apparently immaterial to

We have not the experience by means of which we could form a clear idea of this transition, not more than of its term, the glorified body. Why, then, speak of a glorified body, when nothing is known of such process or body?

¹ Vult itaque sic dictum; quasi Spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me videbis habentem; ad spiritum referatur, sicut me videbis habentem, id est non habentem ossa sicut et spiritus. The Ante-Nicene Christian Library translates: "Thus in the passage before us, he would have the words, 'A spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have,' so transposed as to mean, 'A spirit, such as ye see me to be, hath not bones,' that is to say, it is not the nature of a spirit to have bones" (*Against Marcion*, p. 363).

the good bishop that Marcion said the same thing in his Gospel, and he makes no attempt to prove that he did not, like the wily lawyer Tertullian. The food offered to Jesus is described in our Gospel as broiled fish and honeycomb (verse 42). As neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius tells us of the nature of the food, we must endeavour elsewhere to find corroboration, or the contrary, of this strange mixture. The evidence available is in favour of the fish, but against the honeycomb. The latter is not found in Clement's quotation of the verse (*Pæd.*, II. i. 15), and is omitted in the R. V.

With the above passage both Tertullian and Epiphanius terminate their review and comparison of the two Gospels. I have therefore no authority for adding any more passages to the latter.¹ This, then, was the conclusion of the Marcionite Gospel: a simple narrative of the famished condition in which the risen Lord appeared to his disciples, a narrative which raises the sentiments of sympathy and pity. But orthodox theologians were not satisfied with this simple ending, and added verses 44-53 in the course of the next two centuries; and I even think that the prolongation of the Canonical Gospel began to be made before the close of the second century. Irenæus (III. xvi. 5) quotes verses 44 and 45 *verbatim* as in our present Gospel, but there are transpositions of words and clauses in his quotations of the next two verses (46 and 47). Clement quotes verse 43 thus: and eating before them, Luke says, "he spoke to them what he spoke" (*Pæd.*, II. i. 15). Epiphanius quotes verse 46 as it stands in our present Gospel, but he tells us that Luke gave these words as addressed by the risen Saviour to Nathaniel and Cleopas when he appeared to them on the way (xliii. 6; *Pet.*, i. 67). Tertullian refers to the sending of the promise of the Father (*Ad Prax.*, xxvi.), which is found in verse 49; but he does not mention the source, which may have been another Gospel, or even

¹ Volckmar thinks that a few more verses followed, viz., parts of verses 44, 46, 47, verse 48, part of 49, and verses 50 and 51; thus: "And he said unto them, These *are* the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that it behoved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead on the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations. And ye are witnesses of these things, and behold I send the promise of my Father upon you. And he led them out as far as Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass while he blessed them, he was parted from them and carried up into heaven." His reasons are that these portions are consistent or connected with the theology of Marcion (*op. cit.*, 173). The ascension was no part of the theology of either Marcion or of his master, Paul; the latter records the death of Jesus. (See page 490). The remarks of Tertullian at the conclusion of Bk. iv. are of a general nature. He, however, uses the expression "Apostolos mittens ad predicandum universis nationibus," i.e. sending apostles to preach to universal nations, which closely resembles verse 47. *Universis*, is, however, hardly the translation of *πάντα*. Jerome translated "in omnes gentes."

Acts i. 4. The two principal clauses in the verses that follow at the end, viz., "and was carried up into heaven" (verse 51), and "worshipped him" in verse 52, are expunged in the R. V.

Following verse 43, where the original Canonical Gospel terminated, as Tertullian does not say it was further continued, came the present prologue (Luke i. 1-4), somewhat modified from the received text. As already stated (see p. 101), this statement was a colophon and a personal statement, and formed no part of the Gospel. Tertullian makes no allusion to it whatever, and thus a doubt arises whether it existed in the Canonical Gospel in his hands. Epiphanius quotes the prologue of the Gospel in his hands in the fragmentary way that he frequently adopts. I find it difficult, however, to doubt that what he does quote was the actual text of his Gospel. The initial words that he quotes short, may be taken to have as their continuation the words which we find in our present Gospel; and thus the whole of our first verse may be accepted as having existed in the original colophon. I find it impossible, however, to accept our present second verse, which corresponds with the quotation by Irenæus (which was a late translation), and partially with that by Eusebius, because it cannot be fitted on with the text as quoted by Epiphanius. Verses 2, 3 and 4 have manifestly been re-cast, and they must be superseded by Epiphanius' text, which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, I must accept as the text of the original colophon. The Latin translator of Irenæus modified the original Greek of this author according to the improved and amended text of a later century; and Eusebius followed this improved and modified text, which he himself probably had a hand in reconstructing.

I think I might here mention the peculiar mode in which I find the prologue printed in my copy of Jerome's collection, which is the edition of Marianus, Paris, 1643. The prologue is printed at the top of the page, like a heading, across the whole width of the page, and the Gospel follows below in two columns. Thus:—

Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem, quæ in nobis completæ sunt rerum, sicut tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio ipsi viderunt, etc.

Fuit in dieb. Herodis regis Judææ sacerdos quidam nomine Zacharias de vice, etc.	Dei. Et ecce Elisabeth cognata tua et ipsa concepit filium in senectute sua, etc.
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This peculiar arrangement, which, I must conclude, followed the manuscript of Jerome, indicates a difference, not clearly marked, between the prologue and the Gospel. This is not the form in which the prologue is printed in our modern version, in which the Gospel follows continuously after the prologue.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TEXT OF THE ORIGINAL CANONICAL GOSPEL OF LUKE AND OF THE MARCIONITE GOSPEL.

THE GOSPEL OF LUKE.¹

I. 5-25. THERE was a priest, by name Zacharias of the course of Abia, and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name *was* Elizabeth.² And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless. And they had no child, because that Elizabeth was barren, and they both were *now* well stricken in years. And it came to pass that while he executed the priest's office in the order of his course before God, according to the custom of the priest's office, it came out by lot that he should place incense, and he came that he might sacrifice, entering into the temple of God. And the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense. And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense. And when Zacharias saw *him*, he was troubled, and fear fell upon him. But the angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias: for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John. And thou shalt have joy and gladness; and many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God. And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to prepare for the Lord a perfect people. And Zacharias said unto the angel, Whereby shall I know this? for

¹ Not according to Luke. Throughout his writings Tertullian refers to the Third Gospel as the Gospel of Luke, *Evangelium Lucae*, never according to Luke, *secundum Lucam* (see p. 388). The reader is requested to remember that the figures placed at the commencement of paragraphs, such as I. 5-25, I. 26-38, were not in the original Gospel, but I have inserted them for facility of reference. The division of paragraphs is also hypothetical.

² In Irenæus' work (Stieren's edition) the name is spelt with *z*, not with *s*, as in the Vulgate and our versions. Epiphanius employs *σ* and not *ς*: the latter letter in ancient Greek was probably not pronounced in our way. The Latin translation of Irenæus is probably the most ancient form of the spelling known to us. The full name is Elizabeth in Irenæus (Latin), but Epiphanius has *EAIOΔΒΕΤ* (see page 104). Jerome has Elisabet, but the Vulgate Elisabeth.

I am an old man, and my wife well stricken in years. And the angel answering said unto him, I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God ; and am sent to speak unto thee, and to show thee these glad tidings. And, behold thou shalt be dumb, and not able to speak, until the day that these things shall be performed, because thou believest not my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season. And the people waited for Zacharias, and marvelled that he tarried so long in the temple. And when he came out, he could not speak unto them : and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the temple : for he beckoned unto them and remained speechless. And it came to pass, that as soon as the days of his ministration were accomplished, he departed to his own house. And after those days his wife Elizabeth conceived, saying, Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the days wherein he looked on *me*, to take away my reproach among men.

I. 26-38. But at that very time the angel Gabriel was sent from God, who said to the virgin also: Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy belly, and bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end. Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. And behold thy cousin Elizabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age, who was called barren. For with God nothing shall be impossible. And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her.

I. 39-56. And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Judah; and entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elizabeth. And it came to pass, that, when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped with joy in her womb; and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost: and she spake out with a loud voice, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed *is* the fruit of thy womb. And whence *is* this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? Blessed art thou among women. And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour. For he hath taken¹ his servant Israel, to remember his mercy, as he spake to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever. And Mary abode with her for about three months, and returned to her own house.

I. 57-66. Now Elizabeth's full time came that she should be

¹ The Latin of Irenæus has *assumpsit*; the Vulgate *suscepit*, and the Codex Bezae, *adjuvavit*. The English versions translate *holpen*; the German version *hilft-auf*; the French *pris en protection*. Mrs. Lewis translates 'cared for.' The Greek text has ἀντελάβετο. Probably 'adopted' would suit best.

delivered ; and she brought forth a son. And her neighbours and her cousins heard how the Lord had showed great mercy upon her ; and they rejoiced with her. And it came to pass, that on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child : and they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father. And his mother answered and said, Not so ; but he shall be called John. And they said unto her, There is none of thy kindred that is called by this name. And they made signs to his father, how he would have him called. And he asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, His name is John. And they marvelled all. And his mouth was opened immediately, and his tongue loosed, and he spake, and praised God. And fear came on all that dwelt round about them : and all these sayings were noised abroad throughout all the hill country of Judæa. And all they that heard *them* laid *them* up in their hearts, saying, What manner of child shall this be ? And the hand of the Lord was with him.

I. 67-80. And Zacharias, filled with Paraclete, prophesying said : Blessed *be* the Lord God of Israel : for he hath visited and redeemed his people. And hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David ; as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, who are from the ages. Safety from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us ; for performing mercy with our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant ; the oath which he sware to Abraham our father, that he should grant to us, delivered from the hand of enemies, to serve him without fear in holiness and righteousness in his sight all our days. Then said he to John : And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest : for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways ; to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just ; for giving knowledge of safety unto his people by the remission of their sins. And the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel.

II. 1-20. And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. (*And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.*) And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. For Joseph went up from Galilee, unto a city of Judæa which is called Bethlehem, to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child, because they were of the house and family of David. And so it was, that while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered ; and she brought forth her son, the first-born of the whole creation, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn. And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And the angel of the Lord appeared to the shepherds announcing joy to them, because there was born in the house of David, a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord. Then a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will. The shepherds returned, glorifying God in all

the things that they had heard and seen, even as it was told unto them.

[Here followed a narrative of the visit of Magi, who came from a distance, and made presents, including gold ; of the conduct of Herod, who was desirous of destroying the child ; of the appearance of an angel who warned Joseph of the design of Herod on the life of the child, and commanded him to take his wife and child to Egypt and to remain there until the death of Herod ; that the journey was undertaken on the very night of the birth of the child ; all these events, including the incidents of the blessing by Simeon and Anna, occupied the space of forty days. The only passage of the narrative preserved is the following.]

An angel appeared to him, saying, Arise and take the child, and your wife, and go into Egypt, for Herod seeks the life of the child.

II. 21-40. And when was accomplished the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus, which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb. And on the fortieth day, when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present *him* to the Lord ; (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord ;) and that they should offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtle-doves, or two chicks of doves. And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name *was* Simeon ; and the same *man* was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel ; and the Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple : and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word : for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people ; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold this *child* is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel ; and for a sign which shall be spoken against : (yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also,) that the thoughts of many may be revealed. And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser : she was of a great age, and had lived with a husband seven years from her virginity ; and she *was* a widow of about four score and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served *God* with fastings and prayers night and day. And she

coming in at that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem. And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned unto Galilee, to their own city Nazareth. And the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him.

II. 41-52. Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast. And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not *of it*. But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among *their* kinsfolk and acquaintance. And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him. And it came to pass that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions. And when they saw him, they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, I and thy father have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business? And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them. And he went down with them and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.

III. 2-22. The word of the Lord came to John, the son of Zacharias. And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. For this is he that was spoken of by the Lord through the prophet: The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough into smooth ways: and all flesh shall see the salvation of God. Then said he to the multitude that came forth to be baptised of him, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham for *our* father: for I say unto you, that God is able of stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Then came also publicans to be baptised, and said unto him, Master, what shall we do? And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you. And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse *any* falsely; and be content with your wages. And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ, or not; John answered, saying unto *them* all, I indeed baptise you with water; but one mightier than I

cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose : he shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire : whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner ; but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable. And many other things in his exhortation preached he unto the people. But Herod the tetrarch, being reproved by him for Herodias his brother Philip's wife, and for all the evils which Herod had done, added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison. Now when all the people were baptised, it came to pass that Jesus also was coming to the baptism, *being* of about thirty years, and praying, the heaven was opened, and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son ; this day I have begotten thee.

III. 23-38. And Jesus was the son, according to usage, of Joseph, *the son of Heli, the son of Melchi, the son of Janna, the son of Joseph, the son of Mattathias, the son of Amos, the son of Naum, the son of Esli, the son of Nagge, the son of Maath, the son of Mattathias, the son of Semei, the son of Joseph, the son of Juda, the son of Joanna, the son of Rhesa, the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, the son of Neri, the son of Melchi, the son of Addi, the son of Cosam, the son of Elmodam, the son of Er, the son of Jose, the son of Eliezer, the son of Jorim, the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Simeon, the son of Juda, the son of Joseph, the son of Jonan, the son of Eliakim, the son of Melea, the son of Menan, the son of Mattatha, the son of Nathan, the son of David, the son of Jesse, the son of Obed, the son of Booz, the son of Salmon, the son of Naasson, the son of Aminadab, the son of Aram, the son of Esrom, the son of Phares, the son of Juda, the son of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the son of Thara, the son of Nachor, the son of Saruch, the son of Ragau, the son of Phalee, the son of Heber, the son of Sala, the son of Cainan, the son of Arphaxad, the son of Sem, the son of Noe, the son of Lamech, the son of Mathusala, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Maleleel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam,*¹ *the son of God.*

IV. 1-15. And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost returned from Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness, being forty days tempted of the devil. And in those days he did eat nothing ; and when they were ended, he afterward hungered. And the devil said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, command this stone that it be made bread. And Jesus answered him, saying, It is written, that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God. And the devil, taking him up into a high mountain, showed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, All these things will I give unto thee, since they have been delivered unto me, and I give them to whom I will, if falling down thou wilt worship me. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Depart, Satan ; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy

¹ One generation is here given in excess of the number of generations given in the original Gospel ; but I have been unable to identify the generation in excess.

God, and him only shalt thou serve. And he brought him to Jerusalem, and set him on a pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him, If thou be the son of God, cast thyself down from hence: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge over thee, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone. And Jesus answering said unto him, It is said, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And when the devil had ended all the temptation, he departed from him for a season. And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee; and there went out a fame of him through all the region round about. And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all.

III. 1: iv. 31-37. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius he came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and was teaching them on the sabbath days, [saying] I came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them: I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel: it is not *meet* to take the bread from children, and to give it to dogs. And they were all astonished at his doctrine, *etc.*, *as in the Marcionite Gospel.*

know who thou art; the Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not. And they were all amazed, and spake among themselves, saying, What a word *is* this! for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out. And the fame of him went out into every place of the country round about.

iv. 38-39. And he arose, *etc.*, *as in M. G.*

wife's mother was taken with a great fever, and they besought him for her. And he stood over her, and rebuked the fever, and it left her; and immediately she arose and ministered unto them.

iv. 16-30. And he came to Nazareth, *etc.*, *as in M. G.*

into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and sat down. And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him.

THE MARCIONITE GOSPEL.¹

i. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, he came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and was teaching them on the sabbath days. And they were all astonished at his doctrine; for his word was with power. And in the synagogue there was a man, who had a spirit of a devil, and cried out with a loud voice, saying, Let *us* alone; what have we to do with thee, *thou* Jesus? art thou come to destroy us? I

ii. And he arose out of the synagogue, and entered into Simon's house. And Simon's

iii. And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and as his custom was, he went

¹ The reader should bear in mind that the Marcionite Gospel had neither title nor author's name prefixed (see p. 132), also that the Roman figures at the beginning of paragraphs were not in the original Gospel, but I have inserted them for facility of reference. The division of paragraphs is hypothetical.

And he began to speak unto them. And all bear him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth. And they said, Is not this Joseph's son? And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself : whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum do also here in thy country. And he performed nothing on account of their want of faith. And he said, Verily, I say unto you, No prophet is accepted in his own country. But I tell you of a truth, many widows were in Israel in the days of Elias, when the heavens were shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout the land ; but unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow. And all they in the synagogue when they heard these things were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. But he passing through the midst of them went his way.

iv. 40-44. Now, when the sun was setting, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

iv. Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them

unto him, and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them. And devils also came out of many, crying out, and saying, Thou art Christ the Son of God. And he rebuking *them* suffered them not to speak : for they knew that he was Christ. And when it was day, he departed and went into a desert place ; and the people sought him, and came unto him, and stayed him, that he should not depart from them. And he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also ; for therefore am I sent. And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee.

v. 1-11. Coming to the lake, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

v. Coming to the lake Genesaret, he saw Simon and Andrew repairing their nets ; and

he ascended the ship which was of Simon Peter and Andrew, and prayed them that they would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down, and taught the people out of the ship. Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch you out into the deep, and let ye down your nets for a draught. And they said unto him, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing ; nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net. And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes ; and their net brake. And they beckoned unto *their* partners, which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink. When Simon Peter saw *it*, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me for I am a sinful man, O Lord. For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken ; and so *were* also James, and John, the sons of Zebedee, who were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt be catching men. And when they had brought their ships to land, they forsook all and followed him.

v. 12-16. And it came to pass,
etc., as in *M. G.*

vi. And it came to pass, when he was in a certain city, behold a man full of leprosy ; who seeing Jesus fell on *his* face, and besought him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And he put forth *his* hand, and touched him, saying, I will ; be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him. Many lepers were in Israel in the days of Elisæus the prophet, and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian. And he charged him to tell no man ; but go and show thyself to the priest and offer the gift that Moses commanded, that it may be for a testimony unto you. But so much the more went there a fame abroad of him ; and great multitudes came together to hear, and to be healed by him of their infirmities. And he withdrew himself into the wilderness and passed.

v. 17-26. And it came to pass,
etc., as in *M. G.*

vii. And it came to pass on a certain day, as he was teaching, that there were Pharisees and doctors of the law sitting by, which were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judæa, and Jerusalem ; and the power of the Lord was present to heal them. And behold, men brought in a bed a man which was taken with a palsy ; and they sought *means* to bring him in, and to lay *him* before him. And when they could not find by what *way* they might bring him in because of the multitude, they went upon the housetop, and let him down through the tiling with *his* couch into the midst before Jesus. And when he saw their faith, he said unto him, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee. And the scribes and the Pharisees began to reason, saying, Who is this which speaketh blasphemies ? Who will forgive sins but God alone ? But when Jesus perceived their thought, he answering said unto them, What reason ye in your hearts ? Whether is easier to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee ; or to say, Rise up and walk ? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power upon earth to forgive sins (he said unto the sick of the palsy), I say unto thee arise, and take up thy bed and go into thine house. And immediately he rose up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed to his own house, glorifying God. And they were all amazed, and they glorified God, and were filled with fear, saying, We have seen strange things to-day.

v. 27-32. And after these things, etc., as in *M. G.*

viii. And after these things he went forth, and saw a publican named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom ; and he said unto him, Follow me. And he left all, rose up, and followed him. And Levi made him a great feast in his own house ; and there was a great company of publicans and of others that sat down with him. But their scribes and Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying, Why do ye eat and drink with publicans and sinners ? And Jesus answering said unto them, They that are whole need not a physician ; but they that are sick. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

v. 33-35. And they said unto him, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* ix. And they said unto him, Why do the disciples of John fast often and make prayers, and

likewise *the disciples* of the Pharisees; but thine eat and drink? And he said unto them, Can ye make the children of the bridegroom fast, while the bridegroom is with them? But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast in those days.

v. 36-39. And he spake also a parable, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* x. And he spake also a parable unto them: No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old garment, nor do they put new wine into old wine-skins.

vi. 1-5. And it came to pass, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xi. And it came to pass on the second sabbath after the first, that he went through the corn fields; and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing *them* in *their* hands. And certain of the Pharisees said unto them, Why do ye that which is not lawful to do on the sabbath days? And Jesus answering them said, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungered, how he went into the house of God, and did eat the shew-bread, and gave to them that were with him; which it was not lawful to eat, but for the priests alone?

vi. 6-11. And it came to pass, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xii. And it came to pass on another sabbath, that he entered into a synagogue and taught: and there was a man whose right hand was withered. And the scribes and Pharisees watched him, whither he would heal on the sabbath day; that they might find an accusation against him. But he knew their thoughts, and said to the man which had the withered hand, Rise up and stand forth in the midst. And he rose and stood forth. Then said Jesus unto them, I will ask you one thing; is it lawful on the sabbath days to do good, or to do evil? to save life, or to destroy *it*? And looking round about upon them all, he said unto the man, Stretch forth thy hand. And he did so: and his hand was restored whole as the other. And he said unto them, That the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath. And they were filled with madness; and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus.

vi. 12-19. And it came to pass, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xiii. And it came to pass in those days, that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God. And when it was day, he called *unto him* his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles; Simon (whom he also named Peter), and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas, James the *son* of Alphæus, and Simon called Zelotes, and Judas the *son* of James, and Judas Iscariot, who was a traitor. And he came down with [or amongst] them and stood in the plain,

and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judæa and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases; and they that were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed. And the whole multitude sought to touch him: for there went virtue out of him, and healed them all.

vi. 20-26. And he lifted up his eyes, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that hunger, for they shall be filled. Blessed are they that weep, for they shall laugh. Blessed shall ye be, when men shall hate you, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake: for in like manner did their fathers unto the prophets. But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto the full! for they shall hunger; unto those that laugh now, for they shall mourn. Woe unto you, when men shall speak well of you, for so did their fathers to the false prophets also.

vi. 27-38. But I say unto you who hear, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*, up to the "*unthankful and the evil*," raining on the just and unjust, and making the sun to rise on the evil and on the good. Be ye therefore merciful, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

and as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. And if ye lend to *them* of whom ye hope to receive, what grace have ye? But lend to him who is not able to repay, and ye shall be the children of God; for he is kind towards the unthankful and the evil. Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also hath had mercy upon you. Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not and ye shall not be condemned: forgive and ye shall be forgiven: give and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down and running over, shall *men* give into your bosom. With the same measure that ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

vi. 39-46. And he spake a parable, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

disciple is not above his master: but every one that is perfect shall be as his master. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Either how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye. For a good tree will not bring forth

xiv. And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, Blessed be the poor, for theirs is the

xv. But I say unto you who hear, Love your enemies, bless them who hate you, and pray for them who calumniate you. And unto him that smiteth thee on the cheek offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy coat, yield thy cloak also. Give to every man that asketh of thee;

xvi. And he spake a parable unto them, A blind man leads a blind man into the ditch. The

corrupt fruit: nor a corrupt tree good fruit: and no man will gather figs from thorns, nor from brambles grapes. A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil: for of the abundance of his heart his mouth speaketh. And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?

vii. 1-10. Now, when he had ended, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xvii. Now when he had ended all his sayings in the audience of his people, he entered into

Capernaum. And a certain centurion's servant, who was dear unto him, was sick and ready to die. And when he heard of Jesus, he sent unto him the elders of the Jews, beseeching him that he would come and heal his servant. And when they came to Jesus, they besought him instantly, saying, That he was worthy for whom he should do this: for he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue. Then Jesus went with them. And when he was now not far from the house, the centurion sent friends to him, saying unto him, Lord, trouble not thyself: for I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof: wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee: but say in a word, and my servant shall be healed. For I also am a man set under authority, having under me soldiers, and I say unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth *it*. When Jesus heard these things he marvelled at him, and turned him about, and said unto the people that followed him, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel. And they that were sent, returned to the house, found the servant whole that had been sick.

vii. 11-17. And it came to pass, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xviii. And it came to pass the day after, that he went into a city called Nain; and many of

his disciples went with him, and much people. Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold, there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and much people of the city was with her. And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he came and touched the bier: and they that bare *it* stood still. But the Lord took the hand of the dead man, and said to him, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise. And the dead man sat up, and he ordered *something* to be given to him to eat, and he delivered him to his mother. And there came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying, That a great prophet is risen up among us; and that God hath visited his people. And this rumour of him went forth throughout all Judæa, and throughout all the region round about.

vii. 18-28. And the disciples of John, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xix. And the disciples of John showed him of all these things. And John calling *unto him* two of his disciples sent *them* to Jesus, saying, Art thou he that should

come? or look we for another? When the men were come unto him, they said, John the Baptist hath sent us unto thee, saying, Art thou he that should come? or look we for another? And in that same hour he cured many of *their* infirmities and plagues and of evil spirits; and unto many that were blind he gave sight. Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached. And John was offended. And when the messengers of John were departed, he began to speak unto the people concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts. But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet. This is he, of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy¹ face, which shall prepare thy¹ way. For I say unto you, Among those that are born of women there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist: but he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he.

vii. 36-50. And one of the Pharisees, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

xx. And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house and lay down to meat. And behold a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that *Jesus* sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment, and stood at his feet behind *him* weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment. Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw *it*, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman *this is* that toucheth him: for she is a sinner. And Jesus answering said unto him, Simon, I have something to say unto thee. And he saith, Master, say on. There was a certain creditor which had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty. And when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both. Tell me, therefore, which of them will love him most? Simon answered and said, I suppose that *he*, to whom he forgave most. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged. And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet: but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss: but this woman since the time I came in hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint: but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment. Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins which are many are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is given, *the same* loveth

¹ It is highly probable that 'thy' was a slip of the pen for 'my' in the manuscript of the Marcionite Gospel, but not of the Canonical Gospel.

little. And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven. And they that sat at meat with him began to say within themselves, Who is this that forgiveth sins also? And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.

viii. 1-15. And it came to pass,
etc., as in M. G.

xxi. And it came to pass after-
ward, that he went through every
city and village, preaching and

showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God: and the twelve were with him, and certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, and Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto him of their substance. And when much people were gathered together, and were come to him out of every city, he spake by a parable: A sower went out to sow his seed: and as he sowed, some fell by the way side; and it was trodden down, and the fowls of the air devoured it. And some fell upon a rock; and as soon as it was sprung up, it withered away, because it lacked moisture. And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprang up with it and choked it. And other fell on good ground, and sprang up, and bare fruit an hundredfold. And when he had said these things, he cried, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. And his disciples asked him, saying, What might this parable be? And he said, Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God: but to others in parables: seeing that they might not see, and hearing they might not understand. Now the parable is this: The seed is the word of God. Those by the way side are they that hear; then cometh the devil, and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved. They on the rock *are they* which, when they hear, receive the word with joy; and they have no root, which for a while believe, and in time of temptation fall away. And that which fell among thorns are they which when they have heard, go forth, and are choked with cares and riches and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruit to perfection. But that on the good ground are they which in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep *it*, and bring forth fruit with patience.

viii. 16-18. No man, when he
hath lighted, *etc., as in M. G.*

xxii. No man, when he hath
lighted a candle, covereth it with
a vessel, or putteth *it* under a bed;

but setteth *it* on a candlestick, that they which enter may see the light. For nothing is secret that shall not be made manifest; neither *any thing* hid, that shall not be known and come abroad. Take heed therefore how ye hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given; and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have.

viii. 19-21. And it was told
him, *etc., as in M. G.*

xxiii. Then came to him *some*,
and could not come at him for
the press. And it was told him

by certain which said, Behold thy mother and thy brethren stand

without, desiring to see thee. And he answered and said unto them, Who is my mother and who are my brethren but those who hear my words and do them ?

viii. 22-25. And it came to pass, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xxiv. Now it came to pass on a certain day, that he went into a ship with his disciples ; and he said unto them, Let us go over unto the other side of the lake. And they launched forth. But as they sailed he fell asleep : and there came down a storm of wind on the lake ; and they were filled *with water*, and were in jeopardy. And they came to him and awoke him, saying, Master, master, we perish. Then he arose and rebuked the wind and the sea : and they ceased, and there was a calm. And he said unto them, Where is your faith ? And they being afraid, wondered, saying one to another, What manner of man is this ? for he commandeth even the winds and water, and they obey him.

viii. 26-39. And they arrived, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xxv. And they arrived at the country of the Gadarenes, which is over against Galilee. And when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time, and ware no clothes, neither abode in *any* house, but in the tombs. When he saw Jesus, he cried out, and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, *thou* Son of God most high ? I beseech thee, torment me not. (For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man. For oftentimes it had caught him : and he was kept bound with chains and in fetters ; and he brake the bands, and was driven of the devil into the wilderness.) And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name ? and he said, Legion : because many devils were entered into him. And they besought him that he would not command them to go out into the deep. And there was there a herd of many swine feeding on the mountain : and they besought him that he would suffer them to enter into them. And he suffered them. Then went the devils out of the man, and entered into the swine : and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were choked. When they that fed *them* saw what was done, they fled, and went and told *it* in the city and in the country. Then they went out to see what was done ; and came to Jesus, and found the man, out of whom the devils were departed, sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind : and they were afraid. They also which saw *it* told them by what means he that was possessed of the devils was healed. Then the whole multitude of the country of the Gadarenes round about besought him to depart from them ; for they were taken with great fear : and he went up into the ship, and returned back again. Now the man out of whom the devils were departed besought him that he might be with him : but Jesus sent him away, saying, Return to thine own house, and show how great things God hath done unto thee. And he went his way, and published throughout the whole city how great things Jesus had done unto him.

viii. 40-48. And it came to pass, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xxvi. And it came to pass as he went the people thronged him, and a woman who touched him was cured of an issue of blood. And Jesus said, Who touched me? When all denied, Peter and they that were with him said, Master, the multitude throng thee and press thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me? And Jesus said, Somebody hath touched me: for I felt that virtue went out of me. And when the woman saw that she was not hid, she came trembling, and falling down before him, she declared unto him before all the people for what cause she had touched him, and how she was healed immediately. And he said unto her, Daughter, be of good comfort: thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.

ix. 1-6. Then he called his twelve, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xxvii. Then he called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases. And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick. And he said unto them, Take nothing for *your* journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece. And whatsoever house ye enter into, there abide, and thence depart. And whosoever will not receive you, when ye go out of that city, shake off the very dust from your feet for a testimony against them. And they departed, and went through the townis, preaching the gospel, and healing everywhere.

ix. 7-9. Now Herod the tetrarch, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xxviii. Now Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was done by him; and he was perplexed, because that it was said of some, that John was risen from the dead; and of some, that Elias had appeared; and of others, that one of the old prophets was risen again. And Herod said, John have I beheaded: but who is this, of whom I hear such things? And he desired to see him.

ix. 10-17. And the apostles, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* xxix. And the apostles, when they were returned, told him all that they had done. And he took them, and went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida. And the people, when they knew it, followed him: and he received them, and spake unto them of the kingdom of God, and healed them that had need of healing. And when the day began to wear away, then came the twelve and said unto him, Send the multitude away, that they may go into the towns and country round about, and lodge, and get victuals; for we are here in a desert place. But he said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they said, We have no more but five loaves and two fishes; except we should go and buy meat for all this people. For there were about five thousand men. And he said to his disciples, Make them sit down by fifties in a company. And they did so, and

made them all sit down. Then he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed them, and brake, and gave to the disciples to set before the multitude. And they did eat, and were all filled; and there was taken up of fragments that remained to them twelve baskets.

ix. 18-22. And it came to pass, *etc., as in M. G.* xxx. And it came to pass, as he was alone praying, his disciples were with him; and he asked them, saying, Whom say the people that I am? They answering said, John the Baptist; but some say Elias; and others say, that one of the old prophets is risen again. He said unto them, But whom say ye that I am? Peter answering said, Thou art the Christ. And he straitly charged *them* to tell no man that thing; saying, The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and scribes and priests, and be slain, and be raised the third day.

ix. 23-27. And he said to *them, etc., as in M. G.* xxxi. And he said to them all, If any *man* will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it. For what is a man advantaged, if he gain the whole world, and lose himself or be cast away? For whosoever shall be ashamed of me, of him shall I also be ashamed, when I shall come in my own glory, and *in my* Father's, and of the holy angels. But I tell you of a truth, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God.

ix. 28-36. And it came to pass, *etc., as in M. G.* xxxii. And it came to pass about eight days after these sayings, he took Peter and John and James, and went up into a mountain to pray. And as he prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment *was* white and glistening. And, behold, there talked with him men, Moses and Elias, in glory, and spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem. But Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep: and when they were awake, they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him. And it came to pass, as they departed from him, Peter said unto Jesus, Master, it is good for us to be here: and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias: not knowing what he said. While he thus spoke, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they feared as they entered into the cloud. And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son, hear him. And when the voice was past, Jesus was found alone. And they kept *it* close, and told no man in those days any of those things which they had seen.

ix. 37-45. And it came to pass, *etc., as in M. G.* xxxiii. And it came to pass, that on the next day, when they were come down from the hill, much people met them. And behold a man of the company cried

out, saying, Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son: for he is mine only child. And, lo, a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out; and it teareth him that he foameth again, and bruising him hardly departeth from him. And I besought thy disciples to cast him out: and they could not. And Jesus answering said, O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you, how long shall I suffer you? Bring thy son hither. And as he was yet a coming, the devil threw him down and tare him. And Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit, and healed the child, and delivered him again to his father. And they were all amazed at the mighty power of God. But while they wondered every one at all things which Jesus did, he said unto his disciples, Let these sayings sink down into your ears: for the Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men. But they understood not this saying, and it was hid from them, that they perceived it not: and they feared to ask him of that saying.

ix. 46-48. Then there arose, xxxiv. Then there arose a
etc., as in *M. G.* reasoning among them, which
of them should be the greatest.

And Jesus, perceiving the thought of their heart, took a child, and set him by him. And said unto them, Whosoever shall receive this child in my name receiveth me; and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me; for he that is least among you all, the same shall be great.

ix. 51-56. And it came to pass, xxxv. And it came to pass,
etc., as in *M. G.* when the time was come that he
should be received up, he stead-

fastly set his face to go to Jerusalem. And sent messengers before his face: and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. And they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem. And when his disciples James and John saw *this*; they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did? But he turned, and rebuked them. And they went to another village.

ix. 57-62. And it came to pass, xxxvi. And it came to pass,
etc., as in *M. G.* that, as they went in the way,
a certain *man* said unto him,

Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. And Jesus said unto him, Foxes have holes, and birds of the air *have* nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay *his* head. And he said unto another, Follow me. But he said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father. Jesus said unto him, Let the dead bury their dead; but go thou and preach the kingdom of God. And another also said, Lord, I will follow thee; but let me first go bid them farewell, which are at home at my house. And Jesus said unto him, No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the work.

x. 1-20. After these things the Lord, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

xxxvii. After these things the Lord appointed seventy other apostles also besides the twelve,

and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself would come. Therefore said he unto them, The harvest truly *is* great, but the labourers *are* few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest. Go your ways; behold I send you forth as lambs among wolves. Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor staff, nor shoes, and salute no man by the way. And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace *be* to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it; if not, it shall return to you again. And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give; for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house. And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you; and heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go your ways out into the streets of the same, and say, Even the very dust of your city which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you; notwithstanding be sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city. Woe unto you, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgment, than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted to heaven, shalt be thrust down to hell. He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me. And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name. And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning falling from heaven. Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you. Notwithstanding in this rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.

x. 21-24. In that hour Jesus, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

xxxviii. In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I give thanks and confess, Lord

of heaven, that these things which were hidden from the wise and prudent, thou hast revealed unto babes: even so, Father; for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered to me of the Father: and no man knoweth who the Father is but the Son, and who the Son is but the Father, and *he* to whom the Son may have revealed *him*. And he turned him unto *his* disciples, and said privately, Blessed *are* the eyes which see the things that ye see:

for I tell you that the prophets have not seen the things which ye see.

x. 25-28. And behold a certain lawyer, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*, with the addition of 'eternal' before 'life.'

unto the lawyer, What is written in the law? how readest thou? And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength. And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.

xi. 1-13. And it came to pass, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples. And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Father! Give me the Holy Spirit. Thy kingdom come. Give me my daily bread. Forgive me my sins. Lead us not into temptation. And he said, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves; for a friend of mine in his journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him. And he from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee. I say unto you, Though he will not rise and give him, because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him as many as he needeth. And I say unto you, Ask that thou mayst receive, seek that thou mayst find, knock that it may be opened unto thee. For every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and he that knocketh shall be admitted. For a son asking any father amongst you for a fish, will he give him a serpent for a fish, and for an egg a scorpion? If ye then being evil, know to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?

xi. 14-26. And he was casting out, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

gone out, the dumb spake; and the people wondered. But some of them said, He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the chief of the devils. And others, tempting *him*, sought of him a sign from heaven. But he, knowing their thoughts, said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and a house *divided* against a house falleth. If Satan also be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand? because ye say that I cast out devils through Beelzebub. And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast *them* out? therefore shall they be your judges. But if I by the finger of God cast out devils, has not therefore the kingdom of God come near to you? When a strong man armed

xxxix. And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying, Master, what doing shall I pursue life? He said

xl. And it came to pass that, as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his

xli. And he was casting out a devil, and it was dumb. And it came to pass, when the devil was

keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace : but when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils. He that is not with me is against me : and he that gathereth not with me scattereth. When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest ; and finding none, he saith, I will return unto my house whence I came out. And when he cometh, he findeth *it* swept and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh *to him* seven other spirits more wicked than himself ; and they enter in, and dwell there : and the last *state* of that man is worse than the first.

xi. 27, 28. And it came to pass,
etc., as in M. G.

xlii. And it came to pass, as he
spake these things, a certain
woman of the company lifted up

her voice, and said unto him, Blessed *is* the womb that bare thee, and the breasts which thou has sucked. But he said, Yea rather, blessed *are* they that hear the word of God, and keep it.

xi. 29-36. And when the
people, *etc., as in M. G.*

xliii. And when the people
were gathered thick together, he
began to say, This is an evil

generation : they seek a sign ; and there shall no sign be given it. No man, when he hath lighted a candle, putteth *it* in a secret place, neither under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that they which come in may see the light. The light of the body is the eye : therefore when thine eye is single, thy whole body is full of light ; but when *thine eye* is evil, thy body also *is* full of darkness. Take heed therefore that the light which is in thee be not darkness. If thy whole body therefore *be* full of light, having no part dark, the whole shall be full of light, as when the bright shining of a candle doth give thee light.

xi. 37-54. And as he spake,
etc., as in M. G.

xliv. And as he spake, a certain
Pharisee besought him to dine
with him : and he went in, and

lay down to meat. And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not first washed before dinner. And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter ; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness. Ye fools, did not he that made that which is without make that which is within also ? But rather give alms of such things as ye have, and all things shall be clean unto you. But woe unto you, Pharisees ! for ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs, and pass over the calling and love of God : that ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Woe unto you, Pharisees ! for ye love the uppermost seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets. Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ! for ye are as graves which appear not, and the men that walk over *them* are not aware *of them*. Then answered one of the lawyers, and said unto him, Master, thus saying thou reproachest us also. And he said, Woe

unto you also, ye lawyers ! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers. Woe unto you ! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and your fathers killed them. Truly ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers : for they indeed killed them, and ye build their sepulchres. Woe unto you lawyers ! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge : ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered. And as he said these things unto them, the scribes and the Pharisees began to urge *him* vehemently, and to provoke him to speak of many things : laying wait for him, and seeking to catch something out of his mouth, that they might accuse him.

xii. 1-12. In the meantime,
etc., as in M. G.

xlv. In the meantime, when
there were gathered together an
innumerable multitude of people,

in so much that they trode one upon another, he began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy. For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed ; neither hid, that shall not be known. Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light ; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be proclaimed on the housetops. And I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more power over you. But I will show you whom ye shall fear : Fear him, who after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell ; yea, I say unto you, Fear him. Also I say unto you, whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I also confess before God. But every one that denieth me before men shall be denied before God. And whosoever shall speak against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him. And when they bring you unto the magistrates, take ye no thought how or what thing ye shall answer, or what ye shall say ; for the Holy Ghost shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.

xii. 13-21. And one of the
company, *etc., as in M. G.*

xlvi. And one of the company
said unto him, Master, speak to
my brother, that he divide the

inheritance with me. And he said unto him, Man, who made me a judge over you ? And he said unto them, Take heed, and beware of covetousness ; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. And he spake a parable unto them, saying, The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully ; and he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do, because I have no room where to bestow my fruits ? And he said, This will I do ; I will pull down my barns, and build greater ; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years ; take thine ease, eat, drink, *and* be merry. But God said unto him, *Thou* fool, this night they shall demand thy soul of thee ; then whose shall those things be, which thou hast provided ? So *is* he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God.

xii. 22-31. And he said unto his disciples, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

life, what ye shall eat ; neither for the body, what ye shall put on. The life is more than meat, and the body *is more* than raiment. Consider the ravens ; for they neither sow nor reap ; which neither have storehouse nor barn ; and God feedeth them ; how much more are ye better than the fowls ? And which of you with taking thought can add to his stature one cubit ? If ye then be not able to do that which is least, why take ye thought for the rest ? Consider the lilies and grass how they grow ; they *weave* not, they spin not ; and yet they are clothed. I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not more adorned than any little flower. How much more *will he clothe* you, O ye of little faith. And seek not what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind. For all these things do the nations of the world seek after ; and your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. But rather seek ye the kingdom of God ; and all these things shall be added unto you.

xii. 32-40. Fear not, little flock, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

that ye have, and give alms ; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also. Let your loins be girded about, and *your* lights burning ; and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding ; that when he cometh and knocketh, they may open unto him immediately. Blessed *are* those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching ; verily, I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them to lie down to meat, and will come forth and serve them. And if he shall come in the evening watch, and find *them* so, blessed are they. And this know, that if the goodman of the house had known what hour the thief would come, he would have watched, and not have suffered his house to be broken through. Be ye therefore ready also ; for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not.

xii. 41-53. Then Peter said unto him, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* : but instead of 'division' read 'sword.'

xlvi. And he said unto his disciples, Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your

xlvi. Fear not, little flock ; for it is the Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom. Sell

xlix. Then Peter said unto him, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or even to all ? And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward,

whom *his* lord shall make ruler over his household, to give *them their* portion of meat in due season ? Blessed *is* that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Of a truth I say unto you, that he will make him ruler over all that he hath. But and if that servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming ; and shall begin to beat the men-servants and maidens, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken ; the lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for *him*, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will

cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers. And that servant which knew his lord's will, and prepared not *himself*, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many *stripes*. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few *stripes*. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required : to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more. I am come to send fire on the earth ; and what will I, if it be already kindled ? And I have a baptism to be baptised with ; and I am hastening rapidly towards it. Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth ? I tell you, Nay ; but rather division : for from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father ; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother ; the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.

xii. 54-59. And he said also,
etc., as in M. G.

1. And he said also to the people, When ye see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway ye

say, There cometh a shower ; and so it is. And when *ye see* the south wind blow, ye say, There will be heat ; and it cometh to pass.

Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth ; but how is it that ye do not discern this time ? Yea, and why even of yourselves judge not what is right. When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate, *as thou art* in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him ; lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison. I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the very last mite.

xiii. 10-17. And he was teaching,
etc., as in M. G.

li. And he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath.

And behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up *herself*. And when Jesus saw her, he called *her to him*, and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thy infirmity. And he laid *his* hands on her : and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God. And the ruler of the synagogue answered with indignation because that Jesus had healed on the sabbath day, and said unto the people, There are six days in which men ought to work : in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the sabbath day. The Lord answered him, and said, *Thou* hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the sabbath loose his ox or *his* ass from the stall, and lead *him* away to watering ? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day ? And when he had said these things, all his adversaries were ashamed : and all the people rejoiced for all the glorious things that were done by him.

xiii. 18-21. Then said he, *etc.*,
as in *M. G.*

lii. Then said he, Unto what
is the kingdom of God like?
and whereunto shall I resemble

it? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which a man took, and cast into his garden; and it grew, and waxed a great tree; and the fowls of the air lodged in the branches of it. And again he said, Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God? It is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.

xiii. 22-28. And he went
through, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

liii. And he went through the
cities and villages, teaching and
journeying toward Jerusalem.

Then said one unto him, Lord, are there few that be saved? And he said unto them, Strive to enter in at the strait gate: for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able. When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and say unto you, I know you not, whence ye are. Then shall ye begin to say, We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets. But he shall say unto you, I know not whence ye are; depart from me all ye workers of iniquity, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; when ye shall see all the just in the kingdom of God, but yourselves thrust out and vanquished outside, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

xiv. 12-24. Then said he, *etc.*,
as in *M. G.*

liv. Then said he, When thou
makest a dinner or supper, call
not thy friends, nor thy brethren,

neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just. And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things, he said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God. Then said he unto him, A certain man made a supper and bade many: and sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden, Come; for all things are now ready. And they all with one consent began to make excuse. The first said unto him, I have bought a piece of ground, and I must needs go and see it: I pray thee have me excused. And another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them: I pray thee have me excused. And another said, I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come. So that servant came, and showed his lord these things. Then the master of the house being angry said to his servant, Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt and the blind. And the servant said, Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room. And the Lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel

them to come in, that my house may be filled. For I say unto you, that none of these men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.

xv. 1-10. Then drew near unto him, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lv. Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him. And the Pharisees and

scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them. And he spake this parable unto them, saying, What man of you, having a hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it? And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing. And when he cometh home, he calleth together *his* friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance. Either what woman having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it. And when she hath found it, she calleth *her* friends and *her* neighbours together, saying, Rejoice with me; for I have found the piece which I had lost. Likewise, I say unto you, great is the joy with the Father on one sinner being saved.

xvi. 1-17. And he said, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lvi. And he said also unto his disciples, There was a certain rich man, who had a steward; and

the same was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods. And he called him and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? give an account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest no longer be steward. Then the steward said within himself, what shall I do? for my lord taketh away from me the stewardship: I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed. I am resolved what to do, that, when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. So he called every one of his lord's debtors *unto him*, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord? And he said, A hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty. Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, A hundred measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and write fourscore. And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely: for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light. And I say unto you, Make [not] to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness.¹ He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much. If therefore ye have not been faithful in the

¹ It is plain that the scribe omitted 'not' after 'make' in the Marcionite Gospel. The omission was, however, repeated in the Canonical Gospel, and has been maintained to the present day, with an additional clause which corroborates the perverted meaning, viz., "that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." This addition did not exist in the original Canonical Gospel.

unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true *riches*? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is mine? No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon. And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard these things; and they derided them. And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify themselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God. The law and the prophets *were* until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than one tittle of the Lord's words.

xvi. 18. Whosoever putteth away, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lvii. Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marieth her that is put away from *her* husband committeth adultery.

xvi. 19-31. There was a certain, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lviii. There was a certain rich man, who was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day: and there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, who was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: the rich man also died, and was buried; and in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy life time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted in this manner, and thou art tormented. And beside all this, between us and you is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that *would come* from thence. Then he said, I pray thee, therefore, father, that thou wouldst send him to my father's house: for I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them: and he said, Nay, father Abraham, but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

xvii. 1-4. Then said he, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lix. Then said he unto the disciples, "Woe unto the author of offences! It were better for him if he had not been born, or if a millstone were hanged about his neck and he had been cast into the sea, than that he should have offended one of these little ones." Take heed to yourselves: If thy

brother trespass against thee, rebuke him ; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day again turn to thee, saying, I repent ; thou shalt forgive him.

xvii. 11-19. And it came to pass, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lx. And it came to pass, as he went to Jerusalem, that he passed through the regions of Samaria, there met him ten men that were lepers. And he sent them, saying, Go shew yourselves unto the priests. And it came to pass, that as they went they were cleansed. Many lepers were in Israel in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none of them was healed, except Naaman the Syrian. And one of them when he saw that he was healed, turned back, and with a loud voice glorified God. And fell down on *his* face at his feet, giving him thanks : and he was a Samaritan. And Jesus answering said, Were there not ten cleansed? but where *are* the nine? There are not found that returned to give glory to God, save this stranger. And he said unto him, Arise, go thy way : thy faith hath made thee whole.

xvii. 20-32. And when he was demanded, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lxi. And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation : neither do they say, Lo here ! or, lo there ! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you. And he said unto the disciples, The days will come, when ye shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and ye shall not see *it*. And they shall say to you, See here ; or, see there : go not after *them*, nor follow *them*. For as the lightning, that lighteneth out of the one *part* under heaven, shineth unto the other *part* under heaven ; so shall also the Son of man be in his day. But first must he suffer many things, and be rejected of this generation. And as it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man. They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered in the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all. Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot ; they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded ; but the same day that Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed *them all*. Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed. In that day, he which shall be on the house top, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away : and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back. Remember Lot's wife.

xviii. 1-8. And he spake a parable, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lxii. And he spake a parable unto them, *to this end*, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint ; saying, There was in a city, a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man : and there was a widow in that city ; and she came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a while : but afterward he said within himself, Though

I fear not God, nor regard man ; yet because this woman troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me. And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith. And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them ? I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth ?

xviii. 9-14. And he spake this parable, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* lxiii. And he spake this parable unto certain which

trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others : two men went up into the temple to pray ; the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican. The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men *are*, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess. And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as *his* eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner. I tell you, this man went down to his house justified *rather* than the other : for everyone that exalteth himself shall be abased ; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

xviii. 18-30. And a certain man, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* lxiv. And a certain man asked him, saying, Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal

life ? And Jesus said unto him, Do not call me good. Who is good, except one, that is God ? Knowest thou the commandments, Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Honour thy father and thy mother ? And he said, All these have I kept from my youth up. Now when Jesus heard these things, he said unto him, Yet lackest thou one thing : sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven : and come, follow me. And when he heard this he was very sorrowful : for he was very rich. And when Jesus saw that he was very sorrowful, he said, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God ! For it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. And they that heard *it* said, Who then can be saved ? And he said, The things which are impossible with men are possible with God. Then Peter said, Lo, we have left all, and followed thee. And he said unto them, Verily, I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.

xviii. 35-43. And it came to pass, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* lxv. And it came to pass as he was come nigh unto Jericho, a

certain blind man sat by the wayside begging : and hearing the multitude pass by, he asked what it meant. And they told him that Jesus the Nazarite passeth by. And he cried, saying, Jesus, *thou* son of David, have mercy upon

me. And they which went before rebuked him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried so much the more, *Thou* son of David, have mercy on me. And Jesus stood, patient, and commanded him to be brought unto him. And when he was come near, he asked him, saying, What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight. And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight; thy faith hath saved thee. And immediately he received his sight and followed him, glorifying God: and all the people, when they saw *it*, gave praise unto God.

xix. 1-10. And Jesus entered,
etc., as in M. G.

lxvi. And *Jesus* entered and
passed through Jericho. And
behold *there was* a man named

Zacchæus, which was the chief among the publicans, and he was rich. And he sought to see Jesus, who he was; and could not for the press, because he was little of stature. And he ran before, and climbed up into a sycomore tree to see him: for he was to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and saw him, and said unto him, Zacchæus, make haste and come down, for to-day I must abide at thy house. And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully. And when they saw *it*, they all murmured, saying, That he was gone to be guest with a man that is a sinner. And Zacchæus stood, and said unto the Lord; Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken anything from any man by false accusation, I restore *him* fourfold. And Jesus said unto him, This day there is salvation to this house. For the Son of man has come to save that which was lost.

xix. 11-27. And as they heard,
etc., as in M. G.

lxvii. And as they heard these
things, he added and spake a
parable, because he was nigh to

Jerusalem, and because they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear. He said, Therefore, a certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return. And he called his ten servants, and delivered them ten pounds, and said unto them, occupy till I come. But his citizens hated him, and sent a message after him, saying, We will not have this *man* to reign over us. And it came to pass, that when he was returned, having received the kingdom, then he commanded these servants to be called unto him, to whom he had given the money, that he might know how much every man had gained by trading. Then came the first, saying, Lord thy pound hath gained ten pounds. And he said unto him, Well, thou good servant! because thou hast been faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities. And the second came, saying, Lord, thy pound had gained five pounds. And he said likewise to him, Be thou also over five cities. And another came saying, Lord, behold, *here* is thy pound, which I have kept laid up in a napkin, for I feared thee, because thou art an austere man; thou takest up that thou layedst not down and reapest that thou didst not sow. And he saith unto him, Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, *thou* wicked servant. Thou

knewest that I was an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I did not sow : Wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own ? And he said unto them that stood by, Take from him the pound, and give *it* to him that hath ten pounds. (And they said unto him, Lord, he hath ten pounds.) For I say unto you, That unto every one which hath shall be given ; and from him that hath not, even that he hath shall be taken away from him. But these mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay *them* before me.

xix. 28, 47, 48. And when he had thus spoken, *etc., as in M. G.* lxviii. And when he had thus spoken he went before, ascending up to Jerusalem. And he taught daily in the temple. But the chief priests and the scribes and the chief of the people sought to destroy him. And could not find what they might do : for all the people were very attentive to hear him.

xx. 1-8. And it came to pass, *etc., as in M. G.* lxix. And it came to pass, *that* on one of those days, as he taught in the temple, they sought to lay hands upon him, and they feared the people. And they spake to him, saying, Tell us, by what authority doest thou these things ? or who is he that gave thee this authority ? And he answered and said unto them, I will also ask you one thing, and answer me : the baptism of John, was it from heaven or of men ? And they reasoned with themselves saying, If we shall say, From heaven ; he will say, Why then believed ye him not ? But and if we say, Of men ; all the people will stone us : for they be persuaded that John was a prophet. And they answered, that they could not tell whence *it was*. And Jesus said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

xx. 20-26. And they watched him, *etc., as in M. G.* lxx. And they watched *him*, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor. And they asked him, saying, Master, we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly, neither acceptest thou the person *of any*, but teachest the way of God truly : Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Cæsar, or no ? But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, Why tempt ye me ? Shew me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it ? They answered and said, Cæsar's. And he said unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's. And they could not take hold of his words before the people : and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace.

xx. 27-40. Then came to *him*, *etc., as in M. G.* lxxi. Then came to *him* certain of the Sadducees, which deny that there is any resurrection ; and they asked him, saying, Moses wrote unto us, If any

man's brother die, having a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife and raise up seed unto his brother. There were therefore seven brethren : and the first took a wife, and died without children. And the second took her to wife, and he died childless. And the third took her ; and in like manner the seven also : and they left no children, and died. Last of all the woman died also. Therefore in the resurrection whose wife of them is she ? for seven had her to wife. And Jesus answering said unto them, The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage : but they whom God has accounted worthy of the possession of that world, and of the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage : neither will they die any more : for they are equal unto the angels ; having been made the children of God, and of the resurrection. Then certain of the scribes answering said, Master, thou hast well said. And after that they durst not ask him any *question at all*.

xx. 41-44. And he said, *etc.*, as
in *M. G.*

lxxii. And he said unto them,
How say they that Christ is
David's son ? And David him-

self saith in the book of Psalms, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. David therefore calleth him Lord, how is he then his son ?

xxi. 5-28. And as some spake,
etc., as in *M. G.*

lxxiii. And as some spake of
the temple, how it was adorned
with goodly stones and gifts, he

said, *As for* these things which ye behold, the days will come, in the which there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And they asked him, saying, Master, but when shall these things be ? what sign *will there be* when these things shall come to pass ? And he said, Take heed that ye be not deceived : for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ ; and the time draweth near : go ye not therefore after them. But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified : for all these things must needs come to pass ; but the end *is* not by and by. Then said he unto them, Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom : and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines and pestilences ; and fearful sights and great signs shall there be from heaven. But before all these, they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute *you*, delivering *you* up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. Settle *it* therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before what ye shall answer : For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist. And ye shall be betrayed both by parents and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends ; and *some* of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all *men* for my name's sake. But by endurance ye shall save yourselves. And when ye shall see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days ! for there shall be great

distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth: for the powers of heaven shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of man coming from the heavens with very great power. But when these things shall come to pass, ye shall rise and lift up *your* heads; for your redemption hath come nigh. And there shall not a hair of your head perish. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and sheweth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.

xxi. 29-36. And he spake to them, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lxxiv. And he spake to them a parable; Behold the fig tree and all the trees; when they

now shoot forth, ye shall see and know of your own selves that summer is now nigh at hand. So likewise ye, when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. Verily I say unto you, Heaven and earth shall not pass away till all be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away. And take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and *so* that day come upon you unawares, like a snare. Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.

xxi. 37, 38. And in the day time, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lxxv. And in the day time he was teaching in the temple; and at night he went out, and abode

in the mount that is called *the mount* of Olives. And all the people came early in the morning in the temple, for to hear him.

xxii. 1-6. Now the feast, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lxxvi. Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the Passover. And the

chief priests and scribes sought how they might kill him; for they feared the people. Then entered Satan into Judas surnamed Iscariot, being of the number of the twelve. And he went his way and communed with the captains, how he might betray him unto them. And they were glad, and covenanted to give him money. And he promised, and sought opportunity to betray him unto them in the absence of the multitude.

xxii. 7-20. Then came the day, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

lxxvii. Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover must be killed. And

he said to Peter and the rest, Go and prepare that we may eat the

passover. And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare? And he said unto them, Behold, when ye are entered into the city, there shall a man meet you, bearing a pitcher of water; follow him into the house where he entereth in. And ye shall say unto the goodman of the house, The Master saith unto thee, Where is the guestchamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples? And he shall show you a large upper room furnished: there make ready. And they went, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover. And when the hour was come, he lay down, and the twelve apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer. And he took bread, and gave thanks, and break *it*, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup *is* the new testament in my blood.

xxii. 21-23. But, behold, the hand, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

Son of man goeth, as it was determined: but woe unto *him* by whom he is betrayed. And they began to enquire among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.

xxii. 31-34. And the Lord said, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

sift you: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren. And he said unto him, Lord, I am ready to go with thee, both into prison, and to death. And he said, I tell thee, Peter, this day thou shalt deny that thou knowest me.

xxii. 47-53. And while he yet spake, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

twelve, went before them, and drew near to kiss him. And he said, Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss? Then Jesus said unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and the elders, which were come to him, Be ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and staves? When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched forth no hands against me: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.

xxii. 54-62. Then took they him, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

followed afar off. And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, and were set down together, Peter sat down among them. But a certain maid beheld him as he sat by the fire, and earnestly looked upon him, and said, This man was also with him. And he denied him, saying, Woman, I know him not. And after a little while another saw him, and said, Thou art also of them. And Peter said, Man, I am not. And about the space of one hour after, another

lxviii. But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me *is* with me on the table, and truly the

lxix. And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired *to have* you, that he may

lxxx. And while he yet spake, behold a multitude, and he that was called Judas, one of the

lxxxi. Then took they him, and led *him*, and brought him to the high priest's house. And Peter

confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth, this *fellow* also was with him : for he is a Galilean. And Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest. And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he said unto him, Thou shalt deny me. And Peter went out and wept bitterly.

xxii. 63-71. And those who held Jesus, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* lxxxii. And those who held Jesus mocked *him*, and beat *him* and smote *him*, saying, Prophecy who is it that smote thee. And many other things blasphemously spake they against him.

And as soon as it was day, the elders of the people and the chief priests and scribes came together, and led him into their council, saying, Art thou the Christ? tell us. And he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe : and if I also ask *you*, ye will not answer me, nor let *me* go. Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God. Then said they all, Art thou the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am. And they said, What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth.

xxiii. 1-7. And the whole multitude, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* lxxxiii. And the whole multitude of them arose, and led him unto Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this *fellow* perverting the nation, and destroying the law and the prophets, forbidding to give tribute, and turning aside women and children, saying that he was a king. And Pilate asked him saying, Art thou Christ? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest *it*. Then said Pilate to the chief priests and to the people, I find no fault in this man. And they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place. When Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man was a Galilean. And as soon as he knew that he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time.

xxiii. 8-12. And when Herod, lxxxiv. And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad : for he was desirous to see him of a long *season*, because he had heard many things of him ; and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him. Then he questioned with him in many words ; but he answered him nothing. And the chief priests and scribes stood and vehemently accused him. And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked *him*, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to Pilate. And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together : for before they were at enmity between themselves.

xxiii. 13-26. And Pilate, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* lxxxv. And Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, said unto them, Ye have brought this man to me, as one that

perverteth the people ; and, behold, I, having examined *him* before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him : no, nor yet Herod : for I sent you to him ; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him. (For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast.) And they cried out all at once, saying, Away with this *man*, and release unto us Barabbas : (who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison). Pilate, therefore, willing to release Jesus, spake again to them. But they cried, saying, Crucify *him*, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him : I will therefore chastise him, and let *him* go. And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified. And the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed. And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required. And he released unto them him that for sedition and murder was cast into prison, whom they had desired ; and he delivered Jesus to their will. And as they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the country, and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear *it* after Jesus.

xxiii. 32-38. And there were also, *etc.*, as in *M. G.* ; after "*what they do*" read : And they parted his raiment and cast lots, and the people, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left. Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them ; for they know not what they do. And the people stood beholding. And the rulers also with them derided *him*, saying, He saved others ; let him save himself, if he be the Christ, the chosen of God. And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar, and saying, If thou be the King of the Jews, save thyself. And a superscription was written over him, in letters of Greek and Latin and Hebrew, This is the King of the Jews.

xxiii. 44-46. And it was about the sixth hour, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

ninth hour. And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst. And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit ; and having said this, he gave up the ghost.

xxiii. 50-56. And, behold, *there was*, *etc.*, as in *M. G.*

man, and a just ; (the same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them ;) *he was* of Arimathea, a city of the Jews ; who also himself waited for the kingdom of God. This man went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down, and wrapped

lxxxvi. And there were also two other malefactors, led with him to be put to death. And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and

lxxxvii. And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the

lxxxviii. And, behold, *there was* a man named Joseph, a counsellor ; and *he was* a good

it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid. And that day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on. And the women, also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre and how his body was laid. And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments, and rested the sabbath day according to the commandment.

xxiv. 1-12. Now upon the first,
etc., as in M. G.

lxxxix. Now upon the first *day* of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain *others* with them. And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre. And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. And it came to pass, as they were much perplexed thereabout, two angels stood by them in shining garments: and as they were afraid, and bowed down *their* faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He has risen, he is not here; remember what he spake unto you in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be delivered up, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again. And they remembered his words, and returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest. It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary *the mother* of James, and other *women that were* with them, which told these things unto the apostles. And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not. Then arose Peter and ran unto the sepulchre; and stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.

xxiv. 13-35. And, behold, two,
etc., as in M. G.

xc. And, behold, two of them were that same day taking a walk, and talked together of all these things which had happened, it came to pass, that, while they communed *together* and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were holden that they should not know him. And he said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad? And the one of them, whose name was Cleopas, answering said unto him, Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days? And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus the Nazarite, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people; and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have crucified him. But we thought that he himself was the redeemer of Israel: and beside all this, to-day is the third day since these things were done. Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre; and when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. And certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found *it* even so as the

women had said; but him they saw not. Then he said unto them, O fools and slow of heart, in not believing all that which he spake unto you. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And they drew nigh unto the village whither they went; and he made as though he would have gone further. But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us; for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them. And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them, their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he became invisible unto them. And they said to one another, Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way? And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with him, saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. And they told what things were done on the way, and how he was known of them in breaking of bread.

xxiv. 36-43. And as they spake, etc., as in *M. G.*

1. 1-4. Forasmuch¹ as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, it seemed good to me also, who have followed closely from the beginning those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, to write to thee, good Theophilus, regarding the truth of the words which you were taught.

xc1. And as they spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit. And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? Behold my hands and feet, that I am myself; for a spirit hath not bones, as ye see me have. And when he had thus spoken, he showed them his hands and his feet, and said, Know that I am.

And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here any meat? And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish. And he took it, and did eat before them.

TABLE of interpolations, changes, and omissions made in the Original Canonical Gospel of Luke after its publication in the second half of the second century.

Luke i. 1-4. Removed from the end of the Gospel, in which position it was a colophon and not an integral part of the Gospel, to the beginning, in which position it became a part of the Gospel.

5. "In the days of Herod, the King of Judæa," interpolated.

9. "To burn incense" instead of "to place incense"; "and he came that he might sacrifice" omitted.

¹ I should remark in a footnote, that as Tertullian is absolutely silent regarding this colophon, I do not feel sure that it existed in the original or first edition of the Gospel of Luke. It certainly existed in the second edition, as it is quoted partially by Irenæus.

15. "And shall drink neither wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb," interpolated.

17. "To turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just," interpolated.

24. "and hid herself five months" interpolated.

26. "And in the sixth month" interpolated and substituted for "But at that very time"; "unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth," interpolated.

28, 29. Interpolated.

30. "And the angel said unto her" interpolated and substituted for "who said to the virgin also."

36. "and this is the sixth month with her" interpolated.

41. "with joy" after leaped, omitted.

42. "womb" substituted for "belly."

43. "blessed art thou among women" omitted.

44, 45. Interpolated.

48-53. Interpolated.

67. "The Holy Ghost" substituted for Paraclete, and "prophesied saying" for "prophesying said."

76. "Then said he to John," and "to turn the hearts," etc., as in verse 17, omitted.

78 and 79. Interpolated.

II. 4. "Out of the city of Nazareth" interpolated. "Into Judæa, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem," substituted and interpolated for "unto a city of Judæa which is called Bethlehem." "Because he was of the house and lineage of David" interpolated.

5. "Because they were of the house and family of David," omitted.

7. "First-born" interpolated before "son": "the first-born of the whole creation" omitted.

9. "Lo" interpolated; "came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them, and they were sore afraid," interpolated and substituted for "appeared to the shepherds."

10. "And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people," interpolated and substituted for "announcing joy to them."

11. "For unto you is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord," interpolated and substituted for "because there was born in the house of David, a Saviour who is Christ the Lord."

12. Interpolated.

13. "And suddenly there was with the angel" interpolated and substituted for "then."

14. "Good will toward men" substituted for "to men of good will."

15-19. Interpolated.

20. "and praising" interpolated.

The episodes of the visit of Magi, the conduct of Herod, the flight and sojourn in Egypt, omitted.

- 21. "eight days" interpolated : plural verb used instead of singular.
- 22. "on the fortieth day" omitted.
- 48. "thy father and I" changed, instead of "I and thy father."

III. 1. Interpolated.

- 2. "Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests," and "in the wilderness," interpolated. "God" substituted for "the Lord."
- 4. "As it is written in the book of the words of Esaias the prophet, saying," interpolated and substituted for "For this is he that was spoken of by the Lord through the prophets"; "his paths straight" substituted for "straight the paths of our God."
- 8. "these" before stones, interpolated.
- 10, 11. Interpolated.
- 21. "being baptized" interpolated and substituted for "was coming to the baptism, *being* of about thirty years."
- 22. "in thee I am well pleased" substituted for "this day I have begotten thee."
- 23. "himself began to be about thirty years of age, being," interpolated and substituted for "was."
- 24. "*the son* of Matthat, *the son* of Levi," interpolated.
- 24-38. Another generation interpolated, but cannot be identified.

IV. 6. "all this power will I give thee, and the glory of them : for that is delivered unto me ; and to whomsoever I will I give it," interpolated and substituted for "all these things will I give unto thee, since they have been delivered unto me, and I give them to whom I will, if falling down thou wilt worship me."

16-30. Transposed after verse 15 from after verse 39.

31. "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius" omitted.

Between 31 and 32, the following omitted, "[saying,] I am not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them : I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel : it is not meet to take the children's bread and to give it to dogs."

32. "all" omitted.

33. "unclean" interpolated.

34. "of Nazareth" interpolated.

16. "and stood up for to read" interpolated.

17-19. Interpolated.

20. "And he closed the book, and he gave *it* again to the minister," interpolated.

21. "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears" interpolated.

23. "and he performed nothing, on account of their want of faith," omitted.

27. Interpolated.

V. 1, 2, and 3, to the words "which was Simon's" interpolated and substituted for "Coming to the lake Gennesaret, he saw Simon and Andrew repairing their nets : and he ascended the ship which was of Simon Peter and Andrew."

4. "ye" omitted. The passage was, "let ye down." The first imperative was singular, the second plural.

Between 13 and 14, the following omitted: "Many lepers were in Israel in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian": transposed to iv. 27.

14. "That it may be" omitted; "according" substituted for "the gift which"; "unto them" substituted for "unto you."

21. "can" substituted for "will."

24. "couch" substituted for "bed."

34. "bride-chamber" substituted for "bride-groom."

36. "garment" omitted after "old": "if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was *taken* out of the new agreeth not with the old," interpolated.

37. "And no man putteth" substituted for "nor do they put." "Else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish," interpolated.

38 and 39. Interpolated.

VI. 3. "so much as this," and "and they which were with him," interpolated.

4. "take" interpolated.

5. Interpolated, and transposed from between 10 and 11.

Between 10 and 11. "And he said unto them, That the Son of man is Lord also of the Sabbath," omitted.

16. "also" interpolated. The correct translation of the final clause is "who was a traitor" and not "the traitor."

17. "with them" or "amongst them" doubtful: it was one or the other.

20. "God" substituted for "heaven." "Ye" and "yours" substituted for "the" and "theirs."

21. "Ye that hunger" and "ye shall" substituted for "they" in both cases; "now" interpolated. "Ye that" weep, and "ye shall" laugh, substituted for "they"; "now" again interpolated.

22. "Blessed are ye" substituted for "blessed shall ye be"; "shall separate you" interpolated.

23. Interpolated, except final clause.

25. "Ye" substituted for "they." "Unto you" substituted for "unto these"; "and weep" interpolated.

26. "all" interpolated. "Also" omitted.

27. "Do good to" substituted for "bless."

28. "Bless them that curse you" interpolated; "despitefully use" substituted for "calumniate."

29. "cloak" for "coat"; and "coat" for "cloak."

30. Second clause interpolated.

32 and 33. Interpolated.

34. "For sinners also lend to sinners to receive as much again," interpolated.

35. "But love ye your enemies, and do good, hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great," interpolated and substituted for "But lend to him who is not able to repay": "the Highest" substituted for "God." "Raining on the just and unjust, and making the sun to rise on the evil and on the good" omitted.

38. "and shaken together" interpolated.
39. "Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into the ditch?" interpolated and substituted for "A blind man leads a blind man into the ditch."
43. "bringeth" substituted for "will bring."
44. "For every tree is known by its own fruit" interpolated. "Do gather" for "will gather."
- 47-49. Interpolated.
- VII. 14. "But the Lord took the hand of the dead man" omitted.
15. "And began to speak" interpolated for "and he ordered *something* to be given to him to eat."
23. "And blessed is *he*, whosoever shall not be offended in me," interpolated and substituted for "And John was offended."
27. "before thee" interpolated; "thy" erroneously written for "my" in two places.
- 29-35. Interpolated.
- VIII. 19. "His mother and his brethren" interpolated.
20. "Behold" omitted.
21. "Who is my mother and who are my brethren? but those who hear my words and do them," omitted. "My mother and my brethren are those which hear the word of God, and do it," interpolated and substituted for preceding.
24. "raging of the water" interpolated and substituted for "sea."
- 40-42. Interpolated, with the exception of the initial clause, "And it came to pass," and the final clause, "as he went the people thronged him."
- 43 and 44. Interpolated and substituted for "and a woman who touched him was cured of an issue of blood."
- 49-56. Interpolated.
- IX. 20. "The Christ of God" substituted for "Thou art the Christ."
22. "Elders and chief priests and scribes" substituted for "elders, scribes and priests."
26. "And of my words" interpolated: "the Son of man" interpolated and substituted for "I also." The pronouns "he" and "his" substituted for "I" and "my."
31. "Who appeared" interpolated.
41. "and perverse" interpolated.
- 49 and 50. Interpolated.
- 55 and 56. "and said, ye know . . . but to save" interpolated.
62. "for the kingdom of God" interpolated and substituted for "for the work."
- X. 1. "Apostles, besides the twelve," omitted.
4. "nor staff" omitted.
21. "thee, O Father" interpolated; "and confess" omitted; "and earth" interpolated; "that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes," inter-

polated and substituted for "that those things which were hidden from the wise and prudent, thou hast revealed unto babes."

22. "my" interpolated; "Son Father" transposed for "Father Son"; "Father Son," transposed for "Son Father"; "will reveal" substituted for "may have revealed."

24. "many—and kings have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them," interpolated and substituted for "have not seen the things which ye see."

X. 25. "to inherit" substituted for "pursue."

27. "and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself" interpolated.

29-37. The Good Samaritan, interpolated.

38-42. Mary and Martha, interpolated.

XI. 2. "Our," "which art in heaven," "Hallowed be thy name," "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth," interpolated and substituted for "Father give me the Holy Spirit."

3. Interpolated and substituted for "Give me *my* daily bread."

4. "us our" interpolated and substituted for "me my"; "for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us" and "but deliver us from evil" interpolated.

9. "and it shall be given you" substituted for "that thou mayest receive"; "and ye shall" for "that thou mayst"; "and it shall be opened unto you," for "that it may be opened unto thee."

10. "to him that knocketh it shall be opened" substituted for "he that knocketh shall be admitted."

11. "bread" interpolated and substituted for "a fish"; "will he give him a stone, or if *he ask* a fish, will he," interpolated.

12. "Or if he shall ask" interpolated and substituted for "and for an egg"; "will he offer him" interpolated.

20. "No doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you" substituted for "Has not therefore the kingdom of God come near to you?"

29. "But the sign of Jonas the prophet" interpolated.

30-32. Interpolated.

42. "Judgment" interpolated for "calling."

49-51. Interpolated.

XII. 4. "Have no more that they can do" substituted for "have no more power over you."

5. "Forewarn" for "show."

6 and 7. Interpolated.

8. "the Son of man" interpolated and substituted for "I"; "the angels of" interpolated.

9. "he that" for "every one that"; "the angels of" interpolated.

10. "a word" interpolated; "blasphemeth" substituted for "speaketh."

14. "or a divider" interpolated.

27. "and grass" after lilies, omitted; "toil" substituted for

"weave"; "and yet they are clothed" omitted; "arrayed like one of these" substituted for "more adorned than any little flower."

28. "If then God . . . into the oven" interpolated.

32. "Your" interpolated.

38. "the second watch, or come in the third," interpolated and substituted for "the evening"; "those servants" interpolated and substituted for "they."

50. "how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" interpolated and substituted for "I am hastening rapidly towards it."

51. "division" interpolated and substituted for "a sword."

XIII. 1-9. Interpolated.

27. A comma after "iniquity," instead of a period, which should be placed after "teeth" in v. 28.

28. "Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets" interpolated and substituted for "all the just"; "vanquished outside, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth," omitted.

29-35. Interpolated.

XIV. 1-11. Interpolated.

12. "also to him that bade him" interpolated.

16. "great" interpolated.

25-35. Interpolated.

XV. 10. "there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth" substituted for "great is the joy with the Father on one sinner being saved."

11-32. Parable of the Prodigal Son interpolated.

XVI. 12. "your own" substituted for "mine."

9. "that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations," interpolated; "not" after "make" erroneously omitted.

16. "and every man presseth into it" interpolated.

17. "the law to fail" interpolated and substituted for "of the Lord's words."

XVII. 1. "It is impossible but that offences will come: but woe unto *him* through whom they come!" interpolated and substituted for "Woe unto the author of offences!"

2. "if he had not been born," omitted; "that" for "or if"; "had been" cast, omitted; "should offend" for "should have offended."

5-10. Interpolated.

11. "midst" substituted for "regions"; "and Galilee" interpolated.

12. "And as he entered into a certain village," and "which stood afar off," interpolated.

13. Interpolated.

14. "And when he saw *them*, he said unto them," interpolated and substituted for "And he sent them, saying."

Between 14 and 15.

"Many lepers were in Israel, in the days of Eliseus the prophet, and none of them was healed except Naaman the Syrian," omitted.

21. "shall" substituted for "do," *i.e.*, future tense for the present.

33-37. Interpolated.

XVIII. 15-17. Interpolated.

18. "ruler" interpolated and substituted for "man."

19. "Why callest?" substituted for "do not call"; "none *is* good" for "who is good?"

20. "Thou knowest," substituted for "Knowest thou?"

31-34. Interpolated.

40. "patient" omitted.

XIX. 9. "is come," interpolated and substituted for "there is"; "forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham," interpolated.

10. "to seek and," interpolated.

23. "with usury," interpolated.

29-46. Interpolated.

XX. 1. "and preached the gospel, the chief priests and the scribes came upon *him* with the elders," interpolated and substituted for "they sought to lay hands upon them and they feared the people."

9-19. Interpolated.

35. "which shall be," interpolated and substituted for "whom God has." "And are—being the children," substituted for "having been made—and of."

36. "can" substituted for "will."

37, 38. Interpolated.

45-47. Interpolated.

XXI. 1-4. Interpolated.

8. "Christ" omitted.

9. "first" substituted for "needs."

18. Interpolated.

19. "In your patience possess ye your souls," interpolated and substituted for "but by endurance ye shall save yourselves."

21, 22. Interpolated.

27. "in a cloud," interpolated and substituted for "from the heavens"; "very great" power omitted; "and great glory" interpolated.

28. "And" for "but"; "begin to come" for "shall come"; "then look up" for "ye shall rise"; "draweth" for "hath come."

After 28, the following omitted: "And there shall not a hair of your head perish. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and showeth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together."

32. "this generation" substituted for "heaven and earth."

34. "like a snare" omitted.

35. Interpolated.

XXII. 4. "chief priests and," interpolated.

8. "he sent Peter and John, saying," interpolated and substituted for "he said to Peter and the rest"; "us the passover," interpolated: "the passover" after *eat* omitted.

16-18. Interpolated.

19. "which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me," interpolated.

20. "which is shed for you," interpolated.
 22. "that man," interpolated.
 24-30. Interpolated.
 31. "as wheat," interpolated.
 34. "the cock shall not crow," "before that," "thrice," interpolated.
 35-46. Interpolated.
 47. "unto Jesus," interpolated.
 48. "But Jesus said unto him," interpolated and substituted for "and he said."
 49-51. Interpolated.
 60. "And immediately while he yet spake the cock crew," interpolated.
 61. "Before the cock crew," and "thrice," interpolated.
 63. "the men," interpolated and substituted for "those"; "and beat *him*" omitted before "and smote *him*."
 64. "And when they had blindfolded him, they struck him on the face, and asked him," interpolated.

XXIII. 2. "and destroying the law and the prophets," omitted; "to Cæsar," interpolated; "and turning aside women and children," omitted, and "Christ," interpolated.

17. Interpolated.
 27-31. Interpolated.
 39-43. Interpolated.
 47-49. Interpolated.

XXIV. 4. "men," interpolated and substituted for "angels."

6. "He is not here, but is risen," transposed for "He has risen, he is not here"; "how," for "what"; "when he was yet," interpolated.

7. "into the hands of sinful men," interpolated.

13. "went to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem *about* threescore furlongs," interpolated and substituted for "were taking a walk."

21. "trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel," interpolated and substituted for "thought that he himself was the redeemer of Israel."

25. "the prophets have spoken," interpolated and substituted for "he spake"; "not," to believe, omitted.

27. Interpolated.

32. "and while he opened to us the scriptures," interpolated.

39. "handle me and see"; and "flesh and," interpolated.

40. "and said, Know that I am," omitted.

42. "and of a honeycomb," interpolated.

44-53. Interpolated.

The colophon omitted at the end, and transferred to the beginning. Luke i. 2 interpolated. 3. "Having had perfect knowledge of all things from the very first," interpolated and substituted for "who have followed closely from the beginning those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word"; "in order," interpolated. 4. Interpolated and substituted for "regarding the truth of the words which you were taught."

CHAPTER VII.

CRITICISM OF BISHOP WESTCOTT AND PROFESSOR HORT'S *INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ORIGINAL GREEK* (1881). THE CODICES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. TRANSLATIONS OR VERSIONS: QUOTATIONS BY THE FATHERS. THE REVISION COMMITTEE OF 1881. THE *QUARTERLY REVIEWER* (1881) ON BISHOP WESTCOTT AND PROFESSOR HORT'S WORK.¹

THE reader has now before him the results of my endeavours to recover the original Canonical Gospel of Luke. The reasons which have influenced me in rejecting or retaining passages, verses, clauses, and even words, have been laid fully before him. The basis on which I have necessarily worked is the received Greek text, translated into English in our versions called the Authorised, made in 1611, and the Revised, made in 1881. This text being my basis, I have made alterations, such as additions and deletions of passages, verses, clauses and words, according to the testimony of eye-witnesses and actual possessors of the original Canonical Gospel, as it was published in the second half of the second century. The most important of these eye-witnesses and actual possessors of the ancient Gospel are Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, approved and accredited writers connected with the orthodox Church. Irenæus was the Bishop of Lyons and Vienna in Gaul, and the head of the Christian Churches in ancient France; but his celebrity and commanding influence extended far beyond his diocese, and prevailed in Rome and in Alexandria, and, in fact, throughout the branches of the Christian Church in his days. Clement of Alexandria, who ranks among the most learned writers of ancient times, was the head of the Christian School or College established at Alexandria, a celebrated seat of learning, in the second half of the second century. Tertullian was a great writer and champion of the Church, who especially took

¹ While these sheets were passing through the press, the death of Bishop Westcott was announced on the 27th July 1901. This chapter was written about a year before the lamented death of the eminent prelate and scholar.

charge of the Canonical Gospel of Luke, and vindicated its authenticity against the Marcionites. I do not think it is possible, under the circumstances, to find a better witness of the contents of the original Gospel than this ancient writer, who reviewed and compared the Marcionite Gospel with the former. The evidence of these unimpeachable witnesses is necessarily not *viva voce*; but it is found in a documentary form, that is, in their surviving writings. But their writings are the highest form of documentary evidence, because they were written by themselves, at the time, with the ancient Gospel of Luke in their hands.¹ But there is a drawback to the evidence of Irenæus, because his great work, *Against Heresies*, has not come down to us wholly in the language in which he wrote it, namely, Greek, but had been translated into Latin by an unknown author in the third (Westcott), or, as Dr Hort thinks, more correctly, in the fourth century. The translator is justly suspected—in fact, there is no doubt about it—of having altered many of Irenæus' quotations from the ancient Gospel.² To some of these alterations, however, there is a corrective to be found in the quotations of the same passages, by contemporary or nearly contemporary writers; and the integrity of unaltered quotations is assured in many instances by the immediate or remote context. This drawback is not experienced in the case of the other two writers, whose works have come down in the original language in which they were written. The personal character of witnesses is an element in general which enters into the question of their credibility. I find it impossible to regard Irenæus and Tertullian

¹ The only objection that may be regarded as possessing some force against receiving the testimony of these Fathers is thus set forth by Scrivener (*Introduction to Criticism of New Testament*, ch. iv. 2):—"The codices of the Fathers are for the most part of much lower date than those of Scripture which we desire to amend by their aid; not many being older than the tenth century, the far greater part considerably more modern." "Take the case of Irenæus, in some respects the most important of them all. The *editio princeps* of Erasmus (1526) was printed from manuscripts now unknown. The three best manuscripts are in Latin only. The oldest of them I saw at Middle-hill, an exquisite specimen of the tenth or eleventh century, *olim* Claromontanus; another of the twelfth, is in the Arundel collection in the British Museum; the third once belonged to Vossius." Against this, it must be stated that if objection be made to the Scriptural quotations found in the Fathers, similar objection must be taken to the general history of the Church contained in their writings. Theologians, to be consistent, must reject both: but they accept the history, while they reject the quotations. If credibility and authenticity depend on the *dates* alone of manuscripts, all ancient history will be totally extinguished. The existing manuscripts of the Fathers are not divergent from each other, except in unimportant details, due to clerical error chiefly. Textual criticism has been applied to the text of the writings of the Fathers.

² The literary immorality of early Christian divines displayed in the falsification of ancient documents, is a very serious embarrassment to the investigator. This weakness of the moral sense appears to be inherent and very tenacious in the ecclesiastical character, and is prevalent in the present day amongst clerical writers.

as honourable men, in the face of the historical facts that they falsely fabricated, deliberately enunciated and promulgated untruths, which they knew to be untruths, in their zeal to authenticate the Canonical Gospels. In my former work on the Fourth Gospel, and in my present work on the Third Gospel, I have displayed the historical facts which throw permanent and ineffaceable dishonour upon both these eminent ecclesiastical personages. The character of Clement of Alexandria is less open to reproach. But in judging of the credibility of witnesses we are bound to discount many of the faults of human nature. In the case of our three eminent witnesses, their moral failings were owing to an undue and exuberant zeal exercised in the interests of the Church to which they were devoted. This great zeal in the service of the Church would naturally, I think, have operated as a deterrent in preventing them from misrepresenting the contents of its sacred writings. It would be hard to believe that Irenæus and Tertullian, who uttered and promulgated falsehoods against Marcion, their theological rival and opponent, transferred the same unscrupulousness to their dealings with the very Sacred Writing which they vindicated, and that they misrepresented and falsified its contents. On the contrary, I think the very fierceness of their onslaught on Marcion, dishonourable as it was, affords some guarantee that their account of the contents of the Canonical Gospel of Luke was accurate and reliable. I have found no reason to consider that either Irenæus, Clement, or Tertullian misquoted or perverted the official Gospel of Luke in their hands.¹ Nor have I any grounds for asserting that they quoted from a corrupted copy of the Gospel, but they used the simple and rude Gospel which was in their days the official text. It is, further, unlikely that these three writers, the most eminent of their epoch, used any other but the genuine Gospel in the original Greek; and there is no evidence that they used a corrupted copy, or even a translation or version of the official and authentic Greek Gospel of Luke.²

¹ The indications that Irenæus and Clement procured and effected changes in the Sacred Writings are very marked; but these changes having been made in the official or canonical writings through their instrumentality, there is no proof that the canonical writings so changed by official authority, whatever it was, were misquoted or perverted by them. I have found no indications that Tertullian procured or effected changes in the Sacred Writings; no accusation of this nature can be made against him; and it must be remembered that he is the most important witness to the contents of the original Canonical Gospel of Luke. Irenæus' quotations, where they have not been altered by his Latin translator, must be accepted as accurate. He has, however, in some instances perverted them by omissions of clauses, by short quoting and by misinterpretation, but not by changing the words of the text for others.

² Theologians make audacious statements on this subject without the least evidence. They assume that the early Fathers used a corrupted text, other than

My restoration of the original Canonical Gospel of Luke is such as I have been able to accomplish with the help of the representations and quotations of credible witnesses who had the original Gospel in their hands. It has not suited my purpose to present the restoration in the Greek language, in which the Gospel was originally written; but it is a translation into English. The English reader will thus be able with great facility to compare my restoration with the English versions that are in currency, known under the names of the A. V. and R. V. The R. V. of 1881 was not put forth with any great pretensions. The revisers say: "A revision of the Greek text was the necessary foundation of our work; but it did not fall within our province to construct a continuous and complete Greek text." They further remark that "in many cases the question of the text was not usually raised"; but in other cases they had the "sufficiently laborious task" of deciding on the rival claims of various readings: the adjustment of these necessitated "deviations from the text presumed to underlie the A. V.," but it was inconvenient to record them on the margin. "A better mode, however, of giving them publicity," they say, "has been found, as the University Presses have undertaken to print them in connection with complete Greek texts of the New Testament" (Preface, III. 1, to R. V. of New Testament). The Greek texts here referred to are, "The New Testament in the Original Greek, according to the text followed in the A. V., together with the variations adopted in the R. V.," by F. H. A. Scrivener, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Prebendary of Exeter and Vicar of Hendon (Cambridge, 1881); and "The Greek Testament, with readings adopted by the Revisers of the A. V.," by the Ven. Archdeacon Palmer, D.D. (Oxford, 1881).

A Greek text, published in 1881 in Cambridge, printed at the University Press, and revised by two distinguished professors of theology of the University, had also some connection with the revisers.¹ Of this great work, the authors were Professor Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., the present Bishop of Durham, and the late Professor Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. The work is styled

the rude and primitive original text. Scrivener says: "Irenæus and the African Fathers and the whole Western, with a portion of the Syrian Church, used far inferior manuscripts to those employed by Stunica, or Erasmus, or Stephen, thirteen centuries later, when moulding the Textus Receptus" (*Introduction to Criticism of New Testament*, ch. vii. 5).

¹ The authors of this Greek text say: "It may be well to state that the kindness of our publishers has already allowed us to place successive instalments of the Greek text privately in the hands of the members of the Company of Revisers of the English New Testament, and of a few other scholars" (*Introduction*, sect. xxii. p. 18). Scrivener says that Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort were themselves members of the Revision Committee.

The New Testament in the Original Greek. The designation is much more pretentious than it seems to be at first sight. The words 'original Greek' are not intended to convey the meaning that the text is given in the Greek language, in which the New Testament was originally written; but the meaning, that the text is the identical text, the very words, so far as they can be ascertained, written by the authors or their amanuenses, not more and not less. The learned authors say in their *Introduction*, sect. i.: "This edition is an attempt to present exactly the original words of the New Testament, so far as they can now be determined from surviving documents." To achieve this task they have had recourse to 'textual criticism'; of the 'office' of which, they say: "Its progress consists not in the growing perfection of an ideal in the future, but in approximation towards complete ascertainment of definite facts of the past, that is, towards recovering an exact copy of what was actually written on parchment or papyrus by the author of the book or his amanuensis" (sect. iii.). The authors display a liberal anxiety to inform their readers of the amount of 'textual criticism' that they found actually necessary. They say: "Since there is reason to suspect that an exaggerated impression prevails as to the extent of possible textual corruption in the New Testament, which might seem confirmed by language used here and there in the following pages, we desire to make it clearly understood beforehand how much of the New Testament stands in no need of a textual critic's labours" (sect. ii.). This remark is preceded by a statistical computation of the actual degree of corruption found in the received text. "The proportion of words virtually accepted on all hands as raised above doubt is very great, not less, on a rough computation, than seven-eighths of the whole. The remaining eighth, therefore, formed in great part by changes of order and other comparative trivialities, constitutes the whole area of criticism." This very small amount of corruption may be still further reduced, they say, by following the principles of 'textual criticism,' which they expound in 324 pages, provided, they add, "the principles are sound." Admitting the soundness of the principles of textual criticism, the amount of corruption by their application makes up "about one-sixtieth part of the whole New Testament." Even this second estimate may be still further reduced by the elimination of 'comparatively trivial variations': so the final arithmetical result is thus triumphantly stated by our learned theologians: "The amount of what can in any sense be called substantial variation is but a small fraction of the whole residuary variation, and can hardly form more than a thousandth part of the entire text," And

this thousandth part, I conclude, from the final remark already quoted, represents the quota of a textual critic's labours which the New Testament stands in need of. Therefore, assuming the New Testament to contain 6000 verses, six verses require textual criticism! *Quod erat demonstrandum*, i.e. which was to be made out for the satisfaction of the Holy Catholic Church, and for the preservation of theology and ecclesiastical Christianity.

The amount of labour actually laid out upon *The New Testament in the Original Greek* is not apparent in the volume, as the learned authors have not appended to their work what is called by theologians the '*apparatus criticus*,' i.e. the statement of the various codices, versions and quotations by the Fathers with which almost every word in the text has been compared.¹ The labour was undoubtedly very great, though in the present day it is much facilitated through the results of the activity of previous workers in the same field, and the time occupied was very considerable, extending over years. That the outcome of such vast labours should be merely the discovery of six corrupt verses in the whole New Testament, is remarkable. It reminds one of the old verse, *Parturient montes et nascetur ridiculus mus*, The mountains will be in travail, and a silly mouse will be born.

Limiting Bishop Westcott's and Dr Hort's computation of the results obtained by their application of 'textual criticism' to the Gospel of Luke, I find it falls much short of their actual achievement. Thus out of 1151 verses in the received Greek text, represented by our A. V., they have eliminated two verses, viz., Luke xvii. 36, "Two *men* shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left"; and Luke xxiii. 17, "For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast." The minor corruptions, which have been described above as 'comparatively trivial variations,' are, of course, excluded from the computation. In my restoration of the original Gospel of Luke, exclusive of the minor variations, I have found new material introduced into the original Gospel amounting to 251 verses which I have eliminated, and original matter removed amounting to three verses which I have re-introduced. The amount of corruption detected by my application of textual criticism to the Gospel thus aggregates 254 verses. The amount of corruption

¹ As an example I append the *apparatus criticus* of the name Elizabeth, in Luke i. 5, from Tischendorf's Greek Testament. $\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\alpha\beta\epsilon\tau$ $\beta\ \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma$: ita semper, item h. v. D (non, vv. 7, 13, 24, 36, 40, 41, 57), item C v. 7 (non, vv. 5, 13 *sqq.*) Rell omni ut vdr $\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\alpha\beta$. Porro— $\beta\epsilon\tau$ c, unc et minusc tantum non omni a c am cop D— $\beta\epsilon\theta$, vv. 5, 36, 40 ($\beta\epsilon\delta$, v. 13. [h. l. et. d; v. 41 d—*bet*] et bis, v. 41, sed, v. 57— $\beta\epsilon\tau$), item—*beth* c f q (plerumque *hetis*) for per go ambr^{cu} b (ubique)—*bet*.

detected by Bishop Westcott and his coadjutor is less than the $\frac{1}{500}$ th part, and by me very nearly one-fourth. This divergence in results is most remarkable.

It is rendered still more extraordinary when I reflect that I have not departed from the principles of 'textual criticism' as they are scientifically understood. Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort expound them in their *Introduction*, which forms a companion volume to *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, and was written by Dr Hort; but it is stated that "for the principles, arguments and conclusions set forth in the Introduction and Appendix both editors are alike responsible" (sect. 21). The singular volubility of Dr Hort renders the discovery of the dominant principles of criticism very difficult; but the difficulty is to a certain extent lessened by the abridgment of Dr Hort's diffuse exposition appended to the Greek volume. So far as I have been able to discern and recognise true critical principles in their *Introduction*, I find that I have strictly adhered to them. I have no fault to find with such *principles* as I have been able to discern and separate in the waving sea of words that Dr Hort has spread over 324 pages. On the contrary, I have not deviated from them. No violation of the principles of textual criticism will be found in my account detailing the restoration of the Canonical Gospel.

The chief cause of the variation in results obtained by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort on the one side and by me on the other side, both sides accepting the same principles of textual criticism, lies in the application of the latter;¹ and I desire to say, pointedly and precisely, that our two learned theologians, though professing and acknowledging the same principles of criticism that I have followed and they professedly expound, have really not observed the principles which they professedly have put forth.

In some minor points I am not in agreement with our two theologians. Dr Hort ascribes all the variations, without exception, found in documents of every kind, to faults of transcription, *i.e.* to the errors and vagaries of scribes, and of scribes alone, as he mentions no others (sects. 10-14 and 28-35). I do not agree with him. I have found no reason to conclude that the scribes of ancient days who copied the New Testament, or any portion of it, were in any

¹ "Do I believe that this here Son and Heir's gone down, my lads? Mayhap. Do I say so? Which? If a skipper stands out by Sen' George's Channel, making for the Downs, what's right ahead of him? The Goodwins. He isn't forced to run upon the Goodwins, but he may. The bearings of this observation lays in the application on it. That an't no part of my duty. Avast there, keep a bright look-out forward, and good luck to you."—Captain Bunshy in *Dombey and Son*, ch. 23.

essential respect different from their congeners who copied other writings, or from their modern successors. They were all equally liable to errors of the same kind, which are commonly known as clerical errors. We should be considerably surprised in our days if our scribes, say solicitors' clerks, clerks in the public offices, or typewriters or printers, deviate from the copy placed before them. We cannot imagine these scribes or copyists adding fresh material, such as additional clauses or sentences or whole paragraphs, or re-casting and changing the language of their copy. Nor can we believe that the New Testament scribes did such things, simply because Dr Hort chooses to say so. A more credible, probable and reasonable way of accounting for large variation in documents is that an editor made emendations and additions in the copy placed before the scribe. In investigating the text of the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospels, I have had occasion to consider the errors of scribes, and two of these clerical errors were of a serious and important character. In sect. xix. of the Marcionite Gospel, I have pointed out that the scribe wrote 'thy' instead of 'my' in the quotation of the prophecy of Malachi, *i.e.* by clerical error wrote the letter σ instead of μ , but that the same word 'thy' was reproduced in Luke vii. 27 in the Canonical Gospel and retained in it to the present day, although it is a falsification of the prophecy (see p. 150). In sect. lvi. of the Marcionite Gospel, I have pointed out that in the precept "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," the scribe omitted the negative 'not' or $\mu\eta$ after the word 'make'; but this clerical error was reproduced and adopted in the Canonical Gospel and protected by the subsequent interpolation of the clause, "that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations" (Luke xvi. 9), an addition that can be traced back to the time of Irenæus (see p. 185). The above were important clerical errors. The other clerical errors which I pointed out were insignificant. Irenæus states that the Marcionite Gospel rendered the passage in Luke x. 22, "No man *knew* the Father but the Son," etc., using the past tense instead of the present. As neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius points out any difference in this passage, a rational conclusion is that there was a clerical error in Irenæus' manuscript (see p. 164). Epiphanius states that the Marcionite Gospel had the passage in Luke xviii. 20, "I *knew* the commandments," $\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$, instead of "thou *knowest*," $\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$; here the accidental omission of the final letter ς by the scribe is a sufficient explanation of the discrepancy, which is in itself unimportant (see p. 196). Again, the Marcionite scribe wrote $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha$, I spoke, instead of $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon$, he spoke, an α instead of ϵ at the conclusion of the word. On this

clerical error, the simple but irascible Bishop Epiphanius founded a powerful argument to damage the character of Marcion ! (see p. 228). In Epiphanius' copy of the Marcionite Gospel, the words "the gift" (Luke v. 14) were omitted by the scribe (sect. vi.). Such corruptions of the text as the examples given above are fairly attributable to the errors of scribes. But it has never entered my mind, and I think it unjustifiable, to impute the larger corruptions, such as the additions of verses, important clauses and whole paragraphs, to scribes. Successive editors of the text were the authors of such textual corruptions. It is simply absurd to ascribe the addition of the parable of the Prodigal Son, of the Good Samaritan, and other fresh passages, to a copyist. Our learned compilers of the New Testament in the original Greek were desirous of screening from observation and of concealing the actual authors of the real corruptions of the New Testament, the men of light and leading, like Irenæus, Clement, Origen, Victor, Bishop of Rome, and his successors, Zephyrinus and Callistus,¹ and others. The great majority of these corruptions, changes or additions, made to the original writings of the New Testament were in fact literary improvements and embellishments, and some of them were introduced for doctrinal and dogmatic purposes. Regarding the clerical errors which I have mentioned above, it comes within the province of a critic following the principles of textual criticism as expounded by our two learned theologians, to correct them, or at the very least to indicate them. I find the clerical errors in Luke vii. 27 reproduced in the *New Testament in the Original Greek*, although the errors entail a manifest falsification of the prophecy quoted, Mal. iii. 1. It was the scientific and literary duty of Bishop Westcott and his coadjutor as critics to have followed their own principles of textual criticism, and to have corrected, or at least to have indicated, the clerical errors in the passage. The same should have been done with the clerical error in Luke xvi. 9, the omission of the word 'not.' The principles of 'textual criticism' are scientific, and their application should not be set aside on considerations foreign to scientific conduct. Here, then, are two clear instances on the rather minor point bearing on the correction of clerical errors; in which our two theologians have been false to their own principles of criticism. That the orthodox Church had adopted these clerical errors and had built upon them, is a matter outside the sphere of 'textual criticism.' We do not find scientific men yielding their principles to the views

¹ See, for the exploit of Irenæus and Victor, *ante*, page 209; and of Zephyrinus and Callistus, p. 325 of my work on the Fourth Gospel.

or requirements of the orthodox Church. Here we have the pitiable spectacle of two learned theologians posing as scientific critics who have abandoned their scientific principles in order to avoid the exposure of the ludicrous action of the orthodox Church taken upon original clerical errors.

In textual criticism, as in law, the credentials of documents are of the first importance. No judge would admit a document as evidence before he is satisfied of its genuineness, its date, the persons who certify it, and other particulars. The critic follows the same rule of common-sense. We accordingly find Dr Hort, and his responsibility is shared by Bishop Westcott, laying down this rule as the primary principle of textual criticism: "The first step towards obtaining a sure foundation is a consistent application of the principle that *knowledge of documents should precede final judgment upon readings*" (sect. 38). I shall now investigate how our two learned theologians apply this important principle.

The expression 'knowledge of documents,' I take to imply what is usually understood as the history of documents. It includes a knowledge of the writers, of the date of the writing, of the circumstances in which and the purpose for which it was written, of the persons in whose possession it is found, of the finders or presenters, of the physical state of the document, whether complete or incomplete, and, finally, whether it shows indications of tampering and similar particulars. In dealing with ancient documents it might not be possible to obtain information on all these points. But certain points must, I think, be regarded as essential, or the first principle of criticism will have nothing to work upon. Our two theologians tell us nothing about these essentials of knowledge, or, rather, I should say, I have not been able to discover anything upon this subject in the sea of words. I think the minimum of knowledge regarding an ancient document ought to comprise its date and author, and the latter may have a very comprehensive significance.¹ I fear, however, that even this minimum of knowledge is excessive with regard to the chief existing documents, used by our theologians, of the New Testament, or of parts of it.

The entire body of documents which Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort deal with, consists, as the latter tells us in sect. 97, of three parts, viz.: (α) Extant Greek MSS.; (β) Ancient translations or 'versions' in different languages; and (γ) Quotations from

¹ Date alone will not suffice, but the author or the person or persons accrediting a document should be known. In the case of the New Testament, date alone will be unsatisfactory, but the Church or sect for whose use the document was destined should be also known. A very ancient document written for the use of an unorthodox Church or special sect would not be a satisfactory guide.

the New Testament made by ancient Christian writers or 'Fathers.'

The amount of knowledge of the history of the Greek MSS. possessed by our two theologians does not appear to be much, or they communicate very little of it to their readers. These MSS. are divided into two classes, called Uncials and Cursives, according as they are written in capitals or minuscule characters. The Uncials are of more ancient date than the Cursives, which latter range from the ninth to the sixteenth century, while the Uncials range from the beginning, whatever date may be assigned to that, to the tenth century. These are the general facts about the date of these MSS.: and this knowledge is of use in criticism, as the date of an Uncial can be limited to the tenth century, after which only Cursives are met with. This knowledge, however, does not help in fixing the date of individual documents. Dr Hort says: "The most prominent fact known about a manuscript is its date, sometimes fixed to a year by a note from the scribe's hand, oftener determined within certain limits by palæographic or other indirect indications, sometimes learned from external facts or records" (sect. 39). The scribes did not, unfortunately, affix the date of any of the four principal Uncial MSS., and hence I conclude that the other methods indicated were resorted to. Dr Hort does not enter into the methods adopted to discover the date of these principal MSS., but supplies his readers with mere assertions regarding dates. "These four MSS. are products of the earlier part of that second great period of Church history which begins with the reign of Constantine" (sect. 98); but he abstains from detailing the actual facts connected with these MSS. upon which he makes the statement. Again, he says a little further on: "The two former (*i.e.* the *Codex Vaticanus* and *Sinaiticus*) appear to belong to the middle part of the fourth century; the two latter (*i.e.* the *Codex Alexandrinus* and *Ephraemi*) are certainly of somewhat later date, and are assigned by the best judges to the fifth century." But there are no reasons assigned why the two former *appear* to be of the date mentioned, and the two latter of later date. Nor are we told who were the judges who assigned these dates. If they were theologians and ecclesiastics, I may say on general grounds that they are unreliable experts in a question of this nature. These gentlemen suffer from certain mental diseases or frailties which do not invite confidence. For instance, their farsightedness is something prodigious. Theologians whose mental vision perceives the publication of the Gospel of Luke two centuries, or at least a century and half, before it took place, are most certainly capable of viewing a Greek document of the ninth or tenth century as originating in the fourth

or fifth century. And they can further do this with impunity, for there are no existing means of ascertaining the date of the four principal Greek Uncial Codices, nor of the others, excepting one. Captain Bunsby's rare faculty of being "always on the look-out for something in the extremest distance, and to have no ocular knowledge of anything within ten miles," is surpassed by the mental vision of theologians, rendered acute by inherent disease, which can view facts of the past, centuries before they took place. Our two learned theologians further tell us that of the four great codices, three are incomplete or mutilated; but they abstain from stating that the single complete codex (Sinaiticus) is more than complete, for it contains too much, *i.e.* other writings which are not found in the received Greek text. There is possibly some more information to be found in the sea of words, which I may have overlooked, but I have remarked the following in sect. 347: that of the locality in which these MSS. were written nothing certain is yet known. There is a supposition, or, as Dr Hort says, "a floating impression founded on vague associations and derived from two undoubted facts," that the Uncials were written at Alexandria. One undoubted fact is that the translation of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, was made at Alexandria: that the chief Uncials of this agree "in some important points of orthography and grammatical form (by no means in all)" with the chief Uncials of the New Testament, and they were "moreover, parts of the same manuscript Bibles." This is as if Hume's *History of England* being known to have been written in Edinburgh, and Macaulay's *History of England* agreeing with it in orthography and grammatical form in prominent points, but not in all, and being further found forming together with it a series of historical works,¹ therefore Macaulay's *History of England* is supposed to be written in Edinburgh. The other undoubted fact is that the Uncial called the Codex Alexandrinus was "at some unknown time, not necessarily earlier than the eleventh century, preserved at Alexandria," and is hence called after that city. Dr Hort adds: "The supposition is at present hardly more than a blind and on the whole improbable conjecture," but it possesses the unspeakable advantage that it "cannot be pronounced incredible," and hence it circulates in second-rate theological literature as an axiom, or, as Dr Hort writes, "It is usually taken for granted that the chief Uncials of the New Testament were written at Alexandria."

A fact mentioned by Dr Hort in sect. 363, which I accept on his sole authority as a man of learning and knowledge, has, I think, a

¹ And, I should add, with *Robinson Crusoe* and *Munchausen's Adventures* attached, so as to make the parallel complete.

certain bearing on the question of the date of the New Testament Uncials. "For all other works of antiquity," he says, "the Old Testament (in translations) and some of the Latin poets excepted, MSS. earlier than the ninth or even the tenth century are of extreme rarity. Many are preserved to us in a single MS. or hardly more." The duration of the materials of MSS., vellum and ink, is a question of importance. There is no doubt that vegetable and animal substances can endure for extremely lengthy periods, but they require quiescence and protection from the elements for their preservation. From actual experience we know that these substances are of limited durability when they are exposed to the air and subjected to the wear and tear of constant use. It is to be presumed that MSS. of the New Testament were written for constant use, and not for preservation. One can hardly think that bulky MSS. of vellum in constant use can endure for many centuries; one century may perhaps be allowed to represent their duration. When worn out they were replaced by fresh MSS. These reasonable data may be applied to ascertain the age of the New Testament Uncials. They were MSS. written for use; they were preserved when they ceased to be useful, and were put aside. These Uncials were found mutilated, incomplete and complete, in a condition consistent with and inducing the belief of their being in use. The question then arises, Why were they put aside though still in a condition fit for use? A reasonable reply may be found in the fact that in the ninth and tenth centuries the system of caligraphy underwent change. The ancient system of writing in Uncials or capital letters was gradually changed to Cursives or small letters. The latter system not only reduced the labour of the scribe, but facilitated the deciphering or perusal by the reader, and gradually in the course of two centuries superseded the former system. Uncial MSS., still in a condition fit for use, were in the ninth and tenth centuries naturally put aside, and in the course of succeeding centuries became simple lumber, and all knowledge of them was lost. Hence the few specimens that survived to our days have been found lying forgotten and neglected on the shelves of ancient libraries, and without a history. Being without a history, they are unfit for use as instruments or means that can be utilised for the purposes or objects of textual criticism, according to the first principle of that science enunciated by our two learned theologians. Their age may be calculated upon the reasonable probability that they were put aside in the ninth or tenth century, when Cursives superseded Uncials. The materials of which they were composed, vellum and ink, cannot be presumed to have endured, at a liberal allowance, longer than a century before they were put aside. There are statements, which I

cannot at this moment find, scattered here and there in the sea of words, from which I gather that there are indications of these MSS. having been in use, viz., certain words and marks of punctuation are frayed, and faded ink was renewed with fresh ink traced over words. From the above reasonable data, the age of these ancient Uncial MSS. of the New Testament may be conjectured to have been the eighth or ninth century, *i.e.* a century before the ninth and tenth centuries, when cursives gradually superseded uncial manuscripts. This estimate, formed on rational and probable grounds, is more reasonable than the unsupported estimate of our learned theologians that they 'appear to date' from the middle part of the fourth century and the fifth century. Tischendorf, by the way, knocks off one century, for he says the fifth and sixth century (*Prolegomena, Greek Testament*, 7th ed. p. xiii); and Scrivener 'reasonably suspects' the conventional dates (Collation of Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels; Introduction, p. xx). The vague and unsatisfactory reliance upon 'the best judges' and palæographers is very much discounted by the fact which Dr Hort refers to, that these gentlemen, probably theologians and ecclesiastics or complaisant believers in them, had to deal almost entirely with ecclesiastical documents, for there are hardly any secular documents to be found earlier than the ninth or tenth century. One can hardly think that the destruction of manuscripts, from the effects of time and the changes in the habits and doings of man, was less operative in the case of ecclesiastical than of secular documents. How could the 'best judges' and palæographers discover the landmarks of time with accuracy without assistance from history, when they had before them only one class, and that a most suspicious class, of manuscripts, and hardly any of the other class? It is more reasonable to conclude that time and other causes of destruction acted *pari passu* and with equal force on both classes of manuscripts.

Dr Hort does not tell us whom he refers to as the 'best judges,' but he also claims the support of palæographers. Palæography is a science, and its cultivators are imbued with the spirit of science, which is essentially the love of the truth. In the article on 'Palæography' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, written by Edward Maunde Thompson, LL.D., D.C.L., Principal Librarian, British Museum, I find the following remarks on the subject of Vellum MSS.: "Of such MSS. none have survived which are attributed to a higher antiquity than the fourth century. And here it may be remarked, with respect to the attribution to particular periods of these early examples, that we are not altogether on firm ground. Internal evidence, such, for example, as the presence of the Eusebian Canons

in a MS. of the Gospels, assists us in fixing a limit of age, but when there is no such support, the dating of these early MSS. must be more or less conjectural. It is not till the beginning of the sixth century that we meet with a MS. which can be approximately dated; and, taking this as a standard of comparison, we are enabled to distinguish those which undoubtedly have the appearance of greater age and to arrange them in some sort of chronological order. But these codices are too few in number to afford material in sufficient quantity for training the eye by familiarity with a variety of hands of any one period—the only method which can give entirely trustworthy result.” (vol. xviii. p. 147).

Sir Edward Thompson then proceeds to speak of the earliest examples of vellum Uncial MSS., which he says are the three famous codices of the Bible, the Codex Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus. Of these the first, he says, is the most ancient, and is “probably of the fourth century. The writing must, in its original condition, have been very perfect as a specimen of penmanship; but nearly the whole of the text has been traced over by a later hand, perhaps in the tenth or eleventh century, and only such words or letters as were rejected as readings have been left untouched. Written in triple columns, in letters of uniform size, without enlarged initial letters to mark even the beginnings of books, the MS. has all the simplicity of extreme antiquity.” The facts above stated are unimpeachable; but as the conclusions drawn from them are explicitly said to be conjectural, the ground not altogether firm, and the results not entirely trustworthy, it is permissible to me to express dissatisfaction with them. “The simplicity of extreme antiquity”¹ is no indication of date detached from collateral circumstances, which may be generally described as history or knowledge. There are agricultural implements, carts, ploughs, etc., still in use in secluded districts in Europe, in India and in China which are identical in rudeness or simplicity with those used one or two thousand years ago and more. It would lead to ludicrous error to attempt to date specimens of such implements without a knowledge of their history. Applying this simple fact to the characteristics of the Codex Vaticanus, it is unwise to conjecture its date from its simplicity without a knowledge of its history, and of that nothing is known. The conservatism of ecclesiastical Christianity is very marked; the æons of Gnosticism prior to the year 150 A.D. are still preserved in ecclesiastical theology, viz., the dove and Paraclete, in the year 1900. The antique simplicity of the Codex may have been due to the

¹ Some further marks of antiquity are stated by Tischendorf, which will be found further on (see page 298).

circumstance that it was written for the use of some secluded Christian community of the ninth century, which had lagged behind in the march of civilisation. Circumstantial evidence is as absolutely wanting as direct evidence of date. The caligraphic and other characteristics of an early age may be fairly considered to have been preserved to a much later age, in the execution of a manuscript, written by a member of an obscure and backward Christian community of which nothing is known. It can hardly be regarded as inconceivable that a mode of writing and arranging a manuscript prevailing in the fourth century, remained as a survival to the ninth or tenth century amongst a simple people.¹ The fact of the renewal of the ink of the whole of the text of the Codex Vaticanus, in probably the tenth or eleventh century, with the exception of words and letters that were rejected as readings, is a clear proof to my mind that the Codex was in actual use at that period. It cannot be believed that the Codex was written in the fourth century for the purpose of preservation and not for use. It would thus appear that the Codex was in use from the fourth to the tenth or eleventh century, *i.e.* for a period of seven or eight centuries. Could any manuscript of vellum and ink endure the wear and tear of constant use for so prolonged a space of time? I say not. It is more consistent with experience and reason to believe that the Codex was in use for half or even three-quarters of a century before the faded ink was renewed. On the above reasonable grounds the date of the Codex Vaticanus would be fixed at the ninth or tenth century, when uncial manuscripts were superseded in universal use, which is an historical fact. I have the impression that Scrivener, a competent scholar, was moved to undertake his laborious work of the Collation of the Holy Gospels, 1853, by a latent but unexpressed conviction that the Cursive MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, which he used, were equally good as standard readings as the Uncial MSS., the conventional dates assigned to which he 'reasonably suspected.' I have accidentally noticed an

¹ Here is a sample of such survival of ancient forms. In 1858 a palimpsest Uncial MS. was discovered in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Berlin, and was edited under the title *Codex Zacynthius*, by Tregelles, London, 1861. The later writing is a Greek Lectionary from the Four Gospels, and is supposed to belong to the thirteenth century. The elder writing consists of a considerable portion of Luke's Gospel with a Catena. Tregelles says: "The text is in round, full, well-formed uncial letters, such as I should have had no difficulty in ascribing to the *sixth* century, were it not that the Catena of the same age has the round letters (ε θ ο ς) so cramped as to make me believe that it belongs to the *eighth* century. Besides the ordinary κεφάλαια or τίτλοι, this MS. contains also the same chapters as the Vatican MS. similarly numbered. The only other document in which I have ever seen this *Capitulatio Vaticana* is the Vatican Codex itself; nor do I know of its being found elsewhere."—Alford's *Greek Testament*, ch. vii. sect. 1, p. 115 of 7th edition.

indication of late date in the Codex Vaticanus, in the spelling of the name Elizabeth in the Gospel of Luke. We know the spelling of the name in the fourth century with accuracy. In the Latin translation of Irenæus, it is Elizabeth (see Stieren's ed., III. xxi. 5, and elsewhere); in Jerome's Gospel of Luke, it is Elisabet; Epiphanius has Ἐλισάβετ (xlii. 11; *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 311). The Codex Vaticanus has the extraordinary spelling of Ἐλεισάβετ, which our two learned theologians have introduced into the *New Testament in the Original Greek*. They have not declared the source of this spelling, but I conclude that they silently followed the spelling of the Codex, for which they evidently have a partiality. I have not examined the spelling employed by writers in the period intervening between the fourth and ninth centuries, but I believe it is the same as in the fourth century. In the ninth century the spelling of the Codex Vaticanus appears in use in a few of the Cursive Manuscripts (see *ante*, p. 284; Tischendorf's *app. crit.*). The date of these cannot be earlier than the ninth century, when cursive writing came into universal use. It is singular that this curious and barbaric spelling is also found in some of the other Uncials. The Codex Bezae has it in Luke i. 5 only, but not in any other verse: whereas the Vatican has it throughout. The Codex Ephraemi has it in verse 7 only, but not in the others. The ancient Latin translation of the Codex Bezae has 'elisabet.' All the other Uncials have ἐλισαβετ. The spelling of the name appears to have got into confusion in the ninth century, and the scribes of the Codex Vaticanus, Bezae, and Ephraemi, but not of the other Uncials, participated in the confusion. We even find in Cursives, Greek and Latin, the archaic cockneyism of ἐλισαβεθ and Helisabeth: and the strange forms of ἐλισαβεδ and elisabel. In the face of these indications and reasonable grounds for assigning a late date to the Uncials, the great dearth of palæographic data, the apologetic appeals of diffidence made by palæographers, their positive assurance that they can only make conjectures and evolve 'some sort of chronology,' the opinions of the 'best judges' and of palæographers, on which our two learned theologians absolutely rely, cannot be accepted as scientific; but should be regarded as expressions of complaisance or politeness made for the delectation of a wealthy, genial and hospitable hierarchy, on a par with the scientific sentiments regarding the merits of the imbibition of champagne, *semel vel bis in die*, and of a visit to a French watering-place in the summer, gravely enunciated by the family doctor from considerations of domestic policy.

Our two learned theologians have not indeed cancelled the fact that the Greek Uncial Manuscripts are absolutely without a history,

and that their knowledge of them as evidential documents amounts to *nil*; but the singular volubility of Dr Hort has succeeded in covering up the fact with the folds and graces of language and thus preventing it from standing out prominently in the sea of words, so that it does not attract the attention of the reader. Such statements as he could make about the date of the Uncials are said, and he declares that the current belief that the chief Uncials were written at Alexandria is a delusion, and that it is really unknown where they were written, whether in Europe, Asia or Africa, but he is inclined to surmise that the Codex Vaticanus and Alexandrinus were both written probably in Rome. I do not remember seeing in the whole dissertation any expressions of diffidence, that the ground is not firm, that information is sadly defective, and that all conclusions are merely tentative and conjectural, similar to the qualifications and reservations made by palæographers, who are scientists who have the desire to state the whole truth. On the contrary, the tenor and drift of Dr Hort's remarks impress the reader with the feeling that the great Uncials are valuable and acceptable documents, whose evidence is unimpeachable.¹ These documents, in fact, are practically represented and employed by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort as trustworthy evidences of the original text of the New Testament, as written by its authors; whereas being without a history, without evidence of who wrote them, or where they were written, who used them, or who certified them, with an exceedingly uncertain and purely conjectural date, they are not documents which could fairly and judicially be regarded as admissible as evidence, according to the first principle of textual criticism, that knowledge of documents should precede final judgment upon readings. These Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament are absolutely worthless for the purpose for which our two learned theologians and their congeners have deliberately, and with full knowledge of their worthlessness, actually employed them. They are in the position of dead bodies of men found floating in a stream or lying in a ditch, naked and without the means of identification, about whom no living man can provide any reliable information. These ancient manuscripts, far from being instruments that can be employed in the recovery of the original text of the New Testament writings, should be, in the view of a sincere and earnest textual critic, who has no ulterior interests to serve, and

¹ Dr Hort winds up his account of the Uncials with the following remark: "The approximate outlines of the relative or sequential chronology appear, however, to have been laid down with reasonable certainty; so that the total impression left by a chronological analysis of the list of uncials can hardly be affected by possible errors of detail" (sect. 100).

who is bound by the common-sense principles of textual criticism, simply *objets de vertu*, until their history can be discovered.

Though the ancient history of these Uncial manuscripts is unknown, their modern or recent history is surely known. Our two learned theologians, however, have been wanting in graciousness in not communicating to their readers the circumstances attending the discovery of these very interesting monuments of ancient Christianity, whose date cannot be later than the tenth century, when the use of Uncial manuscripts was superseded by Cursives. It is singular that not only our two learned theologians, but most theologians, observe a certain discretion or reserve on the subject of the modern history of the great Uncial Manuscripts of the Bible. The modern history of these exemplars of the Sacred Writings would, perhaps, give us indications of the estimation in which they were held by theologians of a past age, which to my mind, so far as I can judge, was not of the same lofty character as that now entertained by our later theologians. I think the modern history of these *objets de vertu* will interest the reader, but I regret that the information that I have been able to gather from books accessible to me is scanty and defective. My difficulty has been due to the circumstance that theologians appear to be in league to suppress in a great measure and to muddle the knowledge of the modern history of the Uncial manuscripts.

Codex Vaticanus. It is now in the Vatican Library, and Dean Alford says, "proved by the old catalogues to have been there from the foundation of the library in the sixteenth century"; but when it attracted the notice of textual critics is not stated. Scrivener says that "the jealousy of the Papal libraries" is a hindrance to its examination, and it is "now virtually inaccessible" (1859). It contains the Old and New Testaments, excepting the later chapters of Hebrews, from ch. ix. 14, the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, and the Apocalypse, with lacunæ, or blank and missing passages throughout. Dr Hort states, sect. 18, that selections of readings from the Codex were published in 1580, a tolerably full collation in 1788 and 1799, and a continuous text in 1857, 1859, 1867, and 1868. Scrivener says (Introduction to *Codex Augiensis*, p. 11, foot-note) that the first edition was prepared by Cardinal Mai, and the text was ten years passing through the press (1828-38). The publication, which took place after the death of the Cardinal, under the editorship of Vercellone, called forth "a chorus of disappointment throughout Europe," and displayed the "strange incompetency" both of Mai and Vercellone for the task they had undertaken. "The great Cardinal's inaccuracy would be amusing if it were not most vexatious. Finding his sheets full of errors and misrepresenta-

tions of the Codex Vaticanus (some of them inserted from printed books !), Mai tries to get rid of them as well as he can by cancelling a few leaves, sometimes by *manual* corrections made in each copy ; while he reserves the mass for a table of errata, to be placed at the end of each volume." In this manner was submitted "this deplorable performance to the judgment of Biblical scholars. . . . Add to all this that the lacunæ throughout the MS. are supplied from later sources ; that even accidental omissions and errors of the pen are corrected in the text, though noted in the margin ; that the breathings, accents, and ι subscriptum are accommodated to the modern fashion." Tischendorf gives the following indications of its great antiquity : The vellum is very thin ; a simple and pure kind of uncial letters ; no initial letters after the fashion of papyrus documents ; punctuation very rare, but made up very often by an empty space ; the use of three columns ; very ancient orthography, and no accents, but only the aspirants or breathings, as observed in all codices prior to the seventh century. The accents were, however, added by a corrector of a later age. It has no trace in the Gospels of the sections of Ammonius or of the canons of Eusebius, nor in the other books anything derived from Euthalius ; but it has its own divisions of the Gospels, of the Acts and Epistles ; and it is remarkable that the epistles of Paul are divided like one continuous work, so that the numbers of the sections are continuous from the first Epistle up to the last (*Prolegomena*, p. cxxxvii of 7th ed.).

Codex Sinaiticus. This contains the Old and New Testaments complete, and the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. It is at present in the Imperial Library at St Petersburg, but was found by Tischendorf in 1859¹ in the library of the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai. The circumstances attending its acquisition are gravely amusing, and are thus described in a work published in 1892, called *The Still Life of the Middle Temple*, with some of its Table Talk, preceded by Fifty Years' Reminiscences, by W. G. Thorpe, F.S.A., a barrister of the Society (Richard Bentley & Son). "But as to stealing books. The thing is not only sometimes lawful, but even meritorious, and one man will go to heaven for it—in fact, has gone there already. The mode in which Tischendorf ran off with the Codex Sinaiticus in 1839 may be described as anything you please, from theft under trust to hocussing and felony ; but it succeeded, and all Christendom was glad thereof. It is the custom for the Greek monk to worship, like Jacob, standing, leaning on the top of his staff, and he protects his feet from the cold ground by

¹ The date is variously given by different writers. Mr Thorpe says 1839, Mrs Lewis 1844, and Dean Alford and most authorities 1859.

putting under them a good thick volume from the library. Such was the position occupied by this priceless treasure, perhaps the oldest manuscript of all we have got to trust in, when Tischendorf first saw it; and he resolved to rescue it somehow, for they would not sell it. The great German was equal to the task; he provided himself with a good store of Clicquot and Hoffman's cherry brandy, which, mixed on Mr Weller's 'ekal' principle, formed a compound called 'Prince Regent.' He then set himself to drink the Abbot of St Catherine's on Mount Sinai blind drunk, and it took him three days to get that Churchman under the table; then the library key could be got from under his petticoats, and the priceless volume carried off, all the rest of the caloyers¹ and lay brethren being kept on the booze by minor agents. The escort kept in readiness was at once summoned, and Tischendorf himself carried the precious volume. Onward to Suez, across the desert, when a pursuit was descried. Someone had woke up, detected the theft, and the Bedawin, who depend on the monastery, were started in hot chase. Indeed, it was only by 200 yards that the Russian Consulate was gained in safety, after which ample money satisfaction was forthcoming, and the story was hushed up."

Mrs Lewis, who visited the convent of St Catherine in Sinai in 1892, says: "Books which have lost their bindings are kept in large baskets, and from one of these probably Tischendorf extracted in 1844 the famous Codex Sinaiticus. It has been a cause of irritation to the monks that they did not succeed in keeping this treasure in their possession"² (Introduction to *Syriac Gospels*). Mrs Lewis refers to the Codex Frederico-Augustanus, but there was no cause of irritation in connection with Tischendorf's possession of that fragment of the Codex Sinaiticus. Scrivener also obscurely speaks of Tischendorf having "taught the monks a sharp lesson," without entering into details. But he more definitely says that "the treasure,

¹ Caloyers are Greek monks. The word probably is derived from acolytes, an ancient order of inferior clergy, of which other ranks were deacons, readers, door-keepers, exorcists, and *copiate* or *fossarii*, i.e. grave-diggers. These acolytes were anciently called in England colets, and their office was the care of the lights, and of the wine and water for the Eucharists. Beza, in his letter to the University of Cambridge in 1581, says that the Codex Bezae was annotated by an unlearned Greek caloger.

² Two books, viz., Papias' *Exegesis of the Logia of the Lord*, and Hegesippus' *History*, are much needed to illuminate the dark period of the first half of the second century. These were simple, unsophisticated, and truthful writers, deficient in ecclesiastical discretion and reserve. Their writings will enable us to supplement and correct the unconscionable suppressions and falsifications made by Eusebius in early Christian history. Rendel Harris, in 1889, discovered in this convent a Syriac version of the *Apology* of Aristides, from which I have been enabled to ascertain the literary sources from which the Synoptic Gospels have been compiled. Perhaps a careful search may discover Syriac versions of Papias and Hegesippus.

which had been twice withdrawn from him as a private traveller, was now [1859], on the occasion of some chance conversation, spontaneously put into the hands of one sent from the champion and benefactor of the oppressed Church" (*Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, ch. ii. sect. 2, Aleph). The reader is requested to compare Dr Scrivener's representation with that of Mr Thorpe. In the article 'Tischendorf' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the statement is made that in the journey to the East made in 1859, Tischendorf "had the active aid of the Russian Government, he at length got access to the remainder of the precious Sinaitic Codex, and persuaded the monks to present it to the Czar, at whose cost it was published in 1862." The reader is again requested to compare with Mr Thorpe's account. The amount of compensation paid to the monastery, and the honorarium presented to Tischendorf by the Russian Government, for this Codex, ought to be published, for they form an important part of the history of the Gospel, which is very much, if not altogether, a commercial enterprise, as well as of the modern history of the Codex Sinaiticus. Dr Hort informs us that select readings from the Codex were published in 1860, and a continuous text in 1862.

Dean Alford says that the Codex Frederico-Augustanus (now at Leipzig), obtained in 1844 from the same monastery, is a portion of the same copy of the Greek Bible as the Codex Sinaiticus, the 148 leaves of which, containing the entire New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas, parts of Hermas, and 199 more leaves of the Septuagint, have now been edited by the discoverer. A magnificent edition published at the expense of the Emperor of Russia appeared in January 1863.

The account of the Codex Sinaiticus would be imperfect without mention of the fact that in 1862 Constantine Simonides, a Greek of Syme, claimed to be himself the scribe who had penned the Codex Sinaiticus in the monastery of Pantelæmon on Mount Athos as recently as 1839 and 1840. His account appears to be that he copied it from a Moscow-printed Bible, and he inscribed on it the words Σιμωνίδου τὸ ὅλον ἔργον, *i.e.* the entire work of Simonides, and that he finished the work in eight or ten months. Scrivener in his *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, ch. ii. sect. 2, refers to the Introduction to his Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus "for a statement of the reasons which have been universally accepted as conclusive why the manuscript which Simonides may very well have written under the circumstances he has described neither was nor possibly could be that venerable document." It would appear from these words that the statement of Simonides is not questioned, but the identity of the Codex Simoneidos with the Codex Sinaiticus is.

The words written on his copy by Simonides ought to be sufficient proof of identity, or the contrary ; but I regret that Scrivener has not made any statement on this point. Doubt appears to be thrown upon the claim of Simonides that he was the sole writer, and accomplished his work in so short a time. "He would have written," says Scrivener, "about 20,000 separate uncial letters every day" : and his performance is compared to that of Nicodemus ὁ ξένος, who transcribed the Octateuch, in cursive characters, beginning on the 8th of June and finishing on the 15th July A.D. 1334, "'working very hard,' as he must have done," adds Scrivener. Tischendorf, who had a wonderful power of seeing through millstones, actually declared that four scribes had been engaged in the Codex Sinaiticus, and one of these four was the writer of the Codex Vaticanus. I have found by actual experiment that I could write the English alphabet in capital letters more than twice over in a minute : hence in an hour 3000, and in a day of eight hours 24,000 capitals could be written. A scribe in the East would work daily for ten or twelve hours, or even longer ; so that the feat of Simonides was by no means extraordinary or incredible. Simonides appears to have been a respectable man, possessing the degree of Doctor, and a dealer in ancient Gospels. Three Greek cursives were purchased from him by the British Museum, as stated by Scrivener in ch. ii. sect. 30, viz. Nos. 589, 590, and 229 ; and Scrivener regarded him as an expert, "an excellent judge" of the age of manuscripts ; see ch. ii. sect. 3, MSS. of St Paul's Epistles, No. 27. Simonides, however, did one thing which was questionable. He published in 1862 "Fragments of St Matthew's Gospel written on papyrus and dated in the fifteenth year after the Lord's ascension—from originals in the Egyptian Museum of Joseph Mayer, Esq., of Liverpool" (Scrivener's *Introduction to Criticism of New Testament*, ch. ii. sect. 1, 3, foot-note). The Lord's ascension was a very movable festival, if it ever had any standing place. This claim of Simonides raises a general suspicion of the authenticity of the ancient documents in the hands of credulous theologians.

Codex Alexandrinus. This contains the Old and New Testaments, complete, but with lacunæ, and the Epistles of Clement. Dr Hort informs us that it was found, in what year is not stated, preserved at Alexandria at some unknown time, not necessarily earlier than the eleventh century. Tischendorf refers to another account, that it was found in Mount Athos, and presented to the patriarchal seat of Alexandria in 1098 as a gift. It was presented in 1628 by Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Alexandria, and afterwards of Constantinople, to Charles I., the bearer being Sir Thomas Roe, who was returning to London from the Turkish Embassy. It is pre-

served in the Library of the British Museum. Scrivener says that it is 'seriously mutilated.' Dr Hort tells us that collations of it were published in 1657, and a continuous text in 1786. Dean Alford says that the New Testament, according to its text, was edited, in uncial types cast to imitate those of the MS., by Woide, London, 1786, the Old Testament by Baber, London, 1819; and its New Testament text has now been edited in common type by Mr B. H. Cowper, London, 1861.

Codex Ephraemi. This is a palimpsest, that is, vellum in which the first writing had been sponged off to make a clean surface for a second writing. Unfortunately, it was the Holy Scriptures that were sponged off to make way for the writings of Ephraem Syrus, and thus the Codex acquired its name, so that the former are barely legible. It is very imperfect, and Scrivener speaks of it as "a mere heap of fragments." It is euphemistically described as "originally complete," which fact is certainly as true and valuable as that it was originally brand new. Dr Hort informs us that select readings of it were published in 1710, collations in 1751-2, and continuous texts in 1843. From such imaginary data as theologians delight in, Tischendorf has constructed the following romantic history. The Codex 'seems' to him to have been written in Egypt before the middle of the fifth century; about a century after, it was first corrected (in Palestine?), and then a second time corrected and set in order for ecclesiastical use at Constantinople about the ninth century. Then in the twelfth century it was sponged clean, and 38 treatises of Ephraem the Syrian translated into Greek were written on it. After the downfall of the Greek Empire it was carried by Lascaris Rhynchacemus with other codices to Florence, and from amongst the books of Catherine de Medici, Queen of France, it migrated to the Royal, Imperial, or finally the National Library at Paris, where it now is. All this, with the exception of its last resting-place, is hypothetical. Here it was found in the seventeenth century, near the close of it, and this is the only certain fact in its modern history. The vellum of this palimpsest was of extraordinary durability to endure constant use in churches for four centuries and a half or longer. Dean Alford gives some supplemental information. Andrew John Lascaris was sent at the fall of the Eastern Empire to Constantinople by Lorenzo de Medici, to preserve such MSS. as had escaped the ravages of the Turks. Tischendorf thinks, but of course thinking is not proof, that the Codex was brought over to Florence along with other MSS. The same thinking carried the Codex to Paris along with the books of Catherine de Medici; and thus a hypothetical history has been constructed, which may be

true, but also may not be true. The Codex may have found its way into the Bibliothèque Nationale in some other unknown manner.

Codex Bezaë. This was presented to the University of Cambridge in 1581 by Theodore Beza, a coadjutor of Calvin at Geneva. Beza thus described the Codex in the letter that accompanied the gift: "Quatuor Evangeliorum et Actorum Apostolicorum græco latinum exemplar ex S. Irenæi cænobio lugdunensi ante aliquos annos nactus, mutilum quidem illud, et neque satis emendatè ab initio ubique descriptum, neque ita ut oportuit habitum, sicut ex paginis quibusdâ diverso caractere insertis, et indocti cujuspiam græci Calogeri barbaris adscriptis alicubi notis apparet," etc. Having obtained some years before a Greek-Latin copy of the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles from the monastery of St Irenæus at Lyons, mutilated indeed, and not transcribed with sufficient accuracy, from the beginning throughout, nor so well kept as it ought *to have been*, as is apparent from some pages inserted in a different character, and from the strange notes of some unlearned Greek monk written here and there, etc. In addition to this meagre account, there is a more explicit statement prefixed to the book in Beza's own cramped hand, and still preserved there, as Scrivener states. "Est hoc exemplar venerandæ vetustatis ex Græcia, ut apparet ex barbaris græcis qbusdam ad marginem adscriptis, olim exportatum, et in Sancti Irenæi monasterio, Lugduni, ad [ad *eras.*] ita ut hic cernitur, mutilatum, postq̃ ibi in pulvere diu jacuisset, repertum oriente ibi Civili bello, anno Domini 1562." This copy, of venerable antiquity, was formerly exported from Greece, as appears from some barbarous Greek *words* written on the margin, and was found in the monastery of St Irenæus at Lyons, so as it is here seen, mutilated, during the Civil War that arose there in 1562, after it had long lain there in the dust. In spite of this statement, Kipling, its first editor, and other theologians of a bygone day, made out that the Codex was a gift graciously presented to Beza by the monks of the monastery, and that it had very recently been brought from Italy. Theologians of our day have abandoned this history; but they are still unwilling to accept the prosaic details stated by Beza. Scrivener has a professional objection to Beza's account that the Codex had long lain in the dust, and hence was neglected. He has proofs that, on the contrary, it was much prized: and that Beza, the finder, and a great Greek scholar, whose editions of the Greek Testament Scrivener believes were used by King James' Revisers in 1611, though not exclusively, was mistaken and really had no knowledge of the facts which passed under his cognisance. Unfortunately Scrivener's proofs are imaginative and not persuasive; nor is his judgment on the value of this

Codex for the purpose of textual criticism the same as Beza's. The latter scholar considered the Codex to be a thing to be preserved rather than to be published: "*asservandum potius quam publicandum existimen.*"¹ In Beza's estimation this Codex was a mere curiosity, or *objet de vertu*. Perhaps the statement that the Codex had lain in the dust, or dust heap, is too repulsive to theologians, and if mitigated or modified, may perhaps be accepted by them. The expression '*in pulvere*,' may be understood to mean *in dust* or *undusted*, and thus Beza's account amounts to the statement, that the Codex was found reposing on a shelf in the library of the monastery, undusted or covered with the dust of ages. This statement, besides being the fact, is quite probable, as the Codex was presumably put aside in the tenth or eleventh century, when Uncials became antiquated, and lay disused and covered with dust from that period to the sixteenth century, when its existence was discovered during the plunder of the monastery by the Huguenot army, of which Beza was a chaplain. Dr Hort informs us that select readings was published in 1550, collations in 1657, and continuous texts in 1793 and 1864. The first statement is extraordinary, namely, that select readings from the Codex were published in 1550, that is to say, twelve years before it was discovered! This is another indication of the prevalence of the mental disease which I may call *morbus Bunsbii* from which theologians suffer acutely. Beza, an accomplished biblical scholar, and editor of Greek texts of the New Testament, knew nothing of these select readings published in 1550 from a Codex which he discovered in 1562 covered with dust and with no history, beyond what he inferred from internal evidence. The statement of Dr Hort is really a theological hypothesis, which has no foundation except in the imagination of theologians, and which is demolished by the fact that Beza knew nothing of these select readings. The statement is on a par with other statements, as already pointed out, gravely propounded and supported by arguments by learned theologians, that the Codex was a gift from the monks and migrated from Italy. Dr Scrivener's arguments in support of the hypothesis are not convincing, and can be met by counter arguments. An edition of the Codex was published in 1899 by the University of Cambridge.

Throughout the modern history of these MSS. is the same story of neglect and oblivion till the sixteenth century, when the Reformation created an interest in the Scriptures, and inaugurated the hunt for ancient copies of the sacred text, of which there seems to be

¹ Tischendorf's opinion of the Codex Beza is thus expressed: "*Sæpe dubites per ludumne an serio scripta legas.*" You may often be in doubt whether you are reading things written by way of joke or seriously.

an inexhaustible supply. It is difficult, however, for the ordinary reader to isolate this simple fact from the clouds of learned dust and the wreaths of romance with which theologians have enveloped and concealed it.

The number of the Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament, or of parts of them, that have survived to our days amounts to about forty (Hort, sect. 100), and their date may be broadly stated to be the ninth or tenth century.¹ The fact that hardly any secular Uncials of earlier date have survived must have its weight in judging the date of ecclesiastical Uncials. Of all the modern English theologians that have come under my view, I must name Scrivener as the only one who has had the sagacity or strength of mind to say that he has 'reasonable doubt' of the conventional early dates assigned to the four great Uncial Manuscripts. Theologians are not quite unanimous in the dates which they have been pleased to assign to these manuscripts. Thus Scrivener gives the date of the Codex Bezae as "early in the sixth century," but he refers to the decision of Kipling, a theologian of the close of the eighteenth century, who, very oddly, "assigns the cursive Latin pages to the ninth or tenth century, the uncial Greek and the mixed page (*though on the reverse of the same leaves*) to the twelfth." Their method of ascertaining the relative age of writings is not absolutely satisfactory. The Codex is full of corrections by different hands. Scrivener differentiates the correctors, who, he says, were not strictly correctors, because they were not contemporaneous with the original penmen, by the varying colour of the ink which they used. He scores them off with the letters of the alphabet from A to O—the latter corrector had a dual personality, for there is an O₂ also. He glibly assigns various centuries to them, according to the colour of the ink. A "may be referred to the *end* of the sixth century," while the other letters "may be living" in successive centuries up to the twelfth, which is assigned as the date of the existence of second O. If Scrivener was a member of the Bar, I should say his chronology founded upon the colour of the ink might be accepted by the Courts of Quarter Sessions, but there can be no doubt that it would not obtain respectful consideration in the Courts presided over by His Majesty's judges. All these uncial manuscripts are worthless for the effective purposes of textual criticism, because they are without a history, with the exception of one, which has a

¹ One Uncial MS. only of the whole lot in existence bears a date, namely, that known as S, and the date is 949 A.D. The earliest Cursive Biblical MS. bears the date 964 A.D.

history. This one, the Codex Augiensis, is said by Scrivener to be "a Greek and Latin manuscript of St Paul's Epistles, written in uncial letters, probably of the ninth century, deposited in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge." In his edition of this ancient document, 1859, Scrivener honestly states all that is known of its ancient and recent history: which essential information has not been communicated to their readers by our two learned compilers of *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, regarding the four great Uncial manuscripts which they used.

The Greek Cursive Manuscripts are far more numerous than the Uncials, amounting to between 900 and 1000, and ranging from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries (sect. 102). These have been very little studied. Tregelles has published "a select few" and Dr Scrivener "a large miscellaneous (English) array" (sect. 104). Scrivener in his "Collation of Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels," 1853, displays the true scientific spirit of a textual critic by giving all that he has ascertained of the ancient and recent history of his manuscripts. I think, but he does not openly say so, that he was of opinion they are really of more value to the textual critic than the Uncials, whose history is unknown. This is the impression left on my mind by the perusal of his *Introduction*.¹ He has, however, introduced into his Collation two Uncials, marked 'j' (it consists of only four pages!) and 'x,' and their history is very shadowy.

I have felt much embarrassment in endeavouring to divine how these ancient Greek MSS., which in very numerous passages and words differ more or less from each other, and whose date is alleged to be of the fourth century and later, can be fairly employed in recovering the original text of writings published two centuries earlier, according to my investigation, but three centuries before, according to the expressed belief of Bishop Westcott. How do they assure us that the sacred text had not undergone change in the intervening period of two or three centuries? Our two learned theologians have devoted sects. 361-370 to the discussion of this question. But they deal with it in the first place in another form, not with reference to the difficulty which I have expressed, but with reference

¹ This also was Dean Alford's opinion of Dr Scrivener's views. He says: "From what has preceded, it will be clearly seen that I cannot consent to the course which he [Scrivener] would prescribe for us, that of seeking our readings from the later uncials, supported as they usually are by the mass of cursive manuscripts; for to this his practice really amounts, after all the explanation which he has given of it in the work last cited" (*Prolegomena to the Greek New Testament*, ch. vi. sect. 1, 42, p. 91 of 7th ed.).

to the belief of persons who "think it incredible that any true words of Scripture should have perished," and to the attempts of those who have endeavoured to restore the text by "conjectural criticism" and not by "documentary tradition." They say with reference to the former, "We dare not introduce considerations which could not reasonably be applied to other ancient texts"; and to the latter, that though they have not "shown much felicity of suggestion, they cannot justly be condemned on the ground of principle" (sect. 361). Both these classes of persons are put aside. While thus bowing out 'belief' and 'conjecture,' they discuss the subject on the grounds of "strong presumption" (sect. 362), and the belief in their own qualifications: "We venture to think that the processes of criticism which it has been our duty to consider and work out have given us some qualifications for forming an opinion as to the probabilities of the matter" (sect. 368). The belief, of course, is to be reciprocated by their readers. The presumption in favour of immunity from change of the sacred text prior to the fourth century is based on the alleged fact that so little can be found in the ancient evidence now extant "that proves itself as true" in opposition to the Codex Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. Hence "there is good reason at the outset to doubt whether any better readings have perished with the multitudes of documents that have been lost" (sect. 362). But this hopeful state at the outset is dashed by the admission in the course of the discussion that "we are constrained by overwhelming evidence to recognise the existence of textual error in all extant documents"—an admission made with "no hesitation" (sect. 365). This admission is further corroborated by the statement made further on: "The only fact that really concerns us is that certain places have to be recognised and marked as insecure" (sect. 367). The 'strong presumption' in favour of freedom from change of the text prior to the fourth century thus finally resolves itself into admissions necessitated by fact and verity that dethrone the 'strong presumption.' Now for the belief in the critical qualifications of our two learned theologians. They say in sect. 368, immediately after the quotation just made, "The number of such places which we have been able to recognise with sufficient confidence to justify the definite expression of doubt is not great": but in the next section they remark: "It will not be out of place to add here a distinct expression of our belief that even among the numerous unquestionably spurious readings of the New Testament there are no signs of deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes." Thus in sect. 368 they state that the

number of insecure places is "not great," yet in sect. 369 they speak of the same places as "numerous unquestionably spurious readings." The expressions 'not great' and 'numerous' are not synonymous; but neither expression favours the 'strong presumption' aforesaid. Besides these insecure places, which are variously described as 'not great' and 'numerous,' our two learned theologians admit that there may be and probably are other places containing corruption which we have failed to discover. Here their belief in themselves is so great that they remark, "We cannot too strongly express our disbelief in the existence of undetected interpolations of any moment."¹ This, however, is of course strictly speaking a speculative opinion, not a result of criticism" (sect. 368). Our two learned theologians regard all these 'insecure' passages as 'rather literary' than textual (sect. 368); "bearing witness to rashness, not to bad faith" (sect. 369); and without "perceptible fraud" (sect. 370). Being literary, rash, not made for dogmatic purposes, and free from perceptible fraud, these changes of the text prior to the fourth century, though admitted to be not great as to number and yet numerous, are clearly regarded by our two learned theologians as practically non-existent. For they triumphantly wind up with this conclusion: "The books of the New Testament as preserved in extant documents assuredly speak to us in every important respect, in language identical with that in which they spoke to those for whom they were originally written" (sect. 370). This statement does not quite tally with the pretension: "This edition is an attempt to present exactly the original words of the New Testament, so far as they can now be determined from surviving documents" (sect. 1).

These considerations and arguments seem to my mind so aberrant and inconsequential that I have doubt whether I have understood Dr Hort's remarks on this subject. The peculiar volubility of this writer renders him barely intelligible in numerous passages, so that it is often difficult to extract the grains of wheat from the heaps of words. I confess that on my first perusal of these sections 361-370, I was unable to form any conception of their meaning. I have

¹ On the other hand Dean Alford honestly remarks: "The process by which the present received text has been attained, has been that of crumbling down salient points, softening irregularities, conforming differences, favouring prevalent doctrines." In a foot-note he refers to Scrivener's expression of sorrow that he should think it right to add "favouring prevalent doctrines," and says, "Why should anyone be backward in stating that which is a notorious fact?" (*Prolegomena to Greek Testament*, ch. vi. sect. 1, 44, page 92 of 7th ed.). Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort are here simply suppressing 'a notorious fact,' on the strength of their personal reputation for literary and critical ability.

endeavoured to the best of my ability, after repeated perusal, to analyse the arguments of the author. These arguments appear to me to be mere sophistry to prove what is incapable of proof, or to induce belief in that which cannot be proved. It is impossible to guarantee the accuracy of the sacred text from documents supposed to date two or three centuries after the publication of the former, when these documents themselves are without credentials. There is, further, no evidence whatever that any care or precautions were taken to preserve the integrity of the sacred text. And finally, there is actual proof that the sacred text had been tampered with in various ways in the second and third centuries. Even after the text had obtained some stability from the authorised version prepared by Jerome late in the fourth century, we know that changes had been subsequently made in it; and hence the probability is very great, and in fact there can be no rational doubt, that the text had been materially changed in the prior period by additions and alterations, made for different objects, in which deceit, fraud and other immorality entered, during the active period of the life of the Church preceding the fourth century. The conclusion to which Dr Hort has arrived by inconsequential arguments is one that is not consistent with fact and truth. Dr Hort's conclusion will be inadmissible even if he had stated, which he has religiously avoided to do, the means employed and the precautions taken to preserve the sacred text from corruption. My investigation of the Fourth and Third Gospels has brought to light numerous additions and alterations made to these Gospels before the fourth century; and the strong presumption, if not the absolute certainty, is that such additions and changes were made by *official* authority. Against the force of such facts it is futile to bring forward sophistical arguments and assertions to demonstrate that manuscripts alleged to date so late as the fourth and later centuries, and which are, further, destitute of credentials, are reliable guides to the original text. These manuscripts are absolutely useless for the object and purpose of textual criticism, which our two learned theologians themselves say is "the approximation towards recovering an exact copy of what was actually written on parchment or papyrus by the author of the book or his amanuensis" (sect. 3). Though absolutely useless for this purpose, it may be conceded that these manuscripts may be useful for another purpose. I have already compared them to derelict dead bodies; these latter, though useless for the purpose of identification in the absence of all knowledge regarding them, may be utilised for anatomical purposes. And for cognate purposes of that

nature these derelict manuscripts may be similarly employed. There can be no doubt that they are copies of the sacred writings which were actually in use at some unknown period, and by unknown persons of the Christian faith. They may, hence, be used for purposes of comparison, and even for the selection of more intelligible or consistent readings, and general objects of that nature, without, however, any false pretensions that their text represents the original text.

The second class of documents which Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort deal with are versions. These are "ancient translations of the whole or parts of the New Testament, made chiefly for the service of churches in which Greek was at least not habitually spoken. Besides some outlying versions, there are three principal classes, the LATIN, the SYRIAC, and the ÆGYPTIAN. The history of all is still more or less obscure" (sect. 107). The latter statement is historically inaccurate, because the history of Jerome's Latin version made in the fourth century is free from obscurity. We know as much or perhaps more about it than the general public knows of our own Authorised and Revised Versions; and that amount of knowledge of Jerome's version cannot be fairly described as obscure. The other versions are on a par with the great Uncial Greek manuscripts, being without a history, and hence they equally, with the former, are unfit documents to be employed for the purpose of textual criticism.

I have been now engaged for some twelve years in the study of the early Christian writings, having for my sole object the collection of facts and the discovery of historical truth. I am personally disinterested in what the truth may be, and I have no desire to conceal or distort it. The ancient writings available for the investigation of the history of versions are pretty considerable. They extend as to date from the second half of the second century, when the writings of the New Testament were published in Greek, to the second half of the fourth century, when we hear from Jerome for the first time of versions. The writings comprise those of Tatian, Theophilus, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Minucius Felix, Methodius, Origen, Arnobius, Eusebius, and minor writers, besides various anonymous publications. The amount of these writings may perhaps be best conveyed by arithmetical figures. The original texts have been published in books of different languages, and of various sizes and print, so that they do not readily lend themselves to statistics. A good firm of publishers, Messrs T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh, have issued an English translation of nearly the whole of these

writings in volumes of uniform size and print—the only exceptional volume differing in size and print being the Commentaries of Origen. Eusebius is not included in the above ; but Bagster's edition of the Ecclesiastical History and Life of Constantine approximates to the above in size and print. Making a liberal allowance to meet these differences, the total number of pages of all these translations amounts in the rough to 10,818, of which the odd figures being excised to allow for prefaces, introductions, etc., the balance may be set down as 10,000 pages. In this vast number of pages, representing all the available Christian literature of antiquity prior to Jerome at the close of the fourth century, I have not succeeded in discovering an allusion to versions of the Greek New Testament. I may possibly have overlooked isolated or obscure references to versions ; but my impression is that no writer of the period prior to the second half of the fourth century says a word about versions or translations of the Greek New Testament, or of any part of it.

I was thus unprepared for Dr Hort's assertion that "the statements of Tertullian leave no doubt that when he wrote, near the beginning of the third century, a Latin translation of the New Testament was already current in North Africa. How much earlier it came into existence, and in what manner, cannot be ascertained ; but it may be reasonably assumed to have originated in Africa" (sect. 108). He proceeds to remark : "The rich evidence supplied by Tertullian's works is indeed difficult to disentangle, because he was fond of using his knowledge of Greek by quoting Scripture in immediate and original renderings, the proportion of which to his quotations from the existing version is indeterminate but certainly large." And then he winds up with the remark that Cyprian's 'quotations' are "trustworthy standards of African old Latin," implying that Cyprian quoted from an African Latin translation, but he avoids making the direct statement. Under the circumstances, seeing that the "rich evidence" of Tertullian "is difficult to disentangle," one would have naturally expected that Dr Hort would have given his readers a few instances of the disentanglement of Tertullian's evidence. But it is sad to remark that Dr Hort has abstained from performing this act of graciousness. I should say here that every English theologian whom I have consulted either coincides with Dr Hort's statements or is silent on the subject, though a few foreign theologians differ.

Bishop Westcott, who is Dr Hort's coadjutor and joint participator in his responsibility, in his great work *On the Canon of the New Testament*, has supplied Dr Hort's deficiency in graciousness on the

subject of Tertullian's rich but entangled evidence regarding the existence and currency of an African Latin translation of the New Testament. Bishop Westcott says: "It will be necessary to show that we are dealing with a reality, and not with a mere creation of a critic's fancy. The language of Tertullian, if candidly examined, is conclusive on the point" (*Canon of New Testament*, p. 251 of 6th edition). He proceeds then to indicate, and to translate, and to elucidate a 'few quotations' that will prove the point. It is remarkable that the two quotations which he selects out of, I suppose, a very large number forming the rich evidence of Tertullian on the point, are repeated by other theologians, and these two only. These quotations remind me of the single quotation from the whole of classical literature which theologians toss about from one to the other to prove that the rudeness attributed to Jesus by base-minded forgers in the unbecoming address to his mother of 'woman,' is really "courteous respect and even tenderness!"¹ One of these two quotations I myself quoted in my discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity in my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 345, without the least consciousness that it referred to a Latin translation or version of the Greek New Testament. Nor do I now, after having the benefit of the bishop's elucidation, regard it as testifying to a Latin version. I consider the bishop's explanation as illusory and his English translation incorrect and false; and his serious attempt to torture and convert Tertullian's interpretation of the Greek word *Logos* into a Latin translation of the Greek New Testament is unbecoming and unjustifiable. I append the Latin of Tertullian, the literal translation, and the falsified translation, or, rather, paraphrase of the bishop, with the translation of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library as a footnote.²

¹ See my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 148.

² "This Reason is His own Thought [or Consciousness], which the Greeks call *λόγος*, by which term we also designate Word [or Discourse]; and therefore it is now usual with our people, owing to the mere simple interpretation of the term, to say that the Word was in the beginning with God; although it would be more suitable to regard Reason as the more ancient, because God had not Word from the beginning, but He had Reason even before the beginning" (*Tertullian*, vol. ii. p. 341).

TERTULLIAN.

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

BISHOP WESTCOTT'S
FALSIFICATION AND
MISTRANSLATION.

Ante omnia enim Deus erat solus, ipsi sibi et mundus et locus et omnia. Solus autem, quia nihil aliud extrinsecus præter illum. Cæterum, ne tunc quidem solus; habebat enim secum, quam habebat in semetipso, rationem suam scilicet. Rationalis etiam Deus, et ratio in ipso prius; et ita, ab ipso omnia. Quæ ratio, sensus ipsius est. Hanc Græci λόγον dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam sermonem appellamus. Ideoque jam in usu est nostrorum, per simplicitatem interpretationis, sermonem dicere in primordio apud Deum fuisse; cum magis rationem competat antiquiorem haberi; quia non sermonalis a principio, sed rationalis Deus etiam ante principium. — *Adverus Praxeam*, ch. 5.

For before all things God was alone, himself for himself, world and space and all things. But alone, because there was extrinsically nothing else except himself. But not even then was he alone; for he had with him that which he had in himself, namely, his own reason. For God is rational, and reason was previously in him; and so all things from himself. Which reason is the sense of himself. This the Greeks call λόγος, by which term also we designate a word. And so it is now in the practice of our people, through the simplicity of the interpretation, to say that the Word was in the beginning with God; although it suits better that reason should be used as more ancient; because *he was* from the beginning not a speaking, but a reasoning God, even before the beginning.

“Reason is called by the Greeks *Logos*, a word equivalent to *Sermo* in Latin. And so it is already customary for our countrymen to say, through a rude and simple translation, that the Word of Revelation was in the beginning with God, while it is more correct to regard the rational word as antecedent to this, because God in the beginning was not manifested in intercourse with man, but existed in self contemplation.”

Tertullian's remarks are not easy to understand, but I take him to mean here that the vocable λόγος is applied by the Greeks to the Reason of God, but as the same vocable is employed by people to indicate a *word*, the vocable *word* has come to be used for the λόγος, or Reason of God; so it has become the common practice to say, In the beginning was the Word; but it better suits the ancient meaning to say Reason instead of the Word, thus, In the beginning was Reason. To convert this statement into a proof that Tertullian had a Latin

version of the New Testament is to my mind simply ludicrous. It is a form of verbal tergiversation which I consider beneath and unbecoming to the erudition of Bishop Westcott, about which there can be no mistake. The bishop has not translated, but paraphrased Tertullian, and inoculated the not over-clear language of this Latin writer with the meaning which he desired. Of the art of changing the meaning of an author this learned prelate of the Anglican Church is a past master; and I have given a striking example of his proficiency in the art in his exegesis of John xx. 21-23, on the remission of sins. See the Bishop's *Commentary on John*, and my remarks in my work *On the Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 309 ff.

In the next quotation from Tertullian put forward to prove that a Latin version was not 'a critic's fancy' but 'a reality,' Bishop Westcott has not paraphrased or mistranslated the Latin of Tertullian, but he has misunderstood the meaning of that writer from the influence of preconception or of the strong desire to prove his point. For the benefit of the reader, and also for the necessary purpose of enabling him to perceive and check any misrepresentation of Bishop Westcott on my part, I quote the passage in its entirety:—

"Again, when arguing to prove that a second marriage is only allowed to a woman who had lost her first husband before her conversion to the Christian faith, inasmuch as this second husband is indeed her first, he adds in reference to the passage of St Paul (1 Cor. vii. 39), which he has quoted before: 'We must know that the phrase in the original Greek is *not* the same as that which has gained currency [among us] through a clever or simple perversion of two syllables: *if, however, her husband shall fall asleep*, as if it were said of the future. . . .'¹ The connection of this passage with the last is evident. An ambiguous translation had passed into common use, and must therefore have been supported by some recognised claim. That this was grounded on the general reception of the version in which it was found is implied in the language of Tertullian. The '*simple* rendering' and the '*simple* perversion' naturally refer to some literal Latin translation already circulated in Africa" (*Canon of New Testament*, p. 252 of 6th ed.).

In the quotation Tertullian makes no mention of a Latin transla-

¹ "*De Monog.*, ch. 11: Sciamus plane non sic esse in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem: *si autem dormierit vir ejus*, quasi de futuro sonet." I should translate the adjectives 'callidam aut simplicem' as *crafty* or *innocent*, as I believe that Tertullian was aware of the changes made in the Sacred Writings by Popes and the College at Alexandria, and was disgusted by the crafty changes, but not by the innocent or mere literary embellishments.

His disgust at the crafty changes contributed to his secession from the orthodox Church.

tion of the Epistle of Paul, but of the original or authentic Greek text of it, in which two syllables, he says, had been *everted* or *perverted*, as Bishop Westcott translates, or *altered*, as the Ante-Nicene Christian Library prefers; or *changed* in the text of the epistle that was in use. All that could be gathered from the words is that the Greek text in use varied from the original or authentic Greek text, or the first edition. There is not a word said about a Latin translation or text. There is, doubtless, a comparison made; but as Tertullian does not say that the comparison is between a Greek and Latin text, he can only be understood to compare things of the same kind, *ejusdem generis*, as the lawyers say, that is, the Greek text in common use with the original or authentic Greek text. To think that the comparison is between a Greek with a Latin text is begging the question, *i.e.* it is taking as proved the very fact that has to be proved. Bishop Westcott has, however, made this mistake in reasoning, and thinks, as may be seen from his footnote, that in the Latin text the word that ought to have been used is *dormiit* or *dormiet*, which was changed to *dormierit*, *i.e.* the final syllable *it* or *et* was changed into *erit*. This is a change of one syllable, whereas Tertullian speaks of the change of two syllables. Bishop Westcott's great erudition supplies a Greek reading which exactly corresponds with Tertullian's statement. He says, in his footnote, that it is possible Tertullian read *κεκοίμηται* in the original, which was changed to *κοιμηθῆ*, as in our received Greek text. Here the initial and final syllables, *κε* and *ται*, of the word which has been changed, counted up, exactly amount to two, which was the actual number of syllables which Tertullian says had been changed. Thus is demonstrated that the comparison made by Tertullian was not between the original Greek text and a Latin translation, but between two Greek texts, the original and the one in common use. This second quotation made by Bishop Westcott, instead of proving the existence of a Latin translation of the New Testament, proves on the contrary that there was no Latin translation used by Tertullian, which is only the chimæra or fancy of a shockingly illogical critic.¹

Even if it be admitted that these two quotations, which appear to be the whole stock-in-trade of our theologians, prove the existence of Latin translations, which of course cannot be admitted on

¹ I show further on (see ch. xii.) that in Tertullian's days two editions of Luke's Gospel had been issued. He used the first edition while writing his treatise against Marcion. He had the first edition of John's Gospel while discussing the subject of remission of sins, while Origen had the second or third editions. Hence the fact was that a second edition of the Epistles of Paul had been issued in Tertullian's time which differed from the first edition in some passages; a statement that is neither incredible nor improbable, nor even uncertain.

evidence of this fallacious description, they would only prove the existence of translations of the Gospel of John, and of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which, however, do not constitute the book called the New Testament. Bishop Westcott perceived this, and proceeds to remark that it being "then a fact beyond doubt that a Latin translation of some of the books of the New Testament was current in Africa in Tertullian's time. . . . It appears from another passage that this translation embraced a collection of the Christian scriptures. 'We lay down,' he says, 'in the first place that the Evangelical Instrument [the collection of the authoritative documents of the Gospel¹] rests on Apostolic authority.' The very name by which the collection was called witnessed to the simplicity of the version. 'Marcion,' Tertullian writes just before, 'supposed that different gods were the authors of the two *Instruments*, or, as it is usual to speak, of the two *Testaments*.' The word *Testament* (διαθήκη) would naturally find a place in a 'simple' version; otherwise it is not easy to see how it could have supplanted the more usual term." In a footnote to this passage, the Bishop states: "The phrase *Novum Testamentum* was used both of the Christian dispensation and of the records of it (*Adv. Marc.*, iv. 22; *Adv. Prax.*, xxxi.). *Instrumentum* is used in late Latin of public or official documents, e.g. *Instrumenta litis*—*Instrumentum imperii* (Suet., *Vesp.* 8).—*Instrumenti publici auctoritas* (Suet., *Cal.* 8). It is a favourite word with Tertullian." The drift of the bishop's argument is difficult to discover. Tertullian speaks of the four Gospels as the Evangelical Instrument, and even as the *Novum Testamentum*, but he does not say that the Evangelical Instrument or *Novum Testamentum* was in the Latin language, which is the point to be proved, and nothing else. Bishop Westcott here displays in a humiliating manner his deficiency as a critic. Tertullian, writing in Latin, refers to the four Gospels as the *Novum Testamentum*. It is preposterous, and begging the question, to argue from the use of Latin words by an author writing in Latin to indicate the four Gospels, that the latter were translated into Latin. The bishop endeavours to blind the common-sense of his readers by throwing in a pinch of learned dust to help to prevent them from perceiving the lameness and futility of his contention. It is equivalent to arguing from the circumstance that a French writer who is acquainted with English, alluded to a well known

¹ The reader should be informed that this clause within brackets is not found in Tertullian, but has been put in by Bishop Westcott, to make the subject simple to the reader's understanding. Tertullian's expression only embraces the four Gospels, not the other Scriptures.

biographical work as the *Vie de docteur Johnson par Boswell*, that this work had been translated into French, which is not the fact. Bishop Westcott has as little justification for asserting a Latin translation of the Gospels as he would have for making the same assertion regarding the Marcionite Gospel, that Tertullian quoted from a Latin translation of it !

Tertullian was a denizen of the Roman province of Africa, in which Latin was the literary language during the two centuries with which we are concerned, the second and third centuries. The African writers of this period wrote in Latin. But in Italy during the same period, Latin ceased in a very great measure to be the language of literature, of philosophy and theology, having been supplanted by Greek, not only in Italy but also in Continental Europe, and in the Asiatic provinces of the Roman Empire. As there is no evidence of a trustworthy character brought forward by our two theologians to show that a Latin version of the New Testament existed in Africa, there is also no evidence given by them of a Latin version existing at this period in Italy. All ecclesiastical writings were expressed in Greek—even the so-called apocryphal Gospels, or the evangelical story-books that circulated amongst the common people, and were read in the assemblies or *ecclesie*. The cessation of the use of Latin in Italy as a literary vehicle does not imply the discontinuance of that language as the ordinary speech of the people. Latin continued to be the language in which the transactions of commerce, the proceedings of Government, the deliberations of the Senate, the processes of the courts of law, were carried on ; and the decrees of the emperors were always issued in the national language of ancient Rome. The letters of Constantine, which were of the nature of decrees, to Christian Councils of Bishops, quoted in Greek by Eusebius and other Greek historians, were written in Latin, and translated into Greek. His speeches were delivered in Latin chiefly. For many centuries Latin was the literary medium of Europe, including England, without the national speech of peoples being thereby extinguished. It is a historical fact which cannot be controverted, that Greek was the literary language of Europe at this period, and that all Christian authors with whom we are acquainted, with a few exceptions,¹ wrote in Greek. No ecclesiastical writings of other descriptions, with the single exception of the ill-written scrawl of the Muratorian fragment, have descended to us written in Latin. An

¹ There is a doubt whether Minutius Felix, who wrote in Latin, flourished in the second or third century. The authorship of the Latin writings attributed to Novatian is not too well authenticated. They were originally attributed to African writers, and were intended for African readers. Lactantius was an African.

attempt has been made to fix the date of the Latin translation of Irenæus at the close of the second or beginning of the third century, on the plea that Tertullian, who, it should be remembered, knew Greek, had the Latin translation in his hands. In two or three passages, Tertullian's representation of certain details of the Gnostic theology coincides with the Latin translation but not with the Greek original (see Stieren, *Præf. et Prol.*, p. 36). The original Greek of Irenæus, however, it should be further remembered, is lost, and the Greek passages in question are only known to us second hand, from quotations and transcripts made by later writers. It is assumed that Tertullian obtained his information from Irenæus, and not from his own knowledge, or from other writers, an assumption which is gratuitous, as Tertullian does not state his source. Further, the Latin translator may have preferred, as more correct, Tertullian's representation of these details, which are unimportant, rather than that of Irenæus, and hence followed Tertullian. The plea is too flimsy to establish this exception to the historical fact that at this period Greek was the literary and theological language of Europe. It can only be contended that the Latin translation, if it appeared at the early date claimed, was prepared for the use of those who were unacquainted with Greek, that is, for the illiterate. The character of the work of Irenæus is of a nature that could not have excited the curiosity, or have tempted the desire of the illiterate or the populace; and hence no writer of the early date stated could have had a motive for undertaking the task of a Latin translation of the heavy and recondite work of Irenæus. That the translator was not faithful to his original is a fact that cannot be disputed. His renderings of Irenæus' quotations from the Gospels of his day prove the fact. One item of translation, which, however, does not imply unfaithfulness, gives a denial to the early date claimed. The Latin translator of Irenæus renders the very important word Logos in the Fourth Gospel by the Latin word 'verbum.' This was the rendering at a later age. Tertullian invariably translates Logos as *sermo*.¹ The Latin language spoken in Africa was the same as the language of Italy, and it is difficult to think that African Christians at the beginning of the third century employed a theological terminology that differed from that in common use at the time by the Italian Christians. Bishop Westcott adopts the view that the Latin translation of Irenæus "was probably known to Tertullian" (*Canon of New Testament*, Part I, ch. iii. sect. 2, p. 256 of 5th ed.); while his coadjutor Dr Hort, with

¹ I do not know for certain that the early rendering of Logos in France was *le mot* or *la parole*, but I think it probable. The present rendering is incorrect French, and utterly alien to the sense of the Greek Logos. A grammatical term, *le verbe*, was forced into theological use to produce a phonetic resemblance to the Vulgate rendering of verbum. '*Le verbe*' does not mean the Word, or even Reason.

whom he professes unanimity and joint responsibility, repudiates this view, and maintains "that the true date of the translation is the fourth century" (sect. 220).

Such being the dearth of Latin ecclesiastical writings in Italy in the second and third centuries, it was incumbent on our two theologians to give some evidence that Latin versions of the New Testament were current in that country, in support of their vague implication that they existed at this period. I have not succeeded in discovering either in Dr Hort's dissertation or in Bishop Westcott's independent writings any evidence in support of this implication.¹ The ten thousand pages of second and third century ecclesiastical writings were doubtless thoroughly examined, and even subjected to severe hydraulic pressure by practised hands, without any result that theological 'candour' could utilise. It is not till we come to the second half of the fourth century that we hear from Jerome for the first time of the existence of Latin versions of the Scriptures in Italy. "After the fall of paganism," says Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. liii.) "the loss of Syria and Egypt, and the extinction of the schools of Alexandria and Athens, the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries, and above all to the royal College of Constantinople, which was burnt in the reign of Leo the Isaurian." It was at this period, the first half of the fourth century, that the renaissance of Latin as the language of literature, philosophy, and theology began in Italy. The study of Virgil became a popular craze, in which the Christians of the period participated. Irenæus tell us that in his time (second century) there was a practice of constructing short poems by putting together lines selected here and there from the verses of Homer; of which he gives an example (Bk. i. ix. 4). His contemporary and survivor Tertullian mentions the prevalence of the same pastime in Africa. But in Africa not only was Homer so dealt with, showing that Greek was cultivated by African literary men, but also Virgil, about whom Irenæus is silent. "The poetasters who employed Homeric verses," says Tertullian, "were called Homerocentones." The subjects of these new poems were exclusively secular, and he names two of them. Hosidius Geta completely pilfered his

¹ Dr Hort, in comparing Latin translations current in Italy in the fourth century with the imaginary African Latin translations of the second and third centuries, says, sect. 109, that there are many differences between them which "are fully compatible with the supposition that the African was the parent of the European text," but there are other differences which "afford some justification for the alternative view that Italy had an indigenous version of her own, not less original than the African." Dr Westcott brings in "the probability" of the Latin translation of Irenæus being known to Tertullian, and the scriptural quotations from it being "evidently taken from a foreign source," namely, an imaginary *Vetus Latina* (*Canon of New Testament*, part i. ch. iii.).

tragedy of "Medea" from Virgil, and a relative or neighbour composed out of selected lines from the same poet a poem which he named "Pinax Cebetis," or the Table of Cebes (*Præscrip. Ad. Her.*, ch. xxxix.). In the fourth century centos were composed in Italy out of Virgil on Christian subjects. The Christian Probo Fultonia thus compiled the story of the Old Testament, and Marcus Victorinus a hymn on the Passion. All such Christian poems were for nearly two centuries attributed to Virgil until Pope Gelasius (A.D. 492) denounced the imposture. The zeal and ardour with which Virgil was studied in Italy in the fourth century is a clear indication of the resuscitation of the Latin language. His poems were taught in the schools; and it is even said that Jerome in his school at Bethlehem used Virgil as a text-book. Augustine quoted the poet freely in writing his *De Civitate Dei*. Virgil was now counted among the prophets who foretold the advent of Christ, chiefly because of the Fourth Eclogue; and Augustine refers to lines 13 and 14 of this eclogue in discussing the remission of sins. The pagan poet was adopted by Christians as a witness of the faith.¹ Eusebius puts into the mouth of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, in his Great Oration, a considerable portion of the Fourth Eclogue.

The inscriptions in the Catacombs at Rome also provide evidence of the prevalence of the Greek language in the early centuries in Rome, and of its gradual subsidence in the fourth century. An American writer says: "Most of the epitaphs . . . were written in Latin. Nevertheless a considerable portion are in Greek, to which circumstance several causes conduced. Although Latin was the language of the mass of the Roman population, yet Greek was also spoken largely by the educated classes. We know, too, from the pages of Juvenal and contemporary writers, that Rome swarmed with numbers of slaves and others from Greece and Asia Minor, who, although they might be able to speak Latin, would find it very difficult to write it. Moreover, Greek seems to have been in the early centuries a sort of ecclesiastical language, just as Latin is now throughout Roman Catholic Christendom. It was in this language that the glad tidings of the new evangel were first declared. . . . Probably a religious sentiment led to the adoption, even by those to whom it was unfamiliar, of the language in which their holiest teachings and highest hopes had been originally conveyed." "The epitaphs are for the most part written in uncial characters, frequently without any separation of the words, although sometimes they are divided by spaces, points and leaves." Sometimes Latin words are recorded in Greek characters, thus: BENE MEPENTI ΦΙΛΙΕ

¹ See Prof. Domenico Comparetti's *Vergil in The Middle Ages*.

ΘΕΟΔΟΡΕ ΚΥΕ ΒΙΞΙΤ ΜΗCΙC ΧΙ ΔΙΕΞ ΧVΙΙΙ. Read, Bene merenti filiæ Theodoræ, qui vixit menses xi. dies xviii. To our well-deserving daughter Theodora, who lived eleven months and eighteen days. Sometimes the two languages are strangely blended in the same epitaph; and occasionally a Greek inscription is found in Latin characters, as in the following: PRIMA IRENE SOI. Read, Πρῶμα, εἰρήνη σοι, Prima, peace to thee. "The proportion of Greek inscriptions among these before the time of Constantine is estimated at one-eighth. After that period it is less, indicating the gradual decline of Greek influence. Of eleven thousand extant inscriptions, De Rossi states about six thousand belong to the first four centuries and are from the Catacombs; the rest were found above ground. Of these six thousand, about four thousand are before the year 324 A.D., when Constantine became sole emperor. After 313 A.D., subterranean sepulture rapidly decreased" (*The Catacombs of Rome*, by Rev. W. H. Withrow, 1876).

That there were no Latin translations of the Scriptures in the second and third centuries is a circumstance that ought not to excite either surprise or wonderment. In Italy there was no demand for them, as the reading public preferred Greek. Furthermore, it is highly probable that both in Italy and Africa the Church at this period discouraged the translation into the vulgar tongue. I have no direct proof to offer which bears on this point, but I refer to the fact that for centuries during the Middle Ages the Church discountenanced the translation of the Latin Scriptures or Vulgate into the ordinary languages of the nations of Europe, and I am uncertain whether the prohibition is not still in force, though perhaps neglected.¹ In England for many centuries there was no English translation.² Wycliffe, in the fourteenth century, was the first translator of the Scriptures into English. The translation was an act of heresy and a revolt against the Church, and was one, if not the chief cause, which led to the desecration of his remains in his parish at Lutterworth. The present translations in European languages were the work of the Protestant Reformers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The opinion may have been fostered by the designing and interested ecclesiastics of this period among a simple and superstitious people in the early centuries, that it was sacrilege to translate the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue. Such prohibitions and opinions regarding sacred writings we find prevailing amongst the followers of Mahomed, even in the present day. The faithful

¹ The Council of Toulouse prohibited translations of the Vulgate in 1229.

² There were Anglo-Saxon translations of parts of the New Testament, the Gospels, but these were private and unofficial.

are prohibited from reading the Koran in any language but Arabic in which it was written, and translations are not permitted. There exists no translation of the Koran in the languages of the Mahomedan nations of European and Asiatic Turkey, Ægypt, Persia, Afghanistan, or of the Mahomedan populations of India, and it is regarded by these religionists as a sacrilege to make such translations. The sacred writings of the Brahmins were not translated into living languages for ages, and even the right to read them was reserved to the priestly caste.

I have not been able to discover any evidence which may reasonably be considered satisfactory that Latin translations of the Scriptures had been made and existed either in Italy or Africa during the second and third centuries. We have already seen that our two theologians have produced no evidence in support of their vague implication of the existence of such translations in Italy; and that the evidence with regard to Africa put forth by them is fallacious, being obtained by the misrepresentation and deliberate falsification in translation of Tertullian's writings. The great and insurmountable difficulty of proving the African translation is testified to not only by the necessity that compelled Bishop Westcott, whose knowledge of theological literature is very extensive, to commit a breach of some at least of the ten commandments, but also by the recourse which he and his coadjutor Dr Hort have had to a later writer, of the expiring fourth century and the advanced fifth century, to gather in hydraulic evidence or pseudo-evidence of an alleged fact of the second or third centuries. St Augustine, the author subjected to pressure, was born in Africa in 354 A.D., and was a pagan to past his thirtieth year, when he was converted, during his sojourn in Italy for the practice of his profession, by St Ambrose, about 386 A.D., at Milan. Though educated for the profession of rhetorician, he was very partially acquainted with Greek, showing that the study of this language had declined in Africa just as it did in Italy at this period. His modern biographers say that he was ignorant of Greek and Hebrew, or had a superficial knowledge of the former language. He read the New Testament in a Latin translation, perhaps that made by Jerome, which had then been published. His earliest writings date from his conversion, and the latest with his life, which terminated in 430 A.D.¹ Our two theologians press into service every remark to be found in St Augustine's writings bearing on the subject of

¹ This great Father of the Church, renowned for his piety, was the first who advocated the horrid principle that heretics should be punished with temporal punishment and death. See his 48th Epistle *ad Vincent.*, and his 50th *ad Bonifac.* The most unchristian and abominable institution of the Inquisition is traceable to him. Ecclesiastical Christianity has brought more evil than good to humanity.

translations. Bishop Westcott quotes the remark : "Every one in the first times of the faith who gained possession of a Greek manuscript and fancied that he had any little acquaintance with both Greek and Latin ventured to translate it" (Aug., *de doctri. Christ.*, ii. 16 (xi.). This remark the bishop spontaneously and of his own accord declares is "of little weight"; but naturally from the absolute dearth of the kind of evidence which he is in search of, he attributes a little weight to an observation of a character which has no weight at all. Augustine, commenting on Zech. ix. 9 compared with Matt. xxi. 7 and John xii. 14, 15, says, "But it is not so either as John has put it, or the *ecclesiastical codex of translation in common use*" (*De Cons. Evox.*, ii. 128 (lxvi.). The Latin words are put in italics by Bishop Westcott, possibly to imply that there was an ancient and original African 'ecclesiastical recension'; but Augustine meant the translation current in the fourth or fifth centuries, his own times. Another remark quoted is : "In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* cæteris præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ" (*De doctri. Christ.*, ii. 22 (xv.). But amongst these translations the *Itala*¹ should be preferred to the others, for it is closer to the text with clearness of meaning. These words seem harmless, and to the ordinary reader afford no proof of an African translation, because Jerome had already stated that there were several Latin translations made in Italy in the fourth century, and no writer on the face of the earth in those times had said a word about an African Latin translation. But Bishop Westcott squeezes out the hidden significance of Augustine's preference of the *Itala*. He says : "The last clause probably points to the character by which the *Itala* was distinguished from the *Africana*. If, as I believe, Tertullian's quotations exhibit the earliest forms of the latter, 'clearness of expression' was certainly not one of its merits." The intrepid ingenuity of the learned prelate almost takes one's breath away.² He next brings in the Latin translation of Irenæus, which he says was probably known to Tertullian; but this statement, it must be remembered, is rejected by Dr Hort, his coadjutor. "The Scriptural quotations which occur

¹ The late Dr Robertson Smith, editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, says in his article 'Bible' in that work (vol. iii. p. 647, ninth edition): "In truth no one knows what the *Itala* is, for it is mentioned only by Augustine, and by him only once." Augustine perhaps meant Jerome's translation, which was assuredly the best translation then made. The theologian Bentley, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1699, expressed the opinion that the *Itala* was "*somnium merum*," a mere dream.

² By suppositions of this nature original Latin translations may be demonstrated to have been made in every Roman province. *Itala*, it may be urged, was specially named in contradistinction not only to *Africana*, but also to *Gallica*, *Britannica*, *Hispanica*: hence there were Latin translations made in Gaul, Britain, Spain, and anywhere else you like.

in it," he says, "were evidently taken from some foreign source, and not rendered by the translator. That this source was no other than a recension of the *Vetus Latina* appears from the coincidence of readings which it exhibits with the most trustworthy manuscripts of the version. In other words, the *Vetus Latina* is recognised as the first Latin literature of the Church: it can be traced back as far as the earliest records of Latin Christianity, and every circumstance connected with it indicates the most remote antiquity." The "coincidences of readings" or "relations of text" are displayed in a footnote. *Generationis* in the Latin translation of Irenæus and the Vulgate, and *genituræ* in Tertullian; *habet in utero* and *in ventre* in the former, *in ea natum est* in the latter, and in the Vulgate; *palam habens in manu ejus ad emundandam aream suam*, in one, and *palam in manu portat purgandam aream suam*, in the other, the Vulgate differing from both; and a few more. These are rather the reverse of coincidences. The coincidences in the two sets of quotations are such words as *fructum*, *vivit*, *(tu) es filius Dei*, which do not strike one as very surprising (*Canon of New Testament*, part 2, ch. iii.). The "most trustworthy manuscripts of the version" must, I suppose, be the quotations themselves, as the learned bishop cannot mean MSS. of the *Vetus Latina* which have no existence. By such statements and considerations as the above, all of which have been shown categorically to be false, or erroneous, or the offspring of the bishop's learned ingenuity, Bishop Westcott has constructed an imaginary abstraction of a Latin translation of the Scriptures, which he calls *Vetus Latina*, and declares to have been of great antiquity! It is not possible to construct something, even an imaginary abstraction, out of nothing.

Though Bishop Westcott has pressed into service every reference to a Latin translation to be found in St Augustine's writings, he has abstained, in his independent works, from quoting one of Augustine's references to translations. In this omission I perceive a proof of the bishop's scholarship and sagacity. His coadjutor Dr Hort, however, does not allow this reference, passed over in silence by Bishop Westcott, to escape service in the cause of establishing an imaginary African Latin translation. Speaking of St Augustine's *Itala*, Dr Hort says: "Without doubt this name was intended to distinguish the version or text which he had in view from the 'African' version or text with which he was likewise familiar ('Codices Afros,' *Retr.*, i. 21, 3.)" (Sect. 110.) Bishop Westcott's scholarship enabled him to perceive that Augustine's *Codices Afri* were not the same as *Codices Africani*. We are all familiar with Scipio Africanus, but Scipio Afer would not be his synonym. The relation would be as

different as that between Eusuf Khan, the Kandaharee, or native of Kandahar, and Lord Roberts of Kandahar. In the present day we have two words which approximately indicate the difference. Afer is the equivalent of African, and Africanus of Africänder. The 'Codices Afros' of St Augustine were not Latin translations, but translations in the vernacular languages of Africa. Latin was the language of the Roman settlers and their descendants in Africa, but the natives of Africa, the Numidians, Libyans, Getulians, Mauritanians and others had their own languages.¹ The districts inhabited by these various peoples were included in the pro-consular province of Africa. It is against the teachings of history to impose the language of the ruling power upon subjected races. While there is no proof of a Latin translation made in Africa, Augustine's expression 'Codices Afros' may be accepted as testimony of the translation of the Scriptures into the native languages of Africa in his times. The fourth century, according to the teaching of history, was the era of translations throughout the countries in which the Gospel had obtained a footing. We know that Ulphilas made a Gothic translation in this century, and there is no authentic proof that versions into other languages date earlier than the fourth century. Latin translations were made in Italy in the fourth century, and these were imported into Africa for the use of the Roman settlers who had embraced Christianity. The Roman Christians in Africa received their literary and theological supplies from Rome, just as in the present day our settlers in the various Colonies receive theirs from England. In the absence of any proof that original translations into Latin were made in Africa by the Roman settlers, this is the only legitimate conclusion that is justified by the silence of history, by probability, and modern analogy. The existence of a Latin translation original to Africa seems to an ordinary reader to be a matter of little importance, and the frenzy of theologians to prove it by falsification, straining of language, and breaches of the ten commandments and of the rules of logic, appears to be uncalled for and motiveless. But, as I shall show further on, there is a strong reason for establishing this pseudo-fact, which provides modern theologians with a motive for passing beyond the line of what is right and justifiable, as is the historical practice of theologians and ecclesiastics of all ages, when something stood in their way which they desired to knock down. It was deemed necessary to

¹ In the troubles connected with the Donatists in Africa, in the reign of Constantine, c. 321 A.D., the Circumcelliones, who were the aboriginal natives converted to Christianity, were unacquainted with Latin, and spoke the Punic of the country, according to Dean Milman (*History of Christianity*, Bk. iii. ch. i., p. 308 of 2nd ed., footnote).

wrestle with history and to extort from it a pseudo-fact which theologians who pose as textual critics could employ to discredit the evidence, regarding the original texts of the Gospels, of the writers of the second and third centuries whose works have come down to us in Latin ¹ (see page 353).

In the history of Jerome's Latin version we reach sure and stable ground in the search for a continuous translation of the text of the Gospels. About his translation there can be no mistake; and he informs us that there were Latin translations already in currency but all divergent from each other, badly translated, perversely corrected, with additions and changes. Every copy, he says, was an original codex. Pope Damasus commanded Jerome to make a new version. His preface, addressed to Damasus, of his revision of the Latin translation of the four Gospels, contains as much information as the reasonable demands of textual criticism require to authenticate a text. "You compel me," he says, "to make a new work from the old: that, after copies of the scriptures have been dispersed over the whole world, and because they vary amongst themselves, I, like an umpire in a chair, should determine which are those which agree with Greek truth. A pious task but dangerous presumption, to judge of others, to be judged oneself by all; to change the language to the old, and to bring back the world now grown grey, to the beginnings of the young. For what man, learned equally as the unlearned, when he has taken the volume into his hands, and has seen that what he reads differs from the salt which

¹ To maintain the fiction of the existence of a Latin translation of the New Testament in the second and third centuries, Protestant theologians have accepted the declarations and demonstrations of Roman Catholic divines, a collection of men notorious in history as ingenious inventors and propagators of falsehood. Cardinal Wiseman's special pleading regarding the antiquity of the Latin translation of the New Testament is utilised by Bishop Westcott. He says: "The best original investigation into the Old Latin Version is Wiseman's *Remarks on some parts of the controversy concerning 1 John v. 7*, originally printed in the *Catholic Magazine*, ii. iii., 1832 f., and republished at Rome, 1835" (*Canon of New Testament*, part i. ch. iii. sect. 2, p. 248, footnote, 6th ed.). Scrivener says: "On the ground of external evidence, Wiseman has made out a case which all who have followed him—Lachmann, Tischendorf, Davidson, Tregelles—accept as irresistible; it is not easy to draw any other conclusion from his elaborate comparison of the words, phrases, and grammatical constructions of the Latin version of the Holy Scripture, with the parallel instances by which they can be illustrated from African writers, and from them only (*Essays*, vol. i. pp. 46-66). It is impossible to exhibit any adequate abridgment of an investigation which owes all its cogency to the number and variety of minute particulars, each one weak enough by itself, the whole comprising a mass of evidence which cannot be gainsaid" (*Plain Introduction to Criticism of New Testament*, ch. iii. sect. 4). It is to be regretted that neither Westcott nor Scrivener, nor any other Protestant divine, has given his readers a short detailed account of Cardinal Wiseman's demonstration, as his essays are difficult to procure. A disinterested investigator may possibly find the Cardinal's demonstration insufficient to support the Catholic yearning for establishing Latin as the language of the Church from the earliest times.

he once imbibed, does not immediately burst into voice exclaiming that I, who dare to add anything to the ancient books, to change and to correct, am a falsifier and committer of sacrilege. Against which reproach a double cause consoles me, both that you who are the chief priest command *it* to be done, and that the truth is not what varies is proved even by the testimony of evil-speakers. For if reliance is to be placed on Latin copies, let them answer on which of them, for there are almost as many copies as codices. But if the truth is to be sought from many, why not, reverting to the Greek original, do we not correct those things which are badly rendered by vicious translators, or more perversely corrected by unlearned presumers, or have been added or changed by sleepy transcribers. But I do not dispute about the old instrument, which, translated into the Greek language by the seventy elders, has come down to us in the third degree. I do not seek what Aquila, what Symmachus thought right, why Theodotion stepped in the middle between the new and the old *translators*. Let that be the true translation which the Apostles have approved. I now speak regarding the New Testament, which there is no doubt was Greek, except the Apostle Matthew, who first published the Gospel of Christ in Hebrew letters. This certainly, since it is in discord in our language and runs in different paths of rivers, should be sought from one spring. I pass over these codices, which named from Lucian and Hesychius,¹ the perverse contention of a few men asserts; to whom, indeed, it was not permitted to amend anything in the whole old instrument after the Septuagint translators, nor was it of any avail to have made amendments in the new *instrument*, since the scripture before having been translated into the languages of many nations teaches that what *things* have been added were false. Therefore this present little preface offers only the four Gospels, of which the order is Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, amended by the collation of Greek, but old codices; which, that they might not differ much from the usage of the Latin reading, we have so tempered with the pen that those *things* only which seem to have changed the sense being corrected, we suffered the rest to remain as they were. We have also copied the Canons, which Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsaræa, following Ammonius of Alexandria, arranged in ten numbers, as they are in the Greek." And he goes on to describe the mode of using these canons.

The preface of Jerome contains the first intimation in history of the existence of translations of the Scriptures into the languages of

¹ These codices of Lucian and Hesychius were not Latin translations, but Greek recensions of the Gospels.

many nations. The date of it is 383 A.D. There is nothing that Jerome tells us of these translations that is opposed to the silence of history upon the subject in the second and third centuries. There was ample time in the advanced fourth century, when Jerome wrote, for the preparation and dissemination of translations. The Latin translations that he condemns were private and made by private persons, and were not such as the great ecclesiastical writers, who wrote in Latin, would quote. Of his own translation, he tells us that it was amended by collation with ancient Greek manuscripts, and that he spared the existing Latin translations as much as he safely could. He does not name the Greek manuscripts which he used, and perhaps if he had done so, we should not be much the wiser. The principles that guided him appear to be much the same as those followed by the translators of our Authorised and Revised Versions, who adhered as much as they could to previous translations, and have not named the Greek texts which they followed. The presumption of better originals is, however, in favour of Jerome's translation, for we may feel assured that he knew the history of his Greek texts; whereas our English translators and revisers were ignorant of the history of the Greek codices they followed; and, further, there cannot be the least uncertainty that Jerome's Greek codices were more ancient and authentic than those possessed and used by our own translators. Jerome's Latin translation of the four Gospels has survived to our days, and ought to be the standard text of the fourth century. It was executed by order of the head of the Christian Church, by the most learned and most competent man of his age. It cannot, however, be conceded that it represents the original text of the Gospels of the second century. But it is the oldest in date and the most approved text, in substance, in the mind of a textual critic, that we possess. The fact that it is in Latin, and not in Greek, is no objection against its pre-eminence in quality. The Latin translation of Jerome was probably the text followed in the Anglo-Saxon versions made in England. Wycliffe was ignorant of Greek, which was a language unknown and not studied in Western Europe in his days. He was a priest of the Church of Rome, and hence had no prejudice against Jerome; and the probability is that he followed Jerome's Latin translation in making his English version. The popery sentiments of the Reformers, which were shared by the translators of 1611, debarred them from employing as their standard Jerome's translation of the Gospels, which was the most ancient and best accredited continuous text at their command.

It is to be regretted that our historians have neglected the subject of the ecclesiastical language of the second and third centuries. The

early language of the Church has thus fallen unprotected into the hands of contending theologians and sectaries, and has been torn into rags. According to these learned personages the language of the early Church was that which best suited their respective ecclesiastical pretensions. On the whole, Protestants decide on Greek, and Romanists on Latin. Bishop Westcott says: "The first sermons which were preached at Rome were in Greek; and to the present time the services of the Church of Rome bear clear traces that Greek was at first the language of its liturgy" (*Canon of the New Testament*, part i. ch. iii.). Jesus, according to many Protestant divines, spoke in Greek. Romanists, on the other hand, assign pre-eminence to the Latin language. According to them, "Latin was the ancient language employed by St Peter when he first said Mass at Rome: and such was the language in which that prince of the apostles drew up the Liturgy" (Dr Rock's *Hierurgia*, II. iv. 3). Meg Dodds' reasonable precept, before making soup, of first catching the hare, has been forgotten by Dr Rock, who has omitted to prove that there was a Mass or Liturgy at this early period. He continues, "From the time of the Apostles, Latin has been invariably employed at the altar through the western parts of Christendom." Again the uncaught hare. Was there an altar in the time of the Apostles? The heading of Dr Rock's second chapter of Part II. is "Christ said the first Mass." As Peter and all the apostles said Mass in Latin, the implication is that Christ also spoke that language. Perhaps the Delphic oracle would declare that Christ and the apostles and the early Christians spoke the language which they knew best and no other. Dean Alford, in his *Prolegomena*, tells us that the Romanists assert that the Gospel of Mark was originally written in Latin; and that in his days (1849) the original autograph in Latin of the Gospel was shown in the Library of St Mark's at Venice.¹ The two ancient Syriac versions of the Gospel contain a marginal note stating that Mark preached in Rome in Latin; and four Greek MSS. of the Gospel enumerated by Scholz, Roman Catholic Professor of Sacred Literature at Bonn at the beginning of the nineteenth century, append a notice that the Gospel was written in Latin at Rome.

Jerome's allusion to Latin translations does not give me the impression that they were very numerous. There were almost as many copies as codices, he says. Each copy was in fact an independent translation. A dozen such independent translations would answer to his expression 'many,' or even a smaller number. There

¹ Scrivener says that this "original Gospel of St Mark" at Venice is a fragment of the Codex Forojuliensis, which he assigns to the sixth century (*Introduction to Criticism of New Testament*, ch. iii. sect. 4).

is gross exaggeration in Dr Hort's representation that "the endless multiplicity of texts in the Latin copies at length induced Jerome, about 383, to undertake a more thorough revision of the same kind" (sect. 111). Jerome did not spontaneously or willingly undertake the task, but did so by express command of the Pope, which he felt himself compelled to obey. That there was a revision previous to Jerome's is only a fancy of theologians. Of the surviving ancient MSS. of Latin translations, four of them "are usually marked as Old Latin" (sect. 114), that is to say, the *Vetus Latina* of the imagination of theologians, and Dr Hort says these date from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, but no information is given regarding the persons who decided their age, nor the *data* which guided them. These MSS. are on a par with the great Greek codices, and being without credentials are equally worthless for the purpose of textual criticism. In fact, Dr Hort says, "they are as yet imperfectly known," and have not been studied (sect. 113 and 114).

The Syriac versions are said by Dr Hort to be three in number, but Mrs Lewis has since his time contributed a fourth Syriac version of the Gospels. Of these the principal is, "The great popular version commonly called the Peshito or *Simple*. External evidence as to its date and history is entirely wanting; but there is no reason to doubt that it is at least as old as the Latin version" (sect. 118). The absence of all knowledge of the date or history of the Peshito is a good reason for not admitting it to be of the age of the Latin version of Jerome; and it further weakens the value of the Peshito for the purpose of textual criticism. The Peshito does not contain the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, Jude, and the Apocalypse. Dr Hort is far more moderate than other theologians in his statements regarding the age of these ancient Syriac versions. Cureton's Syriac version (1858) he assigns to the fifth century. Other theologians allow their imaginations to run wild upon these Syriac documents, about which nobody in our times can possibly learn anything at all. The greater number take it for granted that the Peshito dates from the second or third century; and Cureton's elated imagination threw back the date of his MS. to the first century, when the Canonical Gospels were not in existence. It is a great fall from the first to the fifth century, assigned by Dr Hort to the Curetonian MS. It is not given to the greater portion of mankind to know Syriac, nor to possess or obtain the loan of ancient Greek writings. If the statement regarding a Syriac version attributed to Ephraem Syrus be correct and referred to the New Testament, the existence of such a version in the fourth century may be conceded. But it does not follow that the derelict MSS. of Syriac

versions in the British Museum and elsewhere are the identical version alluded to by the ancient Syrian writer who lived in the second half of the fourth century. The oldest copy of the Peshito is Adler's, in the Vatican, dated 548 A.D. Theologians having successfully invented an Old Latin translation, or *Vetus Latina*, have further extended their speculative powers to the invention of an Old Syriac version which, however, has an existence only in their imagination (sect. 118). The invention of an Old Latin version or *Vetus Latina* was made for a definite purpose, namely, for disparaging and thereby setting aside and ignoring the evidence of the Ante-Nicene Fathers regarding the ancient text of the Gospels. The invention of an old Syriac text was without a definite object, and was a waste of the efforts of intellect. Perhaps it was fabricated to form a plausible bolster and correlative support to the imaginary *Vetus Latina*. The great antiquity fondly attributed to the Peshito and Curetonian MSS. is a manifestation of the principle, common to the ignorant and to the designing learned, of magnifying the unknown.¹ *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*. A Syriac version was made in 508 A.D. by Polycarpus for Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug or Mabbogh. This has not survived; but we possess a revision of it made by Thomas of Harkel in 616 A.D. (sect. 119). The age of this MS. is not stated. It appears to have been discovered in 1730. Mrs Lewis discovered in 1892 in the Convent of St Catharine in Sinai, a Syriac palimpsest in which the Gospels had been expunged; and "the upper writing," she says in her Introduction, "was a very entertaining account of the lives of women saints, and that its date was, as I then read it, a thousand and nine years after Alexander, that is, 697 A.D. After the word 'nine' there is a small hole in the vellum, which, as Mr Rendel Harris believes, occupies the place of the syllable corresponding to the 'ty' of 'ninety,' and the date is thus probably 778 A.D." This manuscript of the Gospels was manifestly not considered of much value by the ancient Church which used it, for it was sponged clean to make way for stories about pious women, "of a very racy character," Mrs Lewis says, which were well thumbed by generations of Sinai monks, and "throw a

¹ I should add, however, that theologians have disputed warmly amongst themselves on the subject of the date of the Peshito. Wetstein assigned it to the seventh century, to the general horror. It has even been whispered that it is a spurious version and wretched forgery. Eusebius' statement respecting Hegesippus, that he "made quotations from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Syriac," ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, sticks in the gizzards of theologians who blindly believe that the Canonical Gospels were published in the first century. They were not in existence even in the time of Hegesippus, and he does not allude to them. Might not the allusion be to the "Gospel, even the Syriac, according to the Hebrews"?

curious light on the monastic life at its prime." The chief characteristic of this Syriac version of the Gospels is that it represents Jesus to be the son, according to nature, of Joseph! Mrs Lewis regards the palimpsest as the oldest specimen which has as yet come to light. I might add that with the exception of Jerome's translation, and Adler's copy of the Peshito in the Vatican, dated 548 A.D., it is the oldest continuous text of the Gospels in our possession, as its date is recorded in the manuscript itself. Its antiquity is better attested than that of the Codex Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, or any other Greek uncial manuscript, except one.

Versions in other languages are the *Ægyptian* or *Coptic*, comprising the *Memphitic*, or the version of Lower *Ægypt*, the *Thebaic* or *Sahidic*, or the version of Upper *Ægypt*, and the *Bashmuri*c. The first "cannot well be later than the second century," but no proofs are given of this ancient date; and the second "was probably if at all inferior in antiquity." The *Æthiopic* version is said to date from the fourth or fifth century; the *Armenian* version "was made early in the fifth century," and the *Gothic* version in the middle of the fourth century (sects. 120, 121). With the exception of the *Gothic* version of *Ulphilas*, the date of which is certain, the age of the other versions has been settled by the learned imagination, which has uniformly the tendency to exaggerate. The *Gothic* version of *Ulphilas* is of some interest, in connection with the *Codex Argenteus* which was discovered in the seventeenth century, and is now in the Library of the University of *Upsal*. This MS. is said to be the original of *Bishop Ulphilas*; but as it is executed in purple vellum in letters of silver and gold, it cannot be regarded as the work of the missionary bishop of the *Goths*, a rude and barbarous people of the fourth century. This codex is also without a history.

In the preceding pages I have shown that our theologians have taken as standards Greek and other manuscripts which have no claim or right to be set up as guides to the original sacred text. According to the first principle of textual criticism, knowledge of documents is essential before they can be received as accredited or credible evidence. In the teeth of this first and leading rule of textual criticism, our theologians have accepted the evidence of Greek and other manuscripts of which their knowledge amounts to nothing. Derelict manuscripts without a history are unsafe and deceptive guides. These manuscripts, further, by the utmost stretch of the learned imagination cannot be dated further back than the fourth century. The state of the sacred text in the preceding centuries cannot be ascertained from them. There exist, however, accredited documents written and published prior to the fourth century, which indeed contain no con-

tinuous text, but quotations from the early sacred text abound in them, and further representations are found of various sorts, which enable us to judge of the presence or absence of many passages, of their sequence and relative positions in the various Gospels. These documents are the writings of the Fathers of the second and third centuries. The writers were men of the first importance in the early Church, and it is unjustifiable to think that writers of their eminence used any but the best accredited text, that of the original Greek issued by authority. The writings of the Fathers form the third class of documentary evidence (sect. 123). We have full knowledge of these writings and of their writers; and their evidence is that of men who had the early editions of the Gospels in their hands and quoted from them. Their evidence is fully accredited, and can be accepted without a breach of the first and leading principle of textual criticism, viz., that knowledge of documents is a primary essential. Their evidence is exceptionally good; but a certain reservation should be made in the case of Irenæus, whose original writings are lost, but have been transmitted to us in a Latin translation made by some unknown person at some unknown date, not, however, earlier than the fourth century, though it may be later. This class of exceptionally good documentary evidence is, I regret to say, perversely disparaged by our two theologians. They accept the bad and objectionable evidence of derelict Greek and other manuscripts, of whose history they know nothing; but they disparage and practically put aside and ignore the evidence of good documents whose history is well known and unimpeachable, with the single reservation already mentioned. They regard these quotations and representations of the Fathers of the second and third centuries, not as indicating the original text of the Gospels, but merely as proofs of ancient variations of readings. Dr Hort says: "This whole department of patristic evidence has a peculiar interest, as it brings vividly before the reader the actual presence of existing variations at a remote antiquity. . . . In the statements themselves the contemporary existence of the several variants mentioned is often all that can be safely accepted; reliance on what they tell us beyond this bare fact must depend on the estimate which we are able to form of the opportunities, critical care, and impartiality of the respective writers" (sect. 124). The reader should be informed that the evidence of these ancient and eminent Fathers of the Church clashes with the evidence of the derelict Greek and other manuscripts which theologians have taken under their wings, and their readings, further, are often not those of the accepted Greek text. He will now understand the motive of theologians for disparaging the quotations and representations of the early Fathers, and will clearly perceive that

their action is akin to that of advocates of a bad case, who magnify the merits of their own false or questionable witnesses and depreciate the evidence of the true and credible witnesses on the other side. The authorised and revised versions of the Gospel of Luke are in accord with derelict Greek manuscripts inadmissible by the textual critic; my recension and version of the same Gospel is in accord with the testimony of the Fathers of the second and third centuries, which is good and respectable evidence, approvable by the textual critic, of the text of the authentic Greek Gospel which the Fathers had in their hands.

So much for the manner in which our two theologians have misapplied and departed from the first principle of textual criticism. I have now to show how they have dealt with the second principle, which Dr Hort thus enunciates: "*All trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history*" (sect. 49). It is necessary here to explain what is meant by the words "corrupted texts." A corrupt text, in the mind of the textual critic, means simply a text which is not the original one penned by the author. A corrupted text may, in a literary point of view, be really superior: it may be better expressed, even be the correction of an error in language, or thought or fact, or it may be the expression of a better thought; but still, not being the product of the original writer, the textual critic regards it as a corruption. The term also includes additions, omissions, changes of the situation of passages—everything, in fact, which is not according to the original writing of the author. Our theologians accurately state this meaning, as Dr Hort says of textual criticism, in his flowery language: "Its progress consists not in the growing perfection of an ideal in the future, but in approximation towards complete ascertainment of definite facts of the past, that is, towards recovering an exact copy of what was actually written on parchment or papyrus by the author of the book or his amanuensis" (sect. 3). The first principle dealt with documents or copies of the complete (or physically mutilated) book, such as manuscripts of the Gospel of Luke. All such copies have a broad similarity or identity of contents or text; but in different copies there may be differences of passages or clauses; it is with these details of differences between copies that the second principle of textual criticism deals. For instance, in some copies of Luke, the voice at the baptism utters the words, "Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased" (Luke iii. 22). In other copies, the second clause is changed into "this day I have begotten thee." The second principle or rule indicates the means of ascertaining which of these two variant texts or readings was the original. The second rule does not deal with documents at all. Knowledge of the documents, which comes within

the province of the first principle, will not help in deciding the difficulty regarding details of texts, which is the province of the second principle or rule. The relative age, the respective credentials, or other circumstances of documents, are of no use in deciding questions of differences of readings or texts, in the absence of the original. The most ancient and best attested copies available may contain the corrupted text. The first principle cannot usurp the function of the second principle: the two rules are absolutely distinct. The first principle deals with the documents that contain the text as a whole; the second principle deals with the details of the text. The first principle is wholesale; the second retail. The functions of the two rules cannot be confounded together: a subject that comes under the second rule cannot be dealt with under the first rule. The employment of one rule to solve a question that lies within the scope of the other will be unreasonable and result in error, and will, in fact, be a breach of both principles.

I shall now examine how our two theologians apply or use the second principle. Dr Hort says: "It may be laid down, then, emphatically, as a second principle, that *all trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history*, that is, of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents" (sect. 49). It will be at once seen that Dr Hort has either unconsciously misunderstood the second principle, or has perversely misrepresented it. He confounds together the functions of the two separate principles. The second principle deals with *corrupted texts*, *i.e.* with variant individual readings, or passages found in documents, but not with the documents themselves; and it directs that the restoration of the original text is to be sought for by the study of the history of these individual readings themselves, not of the documents containing them. Dr Hort misrepresents the second principle when he interprets it to mean that the restoration of corrupted readings is founded on the study of the relations of descent or affinity, *i.e.* the natural history, of the several documents which contain the variant texts, but not of the history of the variant texts or passages themselves. Dr Hort appears to be in utter confusion regarding the purpose of the second principle. Later on in his dissertation he remarks: "We have already seen, first, that decision upon readings requires previous knowledge of documents; and secondly, that the most valuable part of the knowledge of individual documents implies a previous knowledge of the genealogical history of the text as a whole" (sect. 129). He devotes a considerable portion of his work to the construction of the hypothetical genealogy of documents, and ostensibly presents this genealogy as a means of carrying the second principle into

operation. He says further, with reference to the second principle: "The principle here laid down has long been acted upon in all the more important restorations of classical texts" (sect. 49). The second principle, in its purity and integrity, has certainly been acted on by editors of classical texts; but one can hardly imagine that Dr Hort desires to impress upon his readers that these editors understood the second principle to refer to genealogies of documents, and that they actually constructed such genealogies of classical documents; and yet this is Dr Hort's implication! His intention appears to be to induce his readers to believe that his process of textual criticism is that also followed by the editors of classical texts; but the fact is that his genealogical process is not followed by classical editors, but the second principle of textual criticism, in its purity and integrity, is. In cases in which historical information is wanting regarding the priority of one of two or more variant readings, the editor has no material to work with; he is helpless and unable to form a conclusion from the want of historical data. In this dilemma the second rule of textual criticism, from the absence of the means of working, cannot be applied; and the editor is compelled to fall back upon his own ingenuity. To find a plausible ground of persuasion for themselves, or rather for their readers, a few classical editors may have hit upon the fanciful method of constructing a genealogical series of documents, when these happen to be sufficiently numerous, which is a rare occurrence. But such a fanciful device cannot be regarded as scientific or as a substitute for the second rule of textual criticism. It is simply the forlorn resource of editors in despair. It is utterly unjustifiable to substitute a fanciful genealogical rule for the simple and scientific historical rule of textual criticism, in cases in which historical data exist.

It is neither practical nor scientific to introduce the genealogical factor into the consideration of documents and readings of texts. Genealogy is limited to natural beings, in whom the operations of nature are invariable and fixed; it can only be applied to artificial products in a figurative or poetical sense. The intervention of the fancies and ideas of men precludes the action of fixed and steady laws, which can be ascertained by the investigations of science. Documents and other artificial products do not descend one from the other, as animated beings do, but are artificial copies of each other, and into these copies changes may be introduced by the caprices of man. Such capricious changes follow no fixed law of descent; so that genealogy is utterly inapplicable to them. Documents, like other artificial products, are not susceptible of classification by descent or pedigree, a histological method; but by mechanical or

territorial peculiarities. They may be classified as Uncial or Cursives; as papyrus or vellum; or Italian, Alexandrian, African, Syrian. It is preposterous to think that peculiar readings or texts descend in a genealogical manner from each other. The only method of ascertaining whether any particular reading was in the original document, and not any other reading, is by the history or evidence; and a system of genealogy to ascertain original readings is simply preposterous. It is the analogue of the Hudibrasian method of telling the clock by algebra.

I shall now examine how our theologians have evaded in practice the application of the second principle of textual criticism, which they profess to follow, by substituting for it the genealogical rule, with which it has no connection whatever. I shall show how they have proceeded in ascertaining which was the original of the two variant readings in Luke iii. 22, already alluded to. I must premise that they have artificially constructed four groups of texts, according to their assumed genealogical relations, which they name Syrian, Alexandrine, Neutral, and Western texts. Putting aside for the present the three former, the Western texts they condemn as corrupt and impure, and not to be trusted. Few scholars, they say, could long hesitate to form this opinion (sect. 170). But I may be permitted to remark here that the scholars referred to can only be theologians and ecclesiastics and others who believe in them, who have vested interests to subserve, but no others. No genuine and honest scholar, disinterested in the search after truth, who has himself examined these Western texts, would admit that these texts are corrupt, in the textual critical sense. These texts may be regarded from a literary point of view as inferior; but being quotations from the original and authentic Greek Gospels, made by eminent writers who had these Gospels in their hands, from the point of view of the textual critic, they declare the pure or original text of the Gospels. Our two theologians give their observations and mode of procedure on the two variant readings of the passage Luke iii. 22, in the "Notes on Select Readings" appended to the volume containing Dr Hort's Introduction. They say: "Western (Gr. Lat.); incl. MSS. (evidently Greek as well as Latin) mentioned by Aug. and Just. *Dial.* 88, 103, Clem. 113, Meth. *Symp.*; but not *e* nor lat. it-vg. nor Eus. *Steph.* Aug. speaks of this version of the words spoken from heaven as the reading of 'some MSS,' 'though it is stated' (*perhibeatur*), he says, 'not to be found in the more ancient Greek MSS.' The 'Ebionite' Gospel read by Epiph. (*Hær.*, 138) combined both representations of the voice from heaven, inserting Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε between text and Matt. iii. 17, very slightly modified. Doubtless

from a traditional source, written or oral, and founded on Ps. ii. 7." These remarks apply to only one of the two texts: of the other variant text, viz., "in whom I am well-pleased," they say not a word; and their reticence is prudential. They have followed the practice of advocates of a bad cause: they have put forward witnesses whom they have previously condemned as Western, that is, corrupt, impure, and not to be trusted, on the side of the text "this day I have begotten thee"; but they abstain from putting into the box the witnesses on the side of the text "in whom I am well-pleased." Augustine cannot here be regarded as a witness at all, for he is of too late a date, end of the fourth century or early part of the fifth, and his evidence comes under the description of hearsay or second-hand evidence. First-hand witnesses of both texts are available, but they have not all been put forward by our two theologians; and the first-hand witnesses of the one text are at the beginning condemned by our two advocates as Western, on their genealogical rule, formed by themselves especially for their own purposes, but which is not recognised as a primary and scientific rule by textual critics who are not theologians or congeners of them.

Agreeably to the second principle of textual criticism, which is that the restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history, I have collected the following history of these two variant texts. Taking the variant, "this day I have begotten thee," first in order, I find that in the first century, before the Gospels were compiled and before the story of the baptism had been invented, Clement of Rome quotes it (ch. xxxvi.), in a passage taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews, i. 5. This is proof that the text, which is derived from Ps. ii. 7, was known to the Christians of the first century, and was current amongst them. I next find Justin (c. 150) saying that the voice at the baptism uttered the text. Justin's information was not derived from the Canonical Gospels, which were not in existence in his days, but from the Memoirs of the Apostles, which were the sources which also supplied the Synoptic writers. In the very chapter (*Trypho*, 88), in which the variant text is twice repeated as the utterance of the voice at the baptism, Justin says that he derived his information from the writings which "the apostles of this very Christ of ours wrote." Again, in *Trypho*, 103, Justin repeats the text as the words of the voice, and says that it "is recorded in the Memoirs of the Apostles." We next come to the period when the Canonical Gospels were compiled and in the hands of Christian writers. The words of the voice at the baptism are quoted by these writers, but they do not all specify the Gospel quoted. Since, in our present Gospels, the same words are repeated in each, the reasonable

presumption is that all the original Gospels also had the same words, whichever text it may have been. Irenæus, in the Latin translation, quotes Matthew as having the words "in whom I am well pleased" (iii. ix. 3). But these may be reasonably suspected to have been substituted by the translator for the others, because Clement of Rome, the contemporary of Irenæus, has the variant text, "this day I have begotten thee" (*Pæd.*, i. vi., sect. 25). Two writers late in the third century also quote the latter words, viz., Methodius, *Symp.* viii. 9, and Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, iv. 15. Epiphanius, in the fourth century, states that in the Ebionite Gospel the voice at the baptism said both texts. His account is: "And there was a voice from heaven, saying, Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased. And again, I this day have begotten thee. And immediately a great light illuminated the place. Seeing which, he says, John says to him, Who art thou, Lord? And again a voice to him, This is my beloved son, with whom I am well pleased. And then, he says, John prostrating himself said to him, I pray thee, Lord, you baptise me. But he prevented him, saying, Suffer it, because it is becoming that all things be so fulfilled" (*Hær.*, xxx.; *Pet.*, vol. i. 138). The above account evidently corresponds with Matthew, and the text is very primitive. The above history of the text, "this day I have begotten thee," shows it to have been of very ancient date, and to have existed in the memoirs or writings of the stipendiary apostles of the first half and in the Canonical Gospels of the second half of the second century.¹ This conclusion is confirmed by the history of the rival reading, "in whom I am well pleased." I can find no trace of these words in the orthodox Christian writers of the first and second centuries, and hence there is no indication that the verse from which it was derived (Isa. xlii. 1) had been discovered or disinterred from the Old Testament, and was generally known to the Christians of those times, and utilised by them. They are not met with till the time of Origen, towards the middle of the third century, who, I believe, may be justly deemed the author of considerable amendments and improvements in the texts of the Gospels. The rival text being unknown prior to the time of Origen (*On Matt.* x. 9 and elsewhere) and his contemporaries (Hippolytus, *Theoph.*, 6 and 7), the inference is justifiable that it was introduced by Origen, and there can be no doubt that it is a literary improvement, although the textual critic must regard it as a corruption. Origen has also the text, "this day have

¹ Tertullian also quotes the words, in connection with the voice at the transfiguration (*Ad Marc.*, iv. 22), but he states erroneously that they were derived from the first Psalm, instead of the second.

I begotten thee," in John i. 32, and it is clear that in his day one Gospel had one text and another the other. The history of these two readings has safely guided me to the selection of the reading "this day I have begotten thee" as the original; but the perverse genealogical rule which our two theologians have set up as the pretended equivalent of the second principle of textual criticism does not appear to have been an efficient guide to them, as they have been led by it to form the conclusion that the text "this day I have begotten thee" is oral or written tradition, and hence was not in the original Canonical Gospels. Opposed as this conclusion is to the historical evidence, it is surprising to find that our two theologians, while retaining the text "in whom I am well pleased" in Matthew and Mark and Luke in the Greek recension, have given in the latter Gospel as an alternative reading, "this day I have begotten thee." It is a remarkable instance of their critical vacillation, and of distrust in their own method. The Revision Committee of 1881, though they formed a wrong conclusion and retained the corrupted text in the three Gospels, have at least been consistent to the false critical rule (that erroneously put forth by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort), which I suppose they followed. In the alternative reading given by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort for Luke iii. 22 the word "beloved" is omitted. The word certainly does not occur in the original passage (Ps. ii. 7); but the evidence proves that it existed in the original Canonical Gospels, with which fact only the textual critic is concerned; and the addition is not of the nature of a clerical error which demands rectification. The Greek text of Bishop Westcott's recension has been arranged in great measure on fanciful lines, but not restored according to the scientific principles of textual criticism.

In his independent writings, Bishop Westcott has practically thrown overboard the genealogical rule which he and his coadjutor Dr Hort in their *Introduction* have set up in lieu of the historical method, which is inculcated by the second principle of textual criticism. If the reader will turn to the additional note to John i. 3 and 4, in Bishop Westcott's "Commentary on the Fourth Gospel" in the *Speaker's Commentary*, he will find the bishop's own investigation of the punctuation of these verses, to ascertain which was the original and which the corrupted punctuation. He will find no trace of the genealogical rule in the bishop's investigation, no mention, allusion, or the least hint whatever of the genealogical group of 'Western texts.' The bishop, on the contrary, follows the true and genuine second principle of textual criticism in its integrity, and utterly ignores the genealogical falsification of the

latter. In the investigation of the variant readings of Luke iii. 22, in the *Introduction*, the bishop and his coadjutor apply the genealogical rule; they begin with stigmatising the one reading as 'Western,' and thus at once settle its fate, without considering the merits of the rival reading. In the investigation of John i. 3, 4, Bishop Westcott calmly states the history of the two different modes of punctuation, without the slightest reference or concern with the genealogy of documents. I do not think I could find a more striking proof of the bishop's want of faith in the genealogical rule which he and his learned coadjutor have elaborately constructed and supported in their conjoint *Introduction*.

The genealogical method is regarded by our two theologians as an improvement upon what may be called the numerical method, which they justly condemn. They give a case of an editor who finds one reading in nine documents and a rival reading in a tenth document. Following the numerical method, the editor selects the former (sect. 50). Whether his selection happens fortuitously to be right or wrong, this hypothetical editor may be set down as an ass following an asinine method. The genealogical method can hardly claim appreciation from its superiority to the numerical method. Our two theologians think otherwise, and they devote several sections, from 50-57, to accentuate the superiority. But I have not found any observations made by them on the superior excellence of their genealogical method over the historical method enjoined by the second principle of textual criticism. They pretend, in fact, that the two methods are identical, whereas they are not. The object of the genealogical rule is to poison the sources of history, and to falsify the facts of history. The tendency of the rule is, in the main, to damage the evidence of Irenæus, Clement of Rome, and Tertullian, who quote from the earliest texts of the Gospels. These early quotations from the Gospels form the pretended genealogical group which our two theologians name 'Western,' and stigmatise as impure, corrupt, and not to be trusted; whereas the fact is that the quotations and representations of these early Fathers are the only real historical means that we possess for ascertaining the original text of the Gospels. The evidence of these early Fathers is opposed to the evidence of derelict Greek manuscripts, and their readings of the original texts of the Gospels vary considerably from our received Greek text. Hence becomes manifest the motive which has actuated our theologians in constructing a rule which they falsely substitute for the second principle of textual criticism, the tendency and object of which false rule is to subvert, vilify, and destroy the only efficient

historical means which exist for ascertaining the original texts of the Gospels.

I regret that I am unable to lay before the reader an account of the genealogical method of our two theologians. After passing many wearisome hours and days in the futile attempt to obtain a comprehension of their method, I have been obliged to abandon the enterprise as beyond my capacity. This portion of Dr Hort's dissertation, or sea of words, may, to use the language of Lord Dundreary, be said to be something that "no fellow can understand" (sects. 68-72). Our two theologians are not content to classify texts in a general way as Alexandrine, Syrian or Byzantine, and Western, in a geographical manner, according to the local colouring imparted in certain countries to the texts, but they make the same classification according to algebra, as it were. The Syrian, Antiochian, or Byzantine texts are grouped together, not because they sprung up or were copied from texts that originated in this region, but because the variants found in cursive and *late* uncials are identical with the readings followed by Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, who died A.D. 407. It is then argued that community of text implies on genealogical grounds a community of parentage: hence these texts had a common original either contemporary with or older than our oldest extant MSS. such as the Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and others; which, therefore, "lose at once whatever presumption of exceptional purity they might have derived from their exceptional antiquity alone" (sect. 130). The authority of these ancient codices is thus smashed; and one wonders why theologians have been at such great pains to magnify the antiquity and other perfections of the Sinaitic, Vatican and other derelict MSS. Why have they opposed Scrivener's contention that the cursive manuscripts were quite as good, if not better than the uncials, as true codices of the Gospel texts? The zeal of our two theologians to exaggerate the merit of the Syrian texts appears here to have outrun their theological discretion.

The Syrian or Byzantine texts being thus grouped together according to the algebraic or genealogical rule, our two theologians proceed to prove the chronological priority of the Western and Alexandrian texts, not according to the light furnished by history, but according to their genealogical relations, or the method of telling the clock by algebra of Hudibras (see sects. 129-162). "The clearest evidence for this purpose," they say, "is furnished by conflate readings, where they exist" (sect. 133); and where they do not exist, so much the worse for them, for their non-existence cannot be counted for blame on our two theologians or their genealogical rule. Conflate readings are explained to be mixed readings, that is, "not simple substitutions

of the reading of one document for that of another, but combinations of the readings of both documents into a composite whole, sometimes by mere addition with or without a conjunction, sometimes with more or less of fusion" (sect. 62). The following are examples. In Acts vi. 8 some documents have "full of charity," while others have "full of faith," while one manuscript combines them thus, "full of charity and faith." The latter is a conflate reading. Again, some manuscripts have the reading of Mark vi. 56, "They laid the sick in the market place," and others "in the streets," while one Latin manuscript combines the two readings thus, "They laid the sick in the market place and in the streets" (sect. 133). The following deductions are made from such readings: "Where we find a variation with these variants, two of them simple alternatives to each other, and the third a combination of the other two, there is usually a strong presumption that the third is the latest and due to mixture, not the third the earliest and the other two due to two independent impulses of simplification. Peculiar contexts may no doubt sometimes give rise to this paradoxical double simplification; but as a rule internal evidence is decisive to the contrary" (sect. 62). This use of conflate readings is founded on presumption, not on moral certainty, nor even on reasonable hypothesis, and hence has no scientific basis; and as to the decisiveness of the internal evidence there may peradventure be a conflict of opinion. The sections from 132-151 are not easy reading, but in these our two theologians arrive "by analysis of conflate readings" at the conclusion that Syrian texts were posterior to "Western and other (neutral) readings." Although this final result is unimpeachable, the Hudibrasian algebraic process by which it was achieved is very questionable; and the latter is further rendered superfluous and supererogatory by the following sections 152-162, in which, by the historical and scientific method, *i.e.* by the evidence of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, the same result is obtained in the natural and ordinary way that sensible men adopt. There can be no doubt that history teaches that Western and Alexandrian texts preceded chronologically Syrian and all other texts; and that fact stands whether "the analysis of conflate readings" gives or does not give it support. The conflate readings can very well be dispensed with as evidence.

In the group of sects. 163-168 our two theologians make a distinction between Syrian readings and "distinctive Syrian readings": but they have omitted to give examples of each set of readings, so that one cannot know how or why the distinction is made. They come to the conclusion that the Syrian text is to be regarded "as not only partly but wholly derived from the other known ancient

texts. It follows that all distinctively Syrian readings may be set aside at once as certainly originating after the middle of the third century, and therefore, as far as transmission is concerned, corruptions of the apostolic text" (sect. 166). Though I am unable to follow the process of argumentation by which this conclusion is formed, yet the conclusion itself is certainly correct, because there can be no question or doubt that the Syrian texts were derived from the prior texts, *i.e.* the Western and Alexandrian texts, and that variations, additions, omissions or changes from the Western and Alexandrian texts, or, as our theologians prefer to say, "distinctive Syrian readings," are corruptions. This is a conclusion which requires no argumentation, but it is a logical consequence of the historical fact of the priority of the Western and Alexandrian texts, and of the historical fact that the Syrian text had its origin in the second half of the third century, when Lucian the Antiochian made his Greek recension of the Gospels. The prominence given to the discussion of the Syrian text in a dissertation the primary object of which is stated to be the recovery of the original text of the New Testament, is not justified by these conclusions. In what way is the recovery advanced by the intrusion of conflate Syrian readings and other disputable, abstruse and extraneous matters, when as a matter of fact Syrian texts are completely thrown into the background by the self-apparent and unimpeachable historical fact that the Western and Alexandrian texts are the most ancient in our possession? It is true that we do not possess continuous series of these so-called ancient Western and Alexandrian texts; but we have fragmentary portions of them, *viz.*, the quotations made from them, and the representations regarding them by eminent writers, leading members of the orthodox Church. These quotations from, and representations made regarding the early Gospels which were actually in the hands of great Christian writers, like Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, are the surest and most certain guides to the recovery of the original text of the Gospels, according to the principles of textual criticism; subject to the single reservation that the Greek writings of Irenæus have been transmitted to us in a Latin translation the author of which has in many instances been unfaithful to his original; but it should always be remembered that we have the means of correcting these mistranslations by the evidence of contemporary writers who quoted the same passages.

Although our two theologians speak largely of Western texts, I have not been able to find any clear and definite exposition of the text which they so name. The following are included: The Codex Bezaë and most or all of the Old Latin MSS.; the Old Syriac in

part (sect. 148); the Codex Bezae and 'sometimes' a few varying cursives, "with the rare accession to the Codex Sinaiticus or another uncial"; the versions of the Old Latin and Old Syriac (sect. 149) (both these being, as I have shown, see pp. 324 and 331, purely imaginary); the recorded readings of Marcion and of Justin Martyr are "undoubtedly Western"; also those of Irenæus, Hippolytus, Methodius, and Eusebius. "Even in Clement of Alexandria and in Origen, especially in some of his writings, Western quotations hold a prominent place" (sect. 159). Throughout ch. ii., from sects. 129-255, in which Dr Hort deals with the "Results of genealogical evidence proper," I find no classification made of quotations by Tertullian, a very remarkable reticence, as Tertullian is the most important of all witnesses of the original text of the Gospel of Luke. The following remark, found in sect. 213, "The African and European Latin, as has been already intimated, represent Western texts of different antiquity," sweeps Tertullian's quotations into the broad gulf of Western texts. The characteristics of the Western text are the following (sect. 170): "The earliest readings which can be fixed chronologically belong to it": "It was the most widely spread text of Ante-Nicene times" (that is, in the second and third centuries). These two characteristics are stated succinctly, and in the fewest words possible; but no more good words are expended on Western texts. The name Western is objected to as having been adopted a century ago, when the text was understood to range from "Carthage to Britain," whereas it is now seen that it was "current in ancient times in the East as well as in the West, and probably to a great extent originated there." Our two theologians, further, rather recklessly say: "On the whole we are disposed to suspect that the 'Western' text took its rise in North-Western Syria or Asia Minor, and that it was soon carried to Rome, and thence spread in different directions to North Africa and most of the countries of Europe. From North-Western Syria it would easily pass through Palestine and Egypt to Ethiopia. But this is at present hardly more than a speculation; nor do any critical results depend upon it" (sect. 153). This is foolish speculation, but it is not by any means history; and if it was history, it would seriously affect textual criticism, which is largely, and in some matters exclusively, dependent on history. I have already referred to the remark, "When the Western readings are confronted with their ancient rivals in order to obtain a broad comparative view of the two texts, few scholars could long hesitate to pronounce the Western not merely to be the less pure text, but also to owe its differences in a great measure to a perilous confusion between transcription and repro-

duction, and even between the preservation of a record and its supposed improvement; and the distrust thus generated is only increased by further acquaintance" (sect. 170). Our two theologians do not specify in the above passage the ancient rivals of the Western text; but in the second century and first half of the third, the Syrian text not being then in existence, its only rival was the Alexandrian text. Yet in the following sect. 171, our two theologians speak of Western readings being "adopted into the Syrian text" and thereby obtaining "Syrian attestation"; and then they boldly declare "when once the historical relations of the texts have been ascertained, it would be arbitrary to refuse the evidence of the latter class [Syrian?] in studying the general character of Western readings apart from attestation, for the accident of their appropriation by the Syrian text when the other Western readings were neglected can have no bearing on the antecedent relations of the whole class [Western?] to the apostolic originals" (sect. 171). In a very large number of Dr Hort's statements there is an ambiguity of expression which leads to a doubt whether he is rightly understood. What I understand is that Dr Hort thinks that the Syrian text was an 'ancient rival' from which the general character of Western texts could be studied. History, however, shows that the Syrian text was non-existent when the Western texts were quoted by Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. To study the 'general character' of the ancient Western text with the view of ascertaining or judging its origin from a later 'rival' text, the Syrian, the text of Chrysostom, the polished text of Constantinople, is equivalent to using the modern Englishman, or rather the modern Parisian, as a means of studying the general character and origin of the ancient Briton! Dr Hort largely deals in sophistry. He further states that the "accidental adoption of Western texts by the Syrian has no bearing on the antecedent relations of the whole class, *i.e.* both adopted and neglected Western texts, to the apostolic originals." Without stopping to discuss the proposition, I note that Dr Hort implies that there existed a text older than the Western, namely, the "apostolic originals," and in a passage previously quoted he speaks of "the apostolic text." Here he travels outside the domain of history into the region of fancy or romance. History gives us no information of a text beyond the Western text. The historical limit of this text is the second half of the second century, according to the teachings of history; the imagination and morbid far-sightedness of theologians throw it back to the first half, as Justin Martyr, in the fancy of theologians, is said to have quoted the Western text. Beyond the Western there exists no text that can be regarded as

historical. According to the teaching of history, in which our two theologians have expressed their concurrence, it is the oldest text of which we have any knowledge (sect. 170). And hence the Western text is historically the original text of the Gospels. I here note the fact that our two theologians abstain from setting up the Alexandrian text as an 'ancient rival' of the Western; the Syrian text is the only rival they put forth. In genealogical parlance, they put the descendant as the ancient rival of the parent.

Our two theologians, while rightly objecting to the appellation 'Western,' assign a very extensive range, geographically and chronologically, to the text so named. The Western text, according to them, prevailed not only in the West, but in the East, in the North and South, and in all points of the compass; and chronologically it ranged from the first half of the second century to the age of the Codex Bezae, which theologians in the exuberance of their imagination date from the sixth century, and pretend to believe that it represents the Old Latin or Western text of the second century (sect. 153). I shall chronologically limit our view of the Western text to the middle of the third century, so as to exclude all 'ancient rivals,' such as the Syrian text, which had not an existence at that early epoch. My survey will thus be restricted to the two texts which were historically in existence prior to the middle of the third century, viz., the so-called Western and Alexandrian texts. These alleged texts are only known to us in a fragmentary form from the quotations from the Gospels made by Christian writers who flourished at this period. Theologians appear to regard the quotations made by Irenæus and Tertullian, writers of this period, as representing the Western text, and the quotations made by Clement of Alexandria and Origen as representing the Alexandrian text. Geographically the distinction between these two texts is clear: that is, the two former wrote in the West—that is, in East and North Africa—and the two latter in Alexandria or in the East. But textually there is no line of demarcation observable between the Western and Alexandrian texts. The quotations in Irenæus (where they have not been perverted by his Latin translator) correspond with those of Clement of Alexandria. Dr Hort says: "Even in Clement of Alexandria and in Origen, especially in some of his writings, Western quotations hold a prominent place" (sect. 159); and again: "During that part of the Ante-Nicene period of which we have any direct knowledge, 'Western' texts were at least dominant in most churches of both East and West" (sect. 177). These two classes of representative quotations cannot be differentiated naturally, there being no essential or intrinsic variation. For a century and longer, theologians, for

reasons of their own, have made a distinction between them, which I can only compare to the distinction made, also for reasons of their own, by the advocates of slavery (prior to the Civil War) in the Southern States of America between the white man and the negro, the latter being declared to be not human, or a non-man, if I may be allowed to imitate Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort's terminology, such as Non-Western, non-interpolation, etc. Dr Hort has devoted several sections (170-176) to set forth the vicious characteristics of the Western text; but if the Western text had even many more imperfections, so that twice or even thrice the number of sections was needed to describe them, it could not make the least impression on the mind of the genuine and disinterested textual critic. The critic will not be deterred by literary faults and errors from the pursuit of the original text, whatever literary character it may happen to possess. The differences between the Western and the Alexandrian texts were literary. They are thus stated by Dr Hort: "The changes made have usually more to do with language than matter, and are marked by an effort after correctness of phrase. They are evidently the work of careful and leisurely hands, and not seldom display a delicate philological tact which unavoidably lends them at first sight a deceptive appearance of originality" (sect. 183). These differences between the Western and Alexandrian texts are comparable to the differences between the ugly and coarse negro slave and the handsome and refined white man. There are other differences between the two texts, which Dr Hort thus describes: "There is no incorporation of matter extraneous to the canonical texts of the Bible, and no habitual or extreme license of paraphrase" (sect. 183). Though these statements are not quite accurate as to facts, these differences are also clearly due to the good editing of the later accomplished heads of the catechetical school at Alexandria, Clement and Origen.

While the so-called Western Alexandrian texts, represented respectively by the quotations and representations made by Irenæus and Tertullian, and by Clement and Origen and their contemporaries, are, with one specific reservation, in my judgment the earlier text of the Gospels, our two theologians uncompromisingly condemn the Western text as a 'corruption' (sect. 177); but they do not seem to have wholly made up their minds regarding the Alexandrian text. As well as I can judge, they look upon it as less corrupt than the Western, or at least wholly free from the "more startling characteristics of Western corruption" (sect. 183). I conclude that in their opinion the texts of Irenæus and Tertullian, the oldest in our possession, are wholly and incorrigibly corrupt, *i.e.* not the original text; but the texts of Clement and Origen are likewise corrupt, but beyond measure

less corrupt than the former. If the former, the most ancient texts that we know of, be corrupt, where or how are we to find the pure, or as our theologians prefer to say, a comparatively pure text? (sect. 177). History stops at the Western and Alexandrian texts. The region beyond history is the land of imagination, romance and fable. I have already referred to the visionary "apostolic text or originals," of which no trace can be found in history.¹ I have now to speak of another text, evolved by the ingenuity of our two theologians, which apparently is regarded by them as intermediate between the visionary pure apostolic text which is unknown to history, and the less corrupt Alexandrian text, namely, a supposititious text which they name "Neutral," or "Non-Western" (sect. 177). So far as my limited knowledge extends, this is a text which is perceived only by the finer intellectual organism of our two theologians; the mental faculties of ordinary theologians and rational human beings being too coarse to catch it. My own mind, being accustomed only to grasp the tangible facts of history, suffered difficulty in comprehending intangible matter of quasi-theological ether. I confess to having been for a considerable period at a loss to understand what our two theologians meant by the "Neutral or Non-Western text." They say it is a Pre-Syrian text. The Syrian text looms largely in their minds, and it appears to be the text which they regard as the orb, to which the other texts are mere satellites.² The historical fact that the Western and Alexandrian texts are more ancient does not appear to them a sufficient reason for excluding the Syrian text from consideration in an investigation for ascertaining the original text: that fact means simply that the more ancient texts are Pre-Syrian, and no more! The "Non-Western Pre-Syrian text" has Alexandria for its locality (sect. 179). There are readings in Clement and Origen (and also in later writers) which are at variance with Western readings and these variant readings are Non-Western. The Old Latin version (an imaginary one) is entirely Western, and the Old Syriac version (also imaginary) more obscurely Western; but the two versions of Lower and Upper Egypt (which date from the fourth century or later, but to which long-sighted theologians assign the remotest antiquity) "can be pronounced extensively Non-Western" (sect. 177). "The only considerable text of a Father . . . which closely approximates to a Non-Western Pre-Syrian text, that of the younger Cyril [born A.D.

¹ Bishop Westcott says: "History affords no trace of the pure Apostolic originals." Art. "New Testament," i. 5, in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*.

² This peculiarity of our two theologians may be due to sectarian prepossession. Our English Authorised Version was based on the Syrian, or Byzantine text; while the Roman Catholic version, or the Vulgate, is regarded as Western, and hence corrupt.

376, died 444], has again Alexandria for its locality" (sect. 179). But the Non-Western text was not limited to Alexandria. "The early traces of a text free from Western corruption in churches remote from Alexandria, though relatively few in number, are indubitable and significant" (sect. 178); and the reader is referred to sect. 173 for the facts, but he finds nothing but assertion, presumption, and probability, and the repetition of the same statements, a little changed, as those made in sect. 178. This is said by our two theologians not to be "enigmatic history." A few considerations naturally arise from it. If the Egyptian versions are extensively Non-Western, which means that their text is purer than others, why have our two theologians not made them their standard texts? Their practice has not followed their profession. The Egyptian versions have, in fact, hardly been studied, and practically they have been ignored by theologians, who know comparatively little about them. The Alexandrian text is practically annihilated by its sub-division into Western and Non-Western texts. But on what grounds do our two theologians justify their assertion that the "Non-Western texts" in Clement and Origen are derived from "other Non-Western Pre-Syrian readings," and that these latter "belong to a practically degenerate form of the Non-Western Pre-Syrian text, apparently limited in its early range, and apparently originating in Alexandria?" (sect. 182). They speak of "grounds of Intrinsic and Transcriptional Probability," using capital letters, but they do not state what these grounds are. These are merely high-sounding words employed to support other high-sounding words. These sub-divisions of the quotations of Clement and Origen are purely illusory and artificial. The variations between the quotations of Irenæus and Tertullian (so-called Western texts) and the quotations of Clement and Origen (so called Alexandrian texts) are capable of an easy and natural explanation. Irenæus and Tertullian quoted from the original and earlier Gospels which they had in their hands, and Clement and Origen quoted from the same, edited, improved, and amended by themselves. The statement regarding the theologians of Alexandria, "Nowhere probably was the perpetuation of an incorrupt text so much an object of conscious desire and care, and the local influence of Origen's school for some generations after his death was likely to establish a tradition of exceptional jealousy for the very words of scripture" (sect. 179), is a perversion and falsification of the teaching of history. And of the same perverse and false nature is another statement: "That a purer text should be preserved at Alexandria than in any other church would not in itself be surprising. There, if anywhere, it was to be anticipated that, owing to the proximity of an exact grammatical school, a more than usual

watchfulness over the transcription of the writings of the apostles and apostolic men would be suggested and kept alive" (sect. 177). These statements contain a deliberate falsification and perversion of history. The efforts of the chiefs of the school at Alexandria were directed, not to the preservation of the pure, *i.e.* the original text, but, on the contrary, to the improvement, embellishment and correction of the original text. The original text of the Gospel, as we perceive from the quotations made from it by Irenæus and Tertullian, was very simple and primitive; it was full of literary imperfections; it contained some details of the biography of Jesus which disagree with the statements made in the improved and matured Gospels that we possess. The efforts of the learned and accomplished Alexandrian theologians in the expiring second and the nascent third century were directed to the removal of literary imperfections, to the literary embellishment of the original text, and to the obliteration of certain details of biography, as well as to the amplification of the text by the addition of interesting anecdotes and discourses, and the inculcation of special doctrines. It is impossible, in the interests of truth, to regard these operations as endeavours to preserve the purity of the text. Although they may be rightly regarded as improvement of the original text, they are, from the point of view of the textual critic, destructive to its purity, which implies identity with the original writing of the author or authors. These literary improvements, corrections, and amplifications made by the Alexandrian theologians and their successors, are theoretically collected together by our two learned theologians and formed into a hypothetical text, which they call the Pre-Syrian Neutral or Non-Western text; and they falsely attribute to it a greater approximate purity. This deliberate act of deception is not approved or participated in by other theologians. Dean Alford, the author of a *Greek Text of the New Testament* of the same nature as that put forth by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort, but without the false pretensions of the latter to be the original text, says, in guarded and reserved language, "The process by which the present received text has been attained, has been that of crumbling down salient points, softening irregularities, conforming differences, favouring prevalent doctrines." To an objection made to the final remark, he answers, "Why should anyone be backward in stating that which is a notorious fact?" (see *ante*, p. 308). Modern Christians should ponder on the contradictory action and statements of theologians working in the same field. According to Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort, our present Greek text (the basis of the Authorised and Revised Versions in English) has been obtained by a process of purification

verified by the aid of textual criticism ; according to Dean Alford, by a process of corruption in the critical sense.¹ It is impossible for the calm and disinterested investigator not to perceive that the statements and arguments of the former theologians are false, sophistical, and deliberately deceitful, while the statement of Dean Alford is historically and critically correct and true.

It is unnecessary for me to pursue further the examination of the extravagances and sophistries of Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort in their *Introduction*. But a sad and painful duty remains, viz., to set forth the moral aspect of their work. The erudition, and talent, and mental power of these two accomplished theologians are unimpeachable ; but I have shown the use to which they have applied their great abilities, viz., to make that which is false appear to be the truth. Under the pretence of applying the principles of textual criticism to the task, which they declare to be sacred and rendered to the Deity (sect. 425), of restoring the text of the New Testament to its original purity, they have deliberately turned the edge of these principles and perverted and misapplied them to vindicate the purity of the existing received text which as learned men they knew to be corrupt. It would be a false and misplaced charity to attribute this work of two able and erudite scholars, meditated and elaborated during many years, to mere human fallibility and error of judgment.

For the last two centuries and longer, ever since theologians have occupied themselves with the textual criticism of the New Testament, they have had before them the historical fact that the most ancient quotations from the Gospels made at first hand by Christian writers of primary eminence were at variance with the received text of the New Testament. That historical fact discredited the New Testament, as it was set forth by statute with the sanction of the Church, and it undermined the authority, the dogmas and teaching of the Church. Hence arose a motive for destroying the force of this historical fact. Theologians being unable to suppress the historical fact, set themselves to explaining it away.

This object they have effected by the creation of hypothetical

¹ "I have no doubt," says Tischendorf, "that in the very earliest ages after our Holy Scriptures were written, and before the authority of the Church protected them, wilful alterations, and especially additions, were made in them" (*English New Testament* (1869), Introduction, p. xv. Quoted from Scrivener's *Introduction*, ch. vii. 1, footnote.) I have a difference of opinion regarding the protection afforded by the Church, prior to the fourth century. In the second and third centuries, the Gospels were improved by the authority of the Church ; from the fourth century and onwards, the protection of the Church gave a good measure of stability to the Gospels. The Church still places its ægis over the mistakes and absurdities in the Gospels.

texts which they name Western, Alexandrian, and others. Under the term Western they group the quotations of the early Fathers of the second and third centuries which are not in accord with the received text of the New Testament, which is broadly that which was current in the Christian churches in the fourth century. And they have exerted their ingenuity in discrediting and vilifying the so-called Western texts, that is, the most ancient and well accredited quotations from the Gospels of which there is historical record. They declare it to be corrupt, licentious, given to paraphrase, and marked by "a disposition to enrich the text at the cost of its purity by alterations or additions taken from traditional and perhaps from apocryphal or other non-biblical sources" (sect. 173). "Few scholars," they say, "could long hesitate to pronounce the Western not merely to be the less pure text, but also to owe its differences in a great measure to a perilous confusion between transcription and reproduction, and even between the preservation of a record and its supposed improvement; and the distrust thus generated is only increased by further acquaintance" (sect. 170). In the denunciation of the so-called Western text there is a remarkable unanimity amongst all theologians, and this broad fact of unanimity is not affected by certain differences of opinion on less important points. Such unanimity of opinion amongst a class of learned men has undoubtedly an imposing influence on the multitude; but it should be largely discounted by the knowledge that it has been encouraged by the prospect of the enforcement of the form of ostracism known as the *odium theologicum*, and of practical punitive measures of deprivation of office and emoluments, and also by the expectation of reward and preferment.

Theologians have not limited their efforts to an ingenious arrangement of texts, of which the most ancient and best attested were especially disparaged, but they have further invented fictions in support of their system of the family grouping of texts. The quotations of Fathers whose works are in Latin must necessarily, they say, have been made from a Latin volume or volumes, now lost. These Latin codes of the New Testament of the second and third centuries are unknown to history. But by falsification and misrepresentation a history has been fabricated for them. I have shown how Bishop Westcott has elaborated an ancient African Latin translation by the falsification and misrepresentation of the statements of Tertullian (see *ante*, pp. 311-316). The transition from an ancient African Latin translation to an ancient Italian Latin translation, to which the name *Vetus Latina* was given, was speedily made. From the fictitious *Vetus Latina*, a corrupt text, the quotations of the

Fathers of the early centuries, and of the Latin translator of Irenæus, are alleged to have been made. In support of these fictions it must be noted that Protestant theologians have joined hands with Roman Catholic theologians, who have a partiality for the Latin language, and a strong desire to generate a belief that the apostles and other early disseminators of Christianity performed religious services and preached in the official language of their sect. The coalition of Anglican and Roman divines in theological opinion and practical action is an ominous fact of the nineteenth century, and forebodes evil to the progress of civilisation and to the tranquillity of society in the near future: portentous evils that can only be averted by the absolute exclusion of religion, being a private and personal concern, from the public administration of national interests.

Though Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort cannot be regarded as the originators of the scheme for explaining away and evading the truth and of substituting the false and fictitious in its place,¹ they have

¹ This scheme of theologians may be figuratively described as a Boer gun labelled piano. Casaubon said: "It greatly affects me to see the numbers who, in the earliest times of the Church, considered it an excellent thing to lend to heavenly truth the help of their own inventions, in order that the new doctrine might be more readily allowed by the wise among the Gentiles. These officious lies, they said, were invented for a good end." Quoted by Lardner, vol. iv. p. 524. Speaking of the state of morality amongst Christians in the second century, Mosheim said: "The Platonists and Pythagoreans deemed it not only awful but also commendable to deceive and lie for the sake of truth and piety. The Jews living in Egypt learned from them this sentiment before the Christian era, as appears from many proofs. And from both, this vice early spread among the Christians." Regarding the fourth century, he said: "To these defects in the moral system of the age must be added two principal errors now almost publicly adopted, and from which afterwards immense evils resulted. The first was, that to *deceive and lie is a virtue*, when religion can be promoted by it. The other was that *errors in religion*, when maintained after proper admonition, ought to be visited with *penalties and punishment*" (Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.*, Bk. i. part ii. 3, sect. 15, and Bk. ii. part ii. 3, sect. 16, Soame's ed.). In our own days, Bishop Thirlwall said: "The study of theology does not practically tend to the cultivation of truth, even by the most naturally honest man." The following precept is attributed to the Rev. W. G. Ward, an Oxford tutor and coadjutor of Cardinal Newman, by his own son: "Make yourself clear that you are *justified in deception*, and then *LIE LIKE A TROOPER*!" (*William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 356, first edition).

The great Huguenot theologian Beausobre, in his *Histoire de Manichée*, tom. ii. p. 233, says: "On voit dans l'histoire que j'ai rapportée une sorte d'hypocrisie, qui n'a peut-être été que trop commune dans tous les temps. C'est que des ecclésiastiques non seulement ne disent pas ce qu'ils pensent, mais disent tout le contraire de ce qu'ils pensent. Philosophes dans leur cabinet, hors de la, ils content de fables, quoiqu'ils sachent bien que ce sont des fables. Ils font plus; ils livrent au bourreau des gens de bien pour l'avoir dit. Combien d'athées et de prophètes ont fait bruler de saints personnages, sous prétexte d'hérésie! Tous les jours des hypocrites consacrent et font adorer l'hostie, bien qu'ils soient aussi convaincus que moi, que ce n'est qu'un morceau de pain." One sees in the history which I have detailed a sort of hypocrisy which has been perhaps only too common in all ages. It is that ecclesiastics not merely do not say what they think, but say the very contrary of what they do think. Philosophers in their cabinet, outside of it, they relate fables, although they know very well that

given it the support derived from their great erudition and abilities. They cannot claim or be granted exemption from the moral improbity inherent in the scheme. Their great work, *The New Testament in*

they are fables. They do more; they deliver honest men to the executioner for having said it. How many atheists and profane men have burned sainted personages, under pretext of heresy! Every day hypocrites consecrate and have the host adored, although they are as convinced as I am that it is only a piece of bread. The learned Grotius said: "He that reads ecclesiastical history reads nothing but the roguery and folly of bishops and churchmen" (Epist. 22).

Godfrey Higgins, the learned author of *The Celtic Druids*, refers to "a lie of St Jerom's to prove that the Scots were cannibals"; and adds in a footnote: "If my memory do not deceive me, this pious father says he had the marks on his back where angels flogged him. If I be right, which I believe I am, few people will deny that he deserved flogging for the lie about the angels; and probably he deserved a flogging for the second lie as well as for the first" (*op. cit.*, p. 97). The same scholar in the same work, p. 13, speaks of Origen as "the man who actually embodied fraud into a system, practised it with the approbation of his fellows, and gave it the technical name of *ECONOMIA*, by which it has gone ever since."

The late Reverend Alfred William Momerie, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., sometime Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in King's College, London, in his work on *The Religion of the Future*, 1893, devotes a chapter to "Clerical Untruthfulness," from which I make the following excerpts: "Priests, as such, are not lovers of truth." "Many of the Fathers laid it down as an axiom that falsehood for the sake of proselytism is not reprehensible. Origen bluntly said, 'It is our bounden duty to lie and deceive, if thereby we can catch souls.'" "Artifices, fictions, frauds formed the staple of the Fathers' arguments. . . . They habitually falsified facts, so as to bring them into harmony with their own views and intents. Eusebius, who is, oddly enough, called a historian, informs his readers that he is going to relate only what will add to the prestige of the Christians, and to suppress everything else. The clergy during the first few centuries were guilty of the most impudent forgeries the world has ever seen. . . . The clergy tampered even with the Bible itself. They did not scruple to forge texts in support of their favourite opinions. 'The phrase, Christian veracity,' said Herder, 'deserves to rank with the phrase, Punic faith.'" "The barefaced lying of the early Church has now given place to ingenious prevarication." "The clerical mind is impervious to facts." "Of late years the practice of denunciation has been discontinued. Objectionable facts are not denied, but simply disregarded; and those who bring them forward are not censured—they are severely let alone. This modern policy of silence proceeds from the fear and not from the love of truth. The members of Convocation have discovered that the blood of the heretics is the seed of rationalism; that the condemnation of facts serves only to bring them into greater prominence, to make them more quickly and more widely known. They recognise the prudence of saying nothing. But whether they speak or not, the majority of ecclesiastics are indifferent, if not opposed to truth. And when I think of their modern devices—such as wilful prevarication, deliberate ambiguity, and, worst of all, the conspiracy of silence—I confess I almost wish we were back to the plain, straightforward lying of the early Fathers. It was so much easier to deal with, so much less dangerous to truth."

I take the following remarks from the work called *Doctrine and Principles*, by C. E. Beeby, B.D., Vicar of Yardly Wood, near Birmingham, in the see of Worcester (Williams & Norgate, 1900): "What is wanted to-day supremely is utter honesty and sincerity. The truth is not gained by prejudice and passion. 'If the faith of the future,' it has been said, 'is to be a faith which can satisfy the most cultivated as well as the feeblest intellects, it must be founded on an unflinching respect for realities.' That which militates most of all against the claims of the Church at the present day is the feeling that 'while science speaks the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, organised Christianity does

the Original Greek, which they describe in their *Introduction* to be "an attempt to present exactly the original words of the New Testament," etc. (sect. 1), must be convicted as an elaborated fib. Had they declared it, as Dean Alford had done in regard to his recension of the Greek Testament, to be merely the text of the fourth century, they would have had the benefit of an abatement of the guilt of moral impropriety. Their concluding dedication, thus expressed, "From Him who is at once the supreme Fountain of truth and the all-wise Lord of its uses they have received both the materials of knowledge and the means by which they are wrought into knowledge: into His hands, and His alone, when the working is over, must they render back that which they have first and last received," when driven to its ultimate corner will be found to be *vox et preterea nihil*, that is to say, sound or resonance and nothing else. The moral precept preceding the dedication, "Critics of the Bible, if they have been taught by the Bible, are unable to forget that the duty of guileless workmanship is never superseded by any other," is one that it is painful to say they have not observed. It is manifest that they have allowed the authority of the Church, and the professional obligation to maintain it, even at some moral cost, to supersede the moral duty of avoiding guile. St Augustine frankly acknowledged the professional obligation of submission to the authority of the Church when he confessed that that was his only reason for believing the Gospel.¹ *Ego evangelio non crederem, nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ auctoritas commoveret*: I should not believe the Gospel, if the authority of the Catholic Church did not move or influence me. The authority of the Church over-rode his personal conviction; and I

not. With moral integrity, clear thought and plain, open, honest speech is wanted. . . . At the same time, a practised ambiguity of speech has with some divines become a fine art" (Introductory chapter, p. 21). "It was the view of Eusebius, the great Church historian, who tells us frankly that his principle in writing history was to conceal the facts that were injurious to the reputation of the Church. In the Gospel literature we must expect the same mental aptitudes, the same modes of thought, as were common to the Jews, and are illustrated in the literature of the Old Testament" (ch. xiv. p. 166).

¹ I must remark here, in a footnote, that I think St Augustine must have made a mental reservation. His reception of the Gospel was due not only to the authority of the Church, but also to his partiality for the emoluments and social position in the gift of the Church. He found the employment given by the Church more lucrative than his original profession of rhetorician. Men in the earlier centuries no more changed their professions with their religion, than they do in the nineteenth century. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Lactantius also lie under this imputation. Lactantius was certainly a briefless barrister and Tertullian probably the same. Cyprian may perhaps be the exception that proved the rule, though Gibbon had a doubt. In our days men go into the Church when they fail in their professions or business. I am acquainted with instances of unprosperous business men, of military officers who have left the army from poverty, and even from less respectable reasons, who have gone into the Church to better their prospects.

sorrowfully state my opinion that it has had a similar effect on our two learned and accomplished theologians. But, unlike St Augustine, they have abstained from confessing it.¹

From the point of view of a textual critic, the Revision Committee of 1881 are likewise open to moral blame. They have accepted the authority of the Uncial Greek MSS., the Codex Vaticanus, and others, of the history of which they were ignorant, while they have rejected the authority of the quotations and representations of the ancient Fathers of the second and third centuries, whose history is authentic. They have suppressed historical facts, and, submitting to the authority of the Church, have followed conventional and traditional views. Their proceedings may be summarily represented in the following imaginary *séance* to settle the text of the Gospel of Luke.

Reporter.—Irenæus (second century) quotes the Gospel of Luke as stating that the angel Gabriel visited Mary on the same day, '*in ipso tempore*,' or at the very time of his visit to Elizabeth, on the occasion of the miraculous conceptions of these ladies (see *ante*, p. 105).

Majority of Committee.—Take your pen quickly and write "in the sixth month" after (Luke i. 26).

Reporter.—This was the reading in the middle of the third century, for Gregory Thaumaturgus so quotes it. But this eminent bishop states that the visit of the angel was made to Mary at Bethlehem, her home, and that after the angel's visit to her and her own visit to Elizabeth, Mary proceeded to Nazareth: whereas in our present text, the same verse states that the angel's visit to Mary was made at Nazareth. The clause "from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth" was wanting in the verse (Luke i. 26) quoted by Gregory (see p. 105, *ante*).

Majority.—Put it in.

Reporter.—Tertullian (beginning of third century) represents that the Gospel of Luke contained the stories of the visit of magi and of Herod's slaughter of the children at Bethlehem; and Epiphanius— (see p. 111).

Majority.—Hush, don't speak so loud. Say nothing about it.

Reporter.—Irenæus omits the parables of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan in his list of incidents and discourses peculiar to Luke and not found in the other Gospels. Tertullian makes no

¹ The *Quarterly* reviewer, 1881, thus expresses his opinion of the literary value of the Greek text revised by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort: "With regret we record our conviction, that these accomplished scholars have succeeded in producing a text vastly more remote from the inspired autographs of the Evangelists than any which has appeared since the invention of printing" (*op. cit.*, p. 319).

mention of these parables in his review and comparison of the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels of Luke. Epiphanius is silent regarding the Good Samaritan, but accuses Marcion of having cut out the Prodigal Son; which means, when studied in connection with the previous facts, that it was interpolated in the Canonical Gospel (see p. 183).

Majority.—Let the two parables remain.

Reporter.—The clause in Luke xvi. 9, “make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness,” is *prima facie* a repulsively immoral precept, and unbecoming to the character of our Lord. It is a source of serious embarrassment to commentators, who are at their wits’ ends to explain it away. It is clear that the original scribe omitted the negative $\mu\eta$ or ‘not’ by clerical error. The clause that follows is quoted by Irenæus, but not by Tertullian, who followed an earlier edition of the Gospel (see ch. xii.). Both clauses are discordant with the context (see p. 190).

Majority.—This verse (including both clauses) has stood for seventeen centuries, and the responsibility of altering it is thus rendered very onerous. Let it remain: it will be useful as a whetstone for sharpening the wits of commentators.

Such appears to me to have been the nature of the textual criticism practised by the Revision Committee. In a recent prosecution by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge of a publisher of educational works for breach of copyright, the fact was disclosed that the Universities incurred an outlay of £39,000, if my memory is accurate, in bringing out the Revised Version. A portion of this sum was doubtless distributed amongst the members of the Revision Committee, for it is inconceivable that learned theologians had given their services for love of the pure Word of God. The Revised Version has neither given satisfaction as a literary work, nor has it proved successful as a financial enterprise.

Some time after writing the above criticisms, my curiosity induced me to procure *The Quarterly Review* of 1881, in which the work of Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort is criticised. Dr Scrivener, in his *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, directs attention to this review. I was desirous of ascertaining whether the reviewer had detected the skilful manner in which Dr Hort and his coadjutor Bishop Westcott, who accepts joint responsibility with him, had consciously and deliberately ignored, set aside and perverted the two leading principles of textual criticism, which they profess to have observed. I have been disappointed to find that *The Quarterly* reviewer had not done so, but I felt consoled when I ascertained

from the language and tenour of his dissertation that he was himself a theologian and ecclesiastic. But though he has not directly exposed their act of deception, he has indirectly done so. While failing to declare that Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort had practically not followed the first principle of textual criticism, which demands credentials for documents, he is very strong in pointing out that the great Uncial Greek manuscripts, on which our two learned textual critics lay much store, are worthless documents for the purposes of ascertaining the original texts of the Gospels. He speaks of them with disparagement as "four codices without a history or character" (*The Quarterly Review*, 1881, p. 329); "of bad character" (p. 345); that the use of them has led to a "barbarous mutilation of the Gospel" (p. 346). The Codex Vaticanus and Sinaiticus have "within the last twenty years established a tyrannical ascendancy over the imagination of the critics, which can only be fitly spoken of as a blind superstition" (p. 312); "*in different degrees* they all five exhibit a fabricated text" (p. 312); *ignes fatui* and "depraved character of codices" (p. 314); the "text which the Revisionists are seeking to palm off upon us is a *fabrication and a blunder*" (p. 331); "a style of depravation with which, at the end of 1800 years, it is deliberately proposed to disfigure every page of the everlasting Gospel; and for which, were it tolerated, the Church would have had to thank Drs Westcott and Hort" (p. 348). There are numerous other passages, impressing the same view in remarkably strong language, of which the following are examples: "What astonishes us most, however, is to find learned men in the year of grace 1881, freely resuscitating those long since forgotten *bêtises* of long since forgotten critics, and seeking to palm them off upon a busy and careless age, as so many new revelations" (p. 359). "It should be added that Drs Westcott and Hort have adopted *every one of the twenty-five in which Codex B [Vaticanus] is concerned*—a significant indication of the superstitious reverence in which they hold that demonstrably corrupt and most untrustworthy document" (p. 359). "May we be permitted to say without offence, that, in our humble judgment, if the Church of England at their bidding were to adopt this and thousands of other disfigurements of the sacred page,—depravations with which the Church universal was once well acquainted, but which in her corporate character she has long since unconditionally condemned and abandoned—she would deserve to be pointed at with scorn by the rest of Christendom" (p. 365). The most exquisite stroke of all is the fun made of the text of the great Uncial Greek manuscripts by comparative imaginary transcripts of Hamlet's soliloquy, "To be or not to be, that is the question." The diversity of

the texts of these codices is thus caricatured by *The Quarterly reviewer* :¹

- “Codex Alexandrinus. Toby or not Toby ; that is the question.
 „ Vaticanus. Tob or not, is the question.
 „ Sinaiticus. To be a tub, or not to be a tub ; the question is that.
 „ Ephraemi. The question is, to beat or not to beat Toby ?
 „ Bezaë. The only question is this : to beat that Toby, or be a tub ” (p. 314).

There can be no question that the reviewer had no respect for these venerable copies of Holy Scripture, and differed in opinion from Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort on the subject of their admissibility as credible testimony of the original text according to the first principle of textual criticism.

The reviewer is silent on the subject of the deceitful perversion of the *historical* method, enjoined by the second great principle of textual criticism, to the *genealogical* method substituted by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort, though professing to follow the former. But there can be no doubt that he does disapprove of the genealogical method. The only passage in which I have been able to discover his dissent is in a footnote in page 360. Speaking of Drs Westcott and Hort, he says : “ They *pass by* whatever makes against the readings which they advocate, with the magisterial announcement, ‘ *Syrian,*’ ‘ *Western,*’ ‘ *Western and Syrian,*’ as the case may be. But we respectfully submit that ‘ *Syrian,*’ ‘ *Western,*’ ‘ *Western and Syrian,*’ as critical expressions, are without meaning, as well as without use, to a student in this difficult department of sacred science. They supply no information. They are not supported by evidence. They are *Dictation*, not *Criticism*. When at last it is discovered that they do but signify that certain words *are omitted* by Codex B [Vaticanus]—they are *circumlocution* also.” These words really express my own sentiments on the subject, but they do so in a circumlocutious manner. The dictation is, however, not that of Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort, but of the ecclesiastical organisation known as the Church. The terms of the dictation of the Church enforce the obliteration of the testimony of the Fathers of the second and third centuries to the text of the Gospel of their times. So long as this dictation is observed, the Church does not trouble itself regarding the pious and illicit methods, even when these overstep the ten commandments, employed

¹ I entreat the reader to bear in mind that fun is made of the Holy Scriptures, not by me, but by the learned theologian and ecclesiastic who wrote the review. In the obituary notice of the late Bishop Westcott in *The Standard* of 29th July 1901, Dean Burgon is stated to have been *The Quarterly reviewer*.

by theologians in obeying their obligation. Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort devoted long years of hard study in elaborating the genealogical method, which they "palmed off," to use the language of *The Quarterly* reviewer, as the same as the historical method evolved by scientific editors of ancient writings. They were merely carrying out their professional obligation, which, it is sad to think, could only be accomplished by a breach of morality. It could not be done without learned exploitation and deceit, for it is not possible otherwise to overturn the facts of history. *The Quarterly* reviewer practically objects to the genealogical method employed by Drs Westcott and Hort, but it is plain that he had no objection to the purpose and design of this method, which was to vilify and discredit the testimony of the most ancient witnesses to the text of the Gospels. The reviewer was a learned theologian and ecclesiastic, and was himself subject and obedient to the dictation of the Church, and bound by the same professional obligation which lay upon the subjects of his satire and criticism. He objected, with great respect, to the dictation of Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort, but not to the dictation of the Church. He preferred his own method of meeting a professional obligation, which was also the method preferred by Dr Scrivener, whom he regarded as the most learned of the Revisionist body (p. 321). The method preferred was that of Danton—*l'audace, encore l'audace, toujours l'audace*—simply audacious and reckless statements, which were plausibly protected and covered by erudition and rhetoric. The reviewer details the means by which the Gospels had been corrupted, and remarks: "We have sufficiently explained how it comes to pass that not a few of the codices of ancient Christendom must have exhibited a text which was even scandalously corrupt. 'It is no less true to fact than paradoxical in sound,' writes the most learned of the Revisionist body, 'that the worst corruptions to which the New Testament has ever been subjected originated within a hundred years after it was composed: that Irenæus [A.D. 150] and the African Fathers, and the whole Western, with a portion of the Syrian Church, used far inferior manuscripts to those employed by Stunica, or Erasmus, or Stephen thirteen centuries later, when moulding the Textus Receptus' (Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 453)," (p. 321). This audacious statement is based on the unhistorical hypothesis that the New Testament was written in A.D. 50, and that Irenæus wrote one hundred years after; whereas history indicates that the New Testament was compiled in the second half of the second century and that Irenæus was contemporary with its compilation. The "fact and paradox" are similar to a statement that the water of the Thames is purer at London than at Oxford or Cricklade, which no sensible

man would admit. But the object and design of the "fact and paradox" of Scrivener and *The Quarterly* reviewer are the same as those of the genealogical method, or family grouping of texts of Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort—viz., the discrediting of the quotations and representations of the Fathers of the second and third centuries. Theologians fiercely contend amongst themselves about methods, but they are religiously and piously unanimous upon the exclusion of the testimony of Irenæus, Tertullian and others, as I have already pointed out, p. 352.

The Quarterly reviewer gives us an insight into the proceedings of the Revision Committee of 1881, which was presided over by the learned Dr Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (see p. 472), when textual changes were proposed. The evidence for and against proposed changes was stated respectively by Drs Scrivener and Hort, upon whom the duty devolved "by tacit consent," because they were regarded "from their previous studies specially entitled to speak with authority upon such questions, and who came prepared to enumerate particularly the authorities on either side. After discussion, the vote of the company was taken, and the proposed reading accepted or rejected." The above information was derived from Dr Newth, who was one of the "New Testament company" (p. 326). It is plain from our knowledge of the opinions of the two learned protagonists, who though at war on the *methods* each employed, were agreed on the main question of the exclusion of the testimony of the second and third century Fathers, that the evidence of the latter, who are our best historical witnesses to the ancient text of the Gospels, was held back or disparaged. Under such circumstances it is not possible to think that the R. V. gives a fair reflection of the original and authentic text. This result would have equally followed, whether the majority of the Revision Committee had decided in favour of Dr Scrivener's views or of Dr Hort's views—because these gentlemen were at one on the important point of the exclusion of the best historical testimony, and differed only in the *method* employed by each to plausibly justify such exclusion. *The Quarterly* reviewer deplores the acceptance by the majority of Dr Hort's views, and thus he practically makes a distinction between tweedledum and tweedledee. He says: "It has been the ruin of the present undertaking—as far as the Sacred Text is concerned—that a majority of the Revisionist body has been misled throughout by the unsatisfactory decrees and eager advocacy of Drs Westcott and Hort, who, with the purest intentions and most laudable industry, have constructed a text demonstrably more remote from the Evangelic verity, than any which has ever yet seen the light. . . .

To attempt, as they have done, to build the text of the New Testament on a tissue of unproved assertions and the eccentricities of a single codex of bad character,¹ is about as hopeful a proceeding as would be the attempt to erect an Eddystone lighthouse on the Goodwin Sands." The result would have been much the same in the main, if Dr Scrivener's views had prevailed.

The policy of the modern Church on the subject of new doctrines, new variations of the sacred text, ecclesiastical facts of history, and similar matters, is the same as that of the ancient Church. After a period, long or short, of violent discussion, and of uniform familiarisation, encouragement and partial enforcement of the novelties in the schools and churches, the innovations are finally accepted as axioms. The R. V., a business speculation of the Universities, after an interval of twenty years, is now authorised by our two Archbishops to be read in the Churches! There is hence a chance of ultimate financial success.

I have also read the criticisms of the same reviewer in *The Quarterly Review* for 1882 on "Westcott and Hort's Textual Theory." There can be no doubt that the reviewer was greatly dissatisfied with the results of the application made by these two learned theologians of the principles of textual criticism. He says that the popular verdict has been pronounced unmistakably that the revision is a "prodigious blunder" (p. 312), which was brought about by the "*facundia præceps* of one who is at least a thorough believer in his own self-evolved opinions" (p. 314). He styles the various arguments employed by Drs Westcott and Hort as "solemn trifling" and "Pickwickian," (p. 329); and thinks that "surely it is competent to upset their *conclusion*, without being constrained to investigate the illicit logical processes by which" they have arrived at it. A text formed by taking the Codex Vaticanus as the sole authority, which our two theologians have done, would be "*by far the foulest text that had ever seen the light*" (p. 354). "We undertook to show that Drs Westcott and Hort, in the volumes before us, have built up an utterly worthless textual fabric; and we consider that we have already sufficiently shown it" (p. 356), an opinion in which I concur.

Dr Hort's genealogical method is utterly rejected; the reviewer remarks, "His assertion that 'it cannot be too often repeated that the study of grouping is *the foundation of all enduring criticism*,' we hold to be as absurd as it is untrue" (p. 363). It is a pity that the reviewer

¹ The reviewer here alludes to the Codex Vaticanus, for which Drs Westcott and Hort had a partiality.

did not investigate Dr Hort's "illicit logical processes,"¹ for Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort's achievements appear to have produced a vague suspicion in his mind that the recognised principles of textual criticism need modification! He suggests as a truer method, one that "simply enquires *which form of the text has the fullest, the widest, and the most varied attestation*" (p. 363). This is essentially the historical method, but it is too indefinite and embraces too wide a horizon.

In this review the learned clerical critic observes the professional obligation of vilifying and disparaging the quotations from the Gospels made by the most ancient Fathers who had these Gospels in their hands. He specially selects Clement of Alexandria (pp. 359-361); but Clement is one of several who did correct and embellish the Gospels. Irenæus lies under a similar imputation. But no such imputation can be made against Tertullian, whose quotations, translated into Latin from Greek, are such as he found them to be in the official Gospels in his hands. I have declared (see p. 324 ff.) the devices by which this Father's quotations are thrown out of account by theologians. A theory was started that Tertullian's quotations were derived from a corrupt Latin translation, the imaginary *Vetus Latina*! All theologians are unanimous in accepting this mendacious theory, supported by falsified history and falsification of translation. I have no doubt that Clement and Irenæus did make emendations and additions to the sacred text; but it is preposterous to think that the emendations, additions and omissions made subsequent to their time were *in all instances* or even *in most instances* a reversion to the original text. The later emendations and additions were in the vast majority of instances altogether *de novo*. The quotations made by Irenæus and Clement were in most instances transcripts from the earlier editions of the Gospels. The emendations introduced by them are, in numerous instances, still perpetuated; and those that have not survived indicate the first stage undergone by corruptions or alterations of the text. The changes made by Irenæus and Clement were, however, in the *official*, not in private or sectarian copies of the Sacred Writings, and were accepted by or enforced upon the Church.

I have had no occasion to modify or amend my remarks on the work of Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort, after perusal of the two

¹ *The Quarterly* reviewer may be pardoned for having neglected his manifest duty as a critic, for Dr Hort's sea of words is a very boisterous and unprepossessing ocean to sail through. I do not believe that one man in a thousand of the clergy has had the courage to read Dr Hort's *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek*. As a literary performance Dr Hort's work is on a par with the *Panarion* of Epiphanius.

learned dissertations of *The Quarterly* reviewer, published in the volumes for 1881 and 1882. But I have availed myself of the great erudition of the learned reviewer to illustrate my remarks by adding several useful footnotes. Of these the most valuable was the fact that the little word $\mu\eta$ was occasionally omitted in Greek codices (see p. 191, footnote).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REASONS FOR THE CONCLUSION THAT THE MARCIONITE GOSPEL
WAS THE ORIGINAL OF THE CANONICAL GOSPEL. PROFESSOR
SANDAY'S SOPHISTICAL ARGUMENTS.

IN the preceding pages I have stated all the facts that I have been able to gather regarding the text, both of the Marcionite Gospel and of the Canonical Gospel of Luke of the second century; and I have further intermittently indicated the effect which individual facts bearing on the question of priority had on my mind. The facts, as they were consecutively developed, have uniformly had the effect of producing on my mind the definite and precise conviction that the Marcionite Gospel was the original, of which the Canonical Gospel was a copy and amplification. I propose in this chapter to associate and classify the facts which have combined to produce my ultimate conclusion, which is that the Canonical Gospel was a copy of the Marcionite Gospel.

I. Proofs of the reversion of the Canonical Gospel to the Marcionite Gospel.

Tertullian enables us to ascertain the sequence of passages in the Marcionite Gospel, from which he quotes, from the order in which he consecutively refers to them. He does not tell us that there was a variance in the order of passages in the two Gospels. And on comparing the order of passages in the Marcionite Gospel with the same in our present Gospel of Luke, we can perceive no difference, except in the case of some verses in ch. iv. 16-30, which solitary divergence, however, did not exist in the second century (see p. 128). I find, however, that in the Canonical Gospel in the hands of Irenæus that there was a very appreciable difference between it and the Marcionite Gospel in the order of passages. Tertullian's review of the Marcionite Gospel is the fullest and best account we have of it. The sequence of passages in it as ascertained from Tertullian does not agree with the sequence of corresponding passages in the

Canonical Gospel given by Irenæus. The latter writer also, like Tertullian, omitted to point out such divergence. We, however, possess the testimony of Epiphanius on the subject, who, in a graphic description (see p. 84), expressly intimates that there was a difference in the order of passages between the two Gospels. Irenæus gives the order of the following passages, which he says are peculiar to Luke (*Ad. Her.*, iii. xiv. 3):—

- I. The multitude of fishes which Peter's companions caught, when at the Lord's command they cast their nets (Luke v. 1-11).
- II. The woman who suffered for eighteen years and was healed on the Sabbath (Luke xiii. 11-17).
3. The dropsical man, healed on the Sabbath (Luke xiv. 1-6).
4. Admonition not to aspire to uppermost places (Luke xiv. 7-11).
- V. Invitation to the poor and feeble, who cannot recompense (Luke xiv. 12-14).
- VI. The importunate man who demanded loaves at night (Luke xi. 5-8).
- VII. The woman who kissed and anointed the feet of Jesus, and the two debtors (Luke vii. 36-50).
- VIII. The parable of the rich man (Luke xii. 16-21).
- IX. The parable of Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19-31).
10. Jesus' answer to the disciples when they said, "Increase our faith" (Luke xvii. 5-10).
- XI. The story of Zacchæus (Luke xix. 1-10).
- XII. The Pharisee and publican (Luke xviii. 9-14).
- XIII. The ten lepers (Luke xvii. 11-19).
- XIV. Lame and blind invited to the wedding (supper) (Luke xiv. 15-24).
- XV. The judge, who feared neither God nor man, avenging the widow (Luke xviii. 1-8).
16. The fig-tree in the vineyard, which produced no fruit (Luke xiii. 6-9).
- XVII. What Jesus said to the disciples on the way, after the resurrection (Luke xxiv. 13-35).

Of the above seventeen incidents or passages, the local position of which in the Canonical Gospel of the second century is indicated by Irenæus, Nos. 3, 4, 10, and 16 were wanting in the Marcionite Gospel. This circumstance will not affect a comparison made between the relative local positions occupied by the other passages common to both Gospels. It will be seen from the following table

that the relative local position in the continuous text of corresponding passages was different in the two rival Gospels. And, further, on comparing the relative position of the same passage in our present Gospel with the order in which they followed each other in the second century Canonical and Marcionite Gospels, it will be seen that the sequence in the former has been abandoned, and that of the latter reverted to. The deficient passages are indicated in the second column by figures enclosed in parentheses.

Order of certain passages in the second century Gospel of Luke, according to Irenæus.

I II 3 4 V VI VII VIII IX 10 XI XII XIII XIV XV 16 XVII

Order of the same passages in the Marcionite Gospel, according to Tertullian.

I VI VII VIII IX (3) II (4) XI XII (16) XV XIII (10) XIV V XVII

Order of the same passages in the present Gospel of Luke.

I VI VII VIII IX III II IV XI XII XVI XV XIII X XIV V XVII

The divergence in the relative position of the same passages in the Canonical Gospels of the second century (in the hands of Irenæus and Tertullian) and of the present day is very marked. It is impossible to think that the identity of the relative position of corresponding passages in the present Canonical Gospel and in the ancient Marcionite Gospel is a fortuitous circumstance or mere accident. It is the result of design. The order of the Marcionite Gospel, the original source of the Canonical Gospel, was found to be the most agreeable and natural, and hence it was reverted to. We have no record of the continuous text of the Canonical Gospel in the third century, similar to the list of contents given by Irenæus in the second century. But we find some remains of the divergence of the order of passages in the Canonical Gospel used by Epiphanius in the fourth century. While Tertullian quoted from the Marcionite Gospel in his work *Against Marcion*, Epiphanius quoted from the Canonical Gospel, and thus we can ascertain from his consecutive quotations the sequence of passages in his Gospel. I can find no divergence except in one passage, viz., the story of the plucking of the ears of corn (Luke vi. 1-4). This passage in Epiphanius' Gospel occupied a position after Luke ix. 44, and before x. 21, but it is now found in the Canonical Gospel in the exact position which it originally held in the Marcionite Gospel. Further on I shall explain the reasons which induce me to conclude that the Canonical Gospel with which Tertullian compared the Marcionite Gospel was the first and original edition of the Gospel of Luke (see ch. xii.). In

the first edition there was no difference between the two rival Gospels in the sequence of the Marcionite passages of the Canonical Gospel, as Tertullian speaks of none, and none can be ascertained by a critical examination. Irenæus used the second edition of the Gospel of Luke, in which the order of the Marcionite passages had been shuffled in the Canonical Gospel. This fact is certain from the evidence produced, even though Irenæus had forgotten to mention it.

Another instance of reversion to the original is the removal of additions and changes made in the Marcionite portion of the first edition of the Gospel of Luke. These additions and changes were remarkably few, numbering only five in all; of these, three have been removed, and the original Marcionite text restored and reverted to. These were, the three verses now removed to Matthew in the passage Luke iv. 31-37; the clause "raining on the just and unjust, and making the sun to rise on the evil and on the good," in the passage Luke vi. 27-38, removed to Matthew; the word "sword," in lieu of which the original word "division" was restored in the passage Luke xii. 41-53. The additions that have been retained are the word "eternal" in the passage Luke x. 25-28; and the clause "they parted his raiment and cast lots" in the passage Luke xviii. 32-38. These two insignificant additions, with a few others, and some changes and omissions in the text¹ subsequently made, are the only differences that exist between the *Marcionite* passages of the present Canonical Gospel and the considerable Marcionite portion of the first edition of it in the second century. Many *non-Marcionite* passages have of course been since introduced.

II. The marked contrast in the subsequent treatment accorded to the Marcionite portion of the original Canonical Gospel and to the non-Marcionite portion of it, indicates the different authorship of each of the rival Gospels.

The reader is requested to compare the non-Marcionite commencement of the Gospel (Luke i. to iv. 15), as it was in the second century, with the same portion in our present Gospel. He will perceive that the former has been roughly handled, clipped and pruned, and

¹ For instance, five additional clauses were added in later times to the Lord's Prayer; but even in regard to these additions, a tendency to reversion is noticeable. In the last revision made by the Revision Committee of 1881, three of these additional clauses were cut out, showing a spontaneous and unconscious approximative reversion to the original Marcionite text (see p. 172). It is amusing to read the following criticism on the Revised Version of 1881, made by *The Quarterly* reviewer, Oct. 1881, p. 325: "And in this way it comes to pass that the mutilated condition to which the scalpel of Marcion, the heretic, reduced the Lord's Prayer some 1730 years ago (for the mischief can all be traced back to him!) is palmed off on the Church of England by the Revisionists as the work of the Sacred Writers!"

modified to a considerable extent. Not only has the verbal text been changed in numerous places, but the very history, which at least ought to be fixed and permanent, has been altered. Sufficient amusement has already been derived from these historical changes, such as the change "at the very time" to "in the sixth month" after, of Mary's conception, and of the two visits to earth of the angel Gabriel instead of a single visit. A large passage has been cut out (the visit of the magi, the destruction of the children at Bethlehem, the sudden flight of Mary and her child to Ægypt and her stay there till the death of Herod, which, by the way, took place four years before) in order to correct the impossible chronology of the narrative; and so on. On the other hand, the amount of change in the Marcionite passages between the original and the present Gospels is remarkably little, and the few changes made were not due to literary and historical errors of the original writer. This striking contrast between the subsequent dealing with the Marcionite and the non-Marcionite passages of the Gospel is a clear proof to my mind of two authors: the man who wrote the non-Marcionite portion could not possibly, according to all human estimation of fact, have been the author of the Marcionite portion. The former was a hopeless blunderer, while the latter was an accurate writer. The lapses of the former were corrected in the second, third, and subsequent editions of the Gospel; while the identity of the Marcionite portion with the Gospel used by Marcion was in these editions attempted to be obliterated by shuffling the sequence of the passages. Further, most of the few changes made in the Marcionite passages have been latterly removed, and the original reverted to, so that the identity of the Marcionite passages is better perceived in the present Canonical Gospel than it was in the intermediate editions issued during the early centuries. The clear fact, apparent to human insight, that the non-Marcionite and the Marcionite portions of the Canonical Gospel were written by different men, belies the orthodox assertion that the entire Canonical Gospel was written by the same man. And that conclusion justifies the opinion, consistent with so much that is well known in the literary history of ecclesiastical Christianity, that the Marcionite portion of the Canonical Gospel of Luke was a forgery. The dual authorship of the Canonical Gospel is further supported by the next group of facts.

III. Statements made in the non-Marcionite portion of the Canonical Gospel, *i.e.* Luke i. 1-iv. 15, are contradicted in the Marcionite portion of it.

For the convenience of distinction, I shall speak of the author of the former portion as Pseudo-Luke and of the latter as Luke. The

former represents Jesus to have been of the house of David, and a lineal descendant of that ancient sovereign. In support of this statement he gives a genealogy of his descent, and quotes a prophecy foretelling it (Luke i. 69, 70). In the Marcionite portion of the Gospel these statements derive no support and are even contradicted. In Luke xx. 41-44, the question is asked, How say they that Christ is David's son? An argument is raised against this allegation founded on a passage from the Psalms of David, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand. It is demanded if David called him Lord, how is he then his son? And no reply is made to what is ostensibly put forth as an unanswerable argument negating the allegation. The passage is purely Marcionite, and is clearly designed to cast discredit on the alleged descent of Jesus from David, according to the alleged Hebrew prophecy on the subject, which, with all alleged prophecies regarding Christ, Marcion rejected. Again, in the story of the blind man of Jericho (Luke xviii. 35), who vociferated, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy upon me, the disciples rebuked the blind man. The blind man of Jericho can hardly be considered to have known the genealogy of Jesus. The cry was put into his mouth for an object. The rebuke was designed to refer to the words, Thou son of David, but has been diverted to apply to the simple vociferation. The passage was foolishly retained, but the meaning of it has been diversely interpreted by theologians.¹

Pseudo-Luke, in the preliminary chapters of the Canonical Gospel, represents John the Baptist to have been a relation of Jesus, their mothers being cousins (Luke i. 36), and on visiting terms (Luke i. 56), and both inspired by the Holy Ghost with the information that Mary's child was the Messiah of prophecy (Luke i. 41, 43, 46). It would be unreasonable to suppose that all this information had not been imparted to their children, when they grew up to the age of intelligence, or that their sons were not on the same intimacy with each other as their mothers were. In the circumstances it is fair to conclude that Jesus and John were well acquainted with each other, and both knew their respective missions as pre-arranged by the Hebrew prophets. Pseudo-Luke is further understood to relate the baptism of Jesus by John, on which occasion a dove from heaven settled upon Jesus, and a voice uttered the words with

¹ The facts stated in this paragraph discredit the clause in Rom. i. 3, "which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh," and the quotation from Isaiah in Rom. xv. 12. Marcion rejected the conventional notions that Jesus descended from David, and that the Hebrew prophets so prophesied; which he would not have done had he been aware of these passages in Paul's writings. Paul's theology was Marcion's guide. These two interpolations may be removed without the contexts suffering in sense; they are parenthetical, and hence very suspicious.

reference to Jesus, Thou art my beloved Son; this day I have begotten thee (Luke iii. 21, 22). It is not possible to rise from the perusal of Pseudo-Luke with the impression that Jesus and John were strangers to each other, and utterly ignorant each of the mission of the other as foretold by the prophets. The above is the representation of Pseudo-Luke. Turning to the Marcionite portion of the original Canonical Gospel, we find that Luke very completely ignores the whole story of Pseudo-Luke. In Luke vii. 19 we find the Marcionite writer relates a mission from John the Baptist to Jesus for the purpose of ascertaining whether he was the Messiah or not. Art thou he that should come? or look we for another? This enquiry does not give me the impression that John knew all about Jesus, as Pseudo-Luke represents. The answer that Jesus sends back makes no reference whatever to the prophecy regarding himself which John was especially anxious to know about. The whole anecdote gives me the impression that the Marcionite writer was covertly indulging in satire on the prevalent notions regarding the prophetic mission of Jesus. He does not, however, repudiate the popular estimation in which John was regarded. He puts into the mouth of Jesus an acknowledgment that John was a prophet, and he adds, "Aye, much more than a prophet." One wonders why the statement is thus strangely emphasised. I think it is an indication of the satirical mood of the Marcionite writer. The second century abounded in prophets, the stipendiary or ten per cent. prophets of whom I have spoken elsewhere. It was these prophets that Marcion was charged with setting himself above, and whose testimony regarding the biography of Christ he put aside. The Marcionite writer meant to say that John was a prophet, aye, much more than a ten per cent. prophet. While repudiating the prophecies concerning Jesus, he accepted the current prophecy regarding John in Mal. iii. 1, "Behold, I send my messenger before my face, which shall prepare my way before me."¹ The whole passage, Luke vii. 19-23, is purely Marcionite, declaring Marcion's disbelief in the prophecies regarding Jesus, and ought to have been excluded from the Canonical Gospel, as it is a direct contradiction of the statements made in the preliminary non-Marcionite chapters (see p. 87). The Marcionite account of Jesus and John does not give the impression that there was a personal acquaintance between these distinguished personages.

Another satirical stroke of the Marcionite writer will be found in Luke xx. 1-8. Here was an opportunity for declaring the

¹ By clerical error the scribe wrote in the Marcionite Gospel *thy* for *my*, and *me* for *thee*, substituting the Greek letter σ for μ (see p. 150).

divine authority and the prophetic confirmation of it attributed to Jesus by Pseudo-Luke in the preliminary chapters. The demand was made of Jesus regarding his authority and the source of it; but instead of availing himself of the information on these subjects provided in such profusion by Pseudo-Luke, the Marcionite writer avoids altogether any allusion to the possession of divine and prophetic authority by Jesus, and evades the demand by a clever counter-question regarding the baptism of John.

IV. The Marcionite portion of the Canonical Gospel contains evidences of being a sectarian Gospel, and especially of the sect of Marcion.

I have already exhibited the views of Marcion as declared by contemporary and later writers. This great heretic founded a powerful church in the second century, which was seriously antagonistic in some points to the doctrines of the orthodox Church. Marcion considered Jesus to be a human being, not a god, denied the fabulous stories regarding the miraculous conception of the mother of Jesus, gave no credence to the unhistorical history of Jesus prior to his appearance in public life, and repudiated the application to Jesus of alleged Hebrew prophecies. The orthodox Church held contrary views. Now in the Marcionite Gospel we do find some extraordinary feats attributed to Jesus, summarised in the reply to the mission from John the Baptist, "the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised" (Luke vii. 22). But all these miracles may be generally described as therapeutic, and were performed by other men, to whom divinity was not ascribed. The most surprising of these deeds was the raising of the dead. This, however, was a common achievement of ordinary men, not gods, in the second century, according to the historical records of the Church. Peter raised Dorcas from the dead (Acts ix. 40); Paul resuscitated a dead man (Acts xx. 12). Papias records that in his time there was one raised from the dead (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 39). Irenæus vouches—on his honour, I suppose, as a historian and bishop—that raising dead men was frequently done in his time. It appears to have been a practice of the ancient churches to pray for the resuscitation of dead people (as it is in the present day to pray for rain, for success in war and for recovery from sickness), and these prayers were successful, though heretics thought otherwise.¹ Speaking of

¹ It appears from recent articles in *The Contemporary Review* by M. Gohier that prayers, not perhaps to God or to the Virgin, but to various saints, are made by French Christians, and indeed by Christians all over Europe, for success in all manner of projects; and that success when attained is paid for by five francs. The

these unbelieving heretics, Irenæus says : " And so far are they from being able to raise the dead, as the Lord raised them, and the apostles did by means of prayer, and has been frequently done in the brotherhood on account of some necessity, the entire church in that particular locality entreating [the boon] with much fasting and prayer, the spirit of the dead man has returned, and he has been bestowed in answer to the prayers of the saints, that they do not even believe this can possibly be done," etc. (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Irenæus*, II. xxxi. 2). And again he says : " Yea, moreover, as I have said, the dead even have been raised up, and remained among us for many years " ¹ (*ibid.*, II. xxxii. 4). The other miracles, which are not therapeutic, were also accomplished by men in the second century and in the centuries preceding and following. Moses performed a long series of miracles in Egypt and in the desert ; and so did Simon Magus and Apollonius of Tyana, and the apostles, and Elymas the Sorcerer, and many others. Bishop Gregory in the first half of the third century was notorious as a worker of miracles, and hence obtained the name of Thaumaturgus. In our days the divinity of Christ is understood to be implied by the power he possessed of performing miracles ; but that view was not held in the second century by Christians. Ancient Christians did not lay much store on Christ's miracles. The latter had not been invented in the first century, for we find no allusion to them in the Christian writings of that age (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 145). Justin's views might be taken as indicating the Christian public opinion on the subject in his days, the middle of the second century. He does not attempt to answer the question which he says may be proposed : " What should prevent that He whom we call Christ, being a man born of men, performed what we call His mighty works by magical art, and by this appeared to be the Son of God ? " (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *First Apology*, xxx.). Justin's reliance for proof of the divinity of Christ was not on miracles, but on prophecies. Justin and Aristides

multitude of such small payments being very great, the priests secure a very handsome annual income. There is a story abroad that Protestant ladies pray to God to get good domestic servants ; and the Protestant clergy approve of such prayers.

¹ The learned and reverend Harvey, as editor of *Irenæus*, here notes : " The reader will not fail to remark this highly interesting testimony, that the divine *χαρίσματα* bestowed upon the infant church were not wholly extinct in the days of Irenæus. Possibly the venerable Father is speaking from his own personal recollection of some who had been raised from the dead, and had continued for a time living witnesses of the efficacy of Christian faith." As Bunsen says : " Learned rogues wrote silly or deceitful books, and learned fools believed them," etc. Paul, who wrote the truth where his writings have not been falsified by men of the Christian faith, does not include the raising of the dead in his list of gifts (1 Cor. xii. 8-10).

were shy of referring to the miracles (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 95). While Irenæus refers to the therapeutic miracles, "works tending to the benefit and establishment of mankind" (II. xxxii. 3), he, like Justin and Aristides, likewise abstains from speaking of the non-therapeutic miracles; and the same reticence is observed by the other writers of the second century. I think, therefore, that I am justified in the conclusion that Marcion had no intention of implying the divinity of Christ by introducing miracles into his Gospel. He is very sparing of non-therapeutic miracles, relating only three, viz., the miraculous draught of fishes, the feeding of the multitude, and the stilling of the winds and waves. Other holy and remarkable men of early times performed miracles of a similar nature as those ascribed to Jesus, and hence it would be historically unfair to attribute to a writer of the second century a logical inference which is regarded by theologians as reasonable in the present day. The people of the second century did not regard workers of miracles as gods, but merely as holy or extraordinary men. Marcion, then, did not in his Gospel represent Jesus as a god, or as a man-god, but merely as a holy and remarkable man.¹ His theology, or christology, was hence divergent from the doctrine held by the orthodox Church on the subject of the divinity of Christ. This divergence of theological view stamps the Marcionite Gospel as sectarian. The casting out of devils was likewise a common feat accomplished by ordinary men, even by pagans.

Marcion was charged with the heresy of "abolishing the Law and the Prophets." I find this charge practically proved by the Marcionite Gospel. Nothing can be more precise and definite than the statement in the Marcionite Gospel (sect. lvi., Luke xvi. 16): "The law and the prophets *were* until John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached." The preaching of the kingdom of God was apart and separate from the law and prophets. The ordinances of the Jewish law, in Marcion's view, had no binding power on Christians, and the prophecies of the Hebrew prophets had no application to the kingdom of God or to Christ. The Marcionite Gospel is absolutely

¹ Luke iv. 41, a passage which existed in the Marcionite Gospel, appears to me to have been introduced with the object of denying divinity to Christ. The devils cried out, "Thou art Christ, the Son of God"; but they were rebuked, for they knew that he was 'Christ,' but not the Son of God in the orthodox physiological sense. Paul called Jesus the Son of God (Rom. i. 3, 4), but in a sense that is explained, "declared *to be* the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." Marcion understood the Sonship in this sense only—that it was a title or declaration of holiness, certified by the resurrection. Cerinthus also understood the Sonship in this moral sense (John i. 12).

free from attempts to attribute any event in the history of Jesus to prophecy. Hence the rejection of the Hebrew law and prophets, in their theological relations to Christianity, being a marked feature in the Marcionite Gospel, stamps it as sectarian. There were large bodies of Christians who observed the Jewish law, and even those larger sections that had abandoned or who had never been under the Jewish law, being Gentiles, observed some Jewish ceremonies and usages prescribed by the law. The Passover, a Jewish rite, was observed in the second century by all the Churches in Asia Minor, the members of which were Gentiles and not Jews or Ebionites. The Paschal controversy proves that great fact (see p. 207). Marcion's opposition to the Jewish law soon ceased to be regarded as heresy. While we find Irenæus strenuously objugating Marcion's abolition of the Jewish law, Tertullian, who was somewhat later than the former writer, expresses his concurrence with Marcion (see p. 67); and there can be no doubt that at the present day the Christian Church, in all its ramifications, rejects the Jewish law and Jewish usages, in that point adopting what was charged against Marcion as heresy by Irenæus in the second century. The other charge of abolishing the prophets, which is a marked feature in the Marcionite Gospel, peculiarly distinguishing it from all orthodox writings from that period to our own, is still chargeable against that ancient Gospel, stamping it as sectarian. This is a marked point of contrast between the Marcionite portion of the ancient Canonical Gospel and the non-Marcionite portion of it; and this contrast between these divergent portions is preserved to the present day.¹

The statement of Irenæus that Marcion "abolished the law and prophets" must, however, be understood as rhetorical. Marcion excluded the jurisdiction of the Jewish law over Christians, and rejected the application of Hebrew prophecies to Christ. He upheld Paul's view that Christians ought not to become Jews, and that Jewish usages should not be observed by Christians. The text, "The law and the prophets *were* until John," was not original. It existed in the Memoirs of the Apostles, from which it was probably taken, and was quoted by Justin (*Trypho*, li.). This theologian understood it to mean that there would be no more prophets in the Jewish nation, and that Christ was now come. He regarded it as the statement and fulfilment of prophecy. In

¹ Marcion revived Paul's theology in the second century, and hence it is plain that the appeals to prophecies now found in Paul's writings were forgeries; for Marcion would not have rejected prophecies if he had found references to them in Paul's writings.

this sense the same passage was installed in Matt. xi. 12-14, with a little difference and rearrangement of the words :—

JUSTIN (Memoirs of the
Apostles).¹

MATTHEW (Gospel).

The law and the prophets were until John the Baptist ; from that time the kingdom of the heavens suffers violence, and the violent take it by force. And if ye will receive *him*, he is Elias himself, who was to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

And from the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of the heavens suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John. And if ye will receive *him*, he is Elias himself who was to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

The Marcionite writer perhaps took his text from the same source, *i.e.* the Memoirs of the Apostles, but he understood and applied it in a different sense. "The law and the prophets *were* until John : since that time the kingdom of God is preached." The element of prophecy was entirely eliminated : the law and prophets were, after John, superseded by the kingdom of God, by which was meant Christianity. Marcion went a step beyond Paul. Not being a Jew, but a Gentile, he inculcated the cessation of Judaism ; while Paul, being a Jew, did not inculcate the suppression of Judaism, but deprecated its compulsory adoption by Christians. In Marcion's days, Christianity had developed into a new religion, and could not well be associated with another religion, Judaism. In Paul's days, Christianity was not a new religion, but a moral system, and hence could be associated with Judaism, or with paganism, denuded of its repulsive features ; but the compulsory adoption of Judaism was, in Paul's judgment, not essential : and in this point he was supported by the other apostles, as I have pointed out in my work on the Fourth Gospel (pp. 72-76). The repudiation of the Jewish law and of the Hebrew prophecies regarding Christ is peculiar to Marcion in the second century, for I am unaware of any orthodox theologian or other sect of that age that advocates it ; and that fact is strongly impressed upon the Marcionite Gospel, and hence stamps it as sectarian.

The "abolition of the law and prophets" which was charged by Irenæus against Marcion was a rhetorical exaggeration and misrepresentation. Marcion did not abolish the law and prophets, but excluded them from Christianity. The Marcionite Gospel represents

¹ It should be remembered that these memoirs were the writings, not of the Twelve, but of the stipendiary or ten per cent. apostles of the first half of the second century (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, pp. 91-102).

Jesus, who was himself a Jew and hence under the jurisdiction of the Hebrew law and prophets, as enjoining the observance of the law upon the Jewish lawyer (Luke x. 25 ff.), and commanding the Jewish lepers whom he had cleansed to observe the Jewish ordinances; and it quotes the Hebrew prophets in two passages, acknowledging the prophecy of Malachi bearing upon John (Luke vii. 27), and illustrating the remarks of Jesus by an appropriate citation from Micah (Luke xiii. 53).

The view of Marcion on the subject of God is also impressed on the Marcionite Gospel, but not in an offensively obtrusive manner. No reference is made to the Jewish just God, but there is a silent implication of Marcion's good God. There are no means of ascertaining what conception of God was in the mind of Jesus, but being a Jew, it must be taken that his conception was the same as that held by Jews, viz., an anthropomorphic just God, who should be worshipped with rites and ceremonials performed by priests, in a particular locality set apart. It appears to me that the modern conception of God, so far as I am capable of understanding it, has partially departed from the Jewish conception and has followed, but has not reached, the Greek conception enunciated by the unknown author of the first Epistle of John and by men who are regarded as heretics, Cerinthus and Marcion, viz., a spirit (Cerinthus, John iv. 24), a God of love (1 John iv. 8), and a good God (Marcion), who should be worshipped in spirit and in truth (Cerinthus, John iv. 24), but not in a separate building. The sectarian character of the Marcionite Gospel on the subject of God is not noticeable in comparison with the Marcionite portion of the original Canonical Gospel, which was a copy of the former; but it is sufficiently clear in comparison with the Canonical Gospel of the present day. It was felt that the Marcionite portion of the Canonical Gospel was practically sectarian, and hence additions and interpolations were subsequently made in it to introduce orthodox views and ideas. The Jewish just God was introduced by the interpolation of Luke xx. 37, "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." The fulfilment of prophecies was introduced by the interpolation of Luke xxiv. 27: "And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself," and other passages and words regarding the existence of which in the original Canonical Gospel Tertullian in the second century is silent, but which Epiphanius in the fourth century eagerly points out were "cut out" by Marcion, which according to the rule of contrary means "put in" by the orthodox party.

Another sectarian peculiarity of the Marcionite Gospel is the

representation in it, and in it alone, of Jesus as an anchorite. In no other surviving Christian writings of the first and second centuries, or even in subsequent centuries, is Jesus so represented. I can find only one passage in the Marcionite Gospel from which it may possibly be inferred that he passed the night in a house. This was on the occasion when he cured Simon's mother-in-law of a fever (Luke iv. 38). But it appears from the narrative that he did not sleep in the house, but passed the whole night in healing the sick and casting out devils! The patients began to come to him at sunset; "and when it was day," says the chronicler, "he departed and went into a desert place" (v. 40-42). He led a peripatetic life, travelling from village to village, and town to town, preaching and teaching all day, and passing the night in the open, generally on a mountain, when one was close at hand (Luke vi. 12; ix. 28, 37; xxi. 37). On some occasions He is said to have passed the whole night in prayer, without sleep. At Jerusalem, where houses were available for all classes of people, it is said, "and in the day-time, he was teaching in the temple; and at night he went out, and abode in the mount that is called *the mount of Olives*" (Luke xxi. 37). There were no houses on the Mount of Olives. The impression left on my mind by the perusal of the Gospel of Luke is that Jesus, while preaching and teaching, never slept in a house. The Greek word translated *abode*, ἡμερεύετο, favours the view that he lay out at night or bivouacked in the mountain; though the same word may with another context have the meaning of lodging in a house. The impression derived from the other Gospels is that he habitually slept in a house. In Mark i. 35, where the incident of the cure of Peter's mother-in-law is repeated, it is distinctly stated that after the cure of the sick at even, or at sunset, "in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out"; so that the idea of sleeping in the house is evoked. Matthew states that while at Jerusalem, Jesus abode or lodged at Bethany, a village having houses (Matt. xxi. 17), and Mark says the same (xi. 11-12). According to the Fourth Gospel, the residence of Jesus during his stay in Jerusalem was in the house of Lazarus, his friend in Bethany, which he reached six days before the Passover (xii. 1). The only passage in the Fourth Gospel that can be understood to imply that he slept *sub Jove*, is in the two verses preceding the story of the woman taken in adultery (vii. 58 and viii. 1): "And every man went unto his own house. Jesus went unto the mount of Olives." These verses, with the story, were, however, a late interpolation. Now the sources of information of the Synoptic writers were the same, namely, the writings of the stipendiary apostles, which Justin also used, and collectively named the Memoirs of the Apostles.

History supplies us with no other sources. The Marcionite evangelist exercised his judgment in rejecting some and modifying others of these popular stories, according to his own views, just as the orthodox evangelists did. He designedly suppressed the village Bethany as the residence of Jesus, and substituted the Mount of Olives, which was close to it, in order to maintain the character of anchorite which he deemed suitable to Jesus. We must conclude that such was the view of Marcion, who was a man of austere principles. Although there is no direct guarantee given by Tertullian of the existence of Luke ix. 58 in the Marcionite Gospel, there is no authority for excluding it.¹ The statement, "Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air *have* nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head," is consistent with the houseless character impressed upon Jesus in this Gospel; whereas in the Gospel of Matthew, in which the verse is also found (viii. 20), it is not consistent with the general narrative; and Mark excludes it from his Gospel. This sectarian peculiarity of Jesus was transferred without amendment into the original Canonical Gospel of Luke, and has remained in it to the present day, although, so far as I know, Jesus is not represented by ancient or modern theologians as an anchorite.²

There is a group of facts in the Marcionite Gospel which, although they may not be considered sectarian, yet indicate that its writer did not belong to the orthodox set. He uses information which was either inaccessible or unknown to the other Synoptic writers, as well as to the orthodox class of *littérateurs* of his age, or which was rejected by them. Dr Sanday was impressed with these facts. He says: "Among the documents peculiar to St Luke are some of a very marked and individual character, which seem to have come from some private source of information. Such, for instance, would be the document viii. 1-3, which introduces names so entirely unknown to the rest of the evangelical tradition as Joanna and Susanna. A trace of the same, or an allied document, appears in ch. xxiv., where we have again the names Joanna, and afterwards that of the obscure disciple Cleopas. Again, the mention of Martha and Mary is common only

¹ I think I am justified in regarding the fact that there is no quotation of or allusion to this verse in the Fathers of the second and third centuries as an indication that they disapproved of it as not consistent with the generally prevailing notion, in which Jesus was not regarded as an anchorite.

² The cordiality with which Jesus partook of dinners and suppers does not detract from the consistency of the representation of anchorite made in the Marcionite Gospel. We find in the present day Hindoo anchorites, or *sunny-āsies*, as they are called, partake with great alacrity of good meals, whenever they have the chance. The religious views and usages of Hindoos of the present day are practically the same as they were thousands of years ago. Mahomedan fakirs also have no objection to a good dinner when offered to them. Hindoo and Mahomedan anchorites lead lives of great privation.

to St Luke and the Fourth Gospel. Zacchæus is peculiar to St Luke."¹ (*Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 214.) Excluding Martha and Mary, whose story was not in the Marcionite Gospel, I should add to Dr Sanday's list the mission of the seventy apostles—an incident which was admitted into the evangelical history only from the date of publication of the original Canonical Gospel of Luke, for there is no mention made of it by any writer of earlier date, or, as Dr Sanday would say, it was "entirely unknown to the rest of the evangelical tradition." This incident was subsequently trimmed, with the obvious object of abolishing the whole body of apostles of the first and second centuries, with the exception of the twelve apostles, Matthias and Paul. To aggrandise this select corps of fourteen apostles, many hundreds or perhaps thousands of apostles were exterminated, ignored, and cast out of ecclesiastical history, so that the name 'apostle' may not appear too common. The seventy apostles were degraded and metamorphosed into "seventy others" in subsequent editions of the Canonical Gospel; just as other proscribed apostles are designated 'messengers' or errand boys in the A.V. and R.V., and in translations the Seventy themselves are pegged lower by being modernised into 'missionaries' (see p. 161). Serious historical errors have been the consequence of this scheme of apostolical abolition. Every individual of the second century who bore the name of one of the twelve or fourteen apostles is believed to be the apostle whose name he bore. Certain names were popular and were given to Christian children born in the second century, and of these names those of Peter and Paul were much adopted. So that the Peters and Pauls of the second century who wrote epistles are understood to be Peter and Paul, the earliest of the apostles. Many individuals of the second century are said in the historical records of that age to have been disciples of apostles. The fact that apostles galore abounded in the second century having been abolished, all these individuals are understood to have been disciples of the twelve. A simple operation of arithmetic would show that these second century disciples of the twelve must have acquired the longevity of the Hebrew patriarchs, and have attained ages exceeding a century or approaching a century and half. Such chronological and historical errors were, and are, advantageous and indeed necessary to the interests of orthodox theology; and hence the acute minds of ecclesiastical historians, of learned bishops and deans, and

¹ Dr Sanday adds in a footnote: "There is direct evidence for the presence in Marcion's Gospel of the passages relating to the personages here named, except Martha and Mary. See Tert., *Adv. Marc.* 37, iv. 19, 43." The story of Martha and Mary was absent from the original Canonical Gospel also; it was a late interpolation, probably of the fourth century.

professors of theology, have failed to perceive and to rectify them.¹ I do not think Gibbon gave minute attention to ecclesiastical history, or he would certainly have quashed the abolition of the apostles of the second century, whose existence in appreciable numbers is very clear from the writings of Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian, and from the falsifications in the Epistles of Ignatius, made in the later years of the second century. The *Didache*, in which apostles are also spoken of, was unknown to Gibbon, as it was discovered in this century and published in 1875 or a few years later. The existence of apostles other than the twelve or the fourteen is also manifest in the New Testament writings in the Greek received text, and all Greek codices, but not in the A. V.; and the mistranslation has been perpetuated in the R. V.²

I am disposed to think that the story of Judas should also be added to Dr Sanday's list of things "entirely unknown to the text of the evangelical tradition." There is no allusion to Judas to be found in any orthodox writer prior to Irenæus. It was a name and story not mentioned by Justin (A.D. 150), and hence not derived from those Memoirs of the Apostles which Justin used. The name and story are first encountered in history in the Marcionite Gospel and in the "Gospel of Judas" (*Irenæus*, i. xxxi. 1), both sectarian writings. The appropriation of the Marcionite Gospel in its entirety introduced the name and story into orthodox Christian literature. These facts are historical; we have no means of tracing the introduction of the story into the other Gospels to any other source. The story of Judas in the Marcionite Gospel is strictly limited to the betrayal (Luke xxii. 3-6, 21-23, and 47-48), and no further; and there is no pretence made that it was the fulfilment of prophecy. This pretension was afterward made in the other Gospels, in which also the story was very much amplified. It is just possible to account for Marcion's acceptance of the story of Judas. He understood Paul's expression *παρέδιδото* in 1 Cor. xi. 23 to mean 'betrayed,' and not simply 'delivered up,' and hence considered that there were grounds for

¹ The special pleading of Bishop Lightfoot is well displayed in his *Essay on Supernatural Religion*, ch. v., Papias. He makes out that the individuals named by Papias, viz., Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John and Matthew, were the twelve apostles. He altogether ignores the existence of the stipendiary apostles of the second century, who bore similar names. He says: "Marcion rejected the authority of the twelve, denouncing them as false apostles" (*ibid.*, p. 117), whereas Marcion rejected only the writings of the stipendiary apostles of the second century. There were no writings of the twelve.

² For instance *Ἐπαφρόδιτον, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀποστολον*, Philip. ii. 25, is translated "your messenger" in the A. V. and R. V. It is correctly rendered in the Vulgate, "vestrum autem apostolum," not *nuntium* or errand boy, and in Luther's New Testament 'apostel': but the apostleship is clean wiped out in the French translation "qui a été envoyé de votre part," or, who has been sent by you.

the Cainite fabrication of the story of Judas (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 143). Paul's writings were Marcion's guide to the evangelical history; and he rejected or added to the accounts given in the Memoirs of the Apostles, according to his perception of the historical support given by Paul.

The story of the meeting of the two disciples with Jesus on the road to Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 18-35) was unknown to Justin, and hence it was not contained in the Memoirs of the Apostles, official publications of the orthodox Church, or if contained, rejected by Justin. A slight reference to it is introduced into Mark's Gospel, xvi. 12, being derived from the Third Gospel, in all probability.

V. The clerical errors in the Marcionite Gospel were copied into the original Canonical Gospel.

We find from the historical records that there were five clerical errors in the Marcionite Gospel (see p. 286). Of these, three were rectified, but two were copied into the Canonical Gospel, and have remained in it to the present day. In the Marcionite Gospel, the prophecy of Mal. iii. 1 was quoted in reference to John the Baptist and to him only. The prophecy runs thus in the R. V.:¹ "Behold, I send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me." This prophecy was quoted in a somewhat amplified form in the Marcionite Gospel, thus, "Behold I send my messenger (or angel) before my face, who shall prepare my way before me." But the scribe by clerical error instead of the second and third *my* wrote *thy*, and instead of *me* wrote *thee*: the error was merely the substitution of the Greek letter σ for μ in all three places. This clerical substitution of one letter for another completely changed the meaning of the prophecy, which was applicable to John only in the Marcionite passage, and made it applicable both to John and to Jesus. Now it is impossible to imagine that this latter meaning could have been the intention of the Marcionite writer, since we know, as a historical fact, that Marcion denied the application of any prophecy to Jesus. It was a pure error of the scribe; but the error was copied into the Canonical Gospel, although it is a manifest falsification of the prophecy of Malachi.

The second clerical error copied from the Marcionite Gospel was the omission of the negative $\mu\eta$ or 'not,' in the precept, "Make not to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness" (Luke xvi. 9). Not only was the omission copied and repeated in the Canonical Gospel, but the clerical slip was subsequently strengthened by the addition of the clause "that, when ye fail, they may receive you into

¹ The future tense employed in the A. V. is an error, and is not supported by the Septuagint.

everlasting habitations." The clerical error is self-evident; and the more I have reflected over the passage the more am I convinced that the immoral precept which has been perpetuated in the Canonical Gospel owes its origin to a simple omission inadvertently made by the Marcionite scribe. The unfortunate and stupid clause added by Irenæus to the precept, with the negative omitted, clearly indicates that the clerical omission was not considered an error by the orthodox party; and it was so copied from the Marcionite Gospel (see p. 185). This explication will recommend itself on its own merits and its critical justness to my readers; but the *amour propre* of theologians will disincline them to recognise its critical accuracy and moral appropriateness.

VI. The satire by the Marcionite evangelist of orthodox beliefs and manners or practices was transferred to the Canonical Gospel.

Many of the facts placed under No. III. were satirical contradictions of orthodox beliefs. They were not necessary for a declaration of Marcion's views, but they were pure sarcasms of orthodox beliefs, and were introduced for that purpose. In Luke iv. 41 there was no necessity for the cry of the devils, "Thou art Christ, the Son of God," which Jesus rebuked, "for they knew that he was Christ": the devils may have been silent, or have uttered simply the words "thou art Christ," which would have been sufficient for Marcionite objects. The additional words of the cry were introduced for a special purpose: viz., to call forth the rebuke and the statement that he was simply Christ, so as to emphasise the mistaken orthodox belief that he was the physiological Son of God. Again, in ch. xviii. 39, the cry "thou son of David" was rebuked by the disciples. So little was the satire understood that it was transferred to the Canonical Gospel, and from it copied into the other Gospels. The satire is continued in ch. xx. 41-44, in the question, "How say they that Christ is David's son?" in the mission from John, ch. vii. 19-23, and again in ch. xx. 1-8. The manners or practices of orthodox Christians were satirised in the parable of the unjust steward (ch. xvi. 1-8), which is wound up with the sarcastic remark, "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." Irenæus and Tertullian did not perceive the point of this stroke of satire;¹ and the former clever rogue actually made use of the parable and of the clerical omission in verse 9, which immediately follows, to justify, encourage and commend as righteous the very malpractices which were satirised

¹ Clement of Alexandria and Origen may not have seen the satire in the parable, but they were sensible that the morality of the action of the steward and of the commendation of his lord was not to be approved (see p. 186). This fact is to their credit, and should be always borne in mind in estimating the moral character of these two great theologians.

and condemned by the Marcionite writer ; and further, to add a commendatory corollary; which is a *bête noire* to modern commentators (see page 188). All the satire in the Marcionite Gospel directed against orthodox Christians was bodily transferred to the Canonical Gospel, in which a little reflection will show it is out of place.

VII. The Marcionite Gospel being without title and author's name, bears *per se* proof that it was an earlier publication than the Canonical Gospel, which had both from its first appearance in history.

After I had completed my investigation, and had written the greater part of this book, I became aware of this fact, that I had hitherto overlooked, but which being of considerable importance in its bearing on the relative dates of the two rival Gospels, I now feel bound to introduce. I had formed my conclusions of the priority of the Marcionite Gospel independently of this new fact, which now brings additional support. Indeed, so important is this fact, that of itself alone it is sufficient proof of the conclusion to which all the other facts, without exception, lead. There is not a single historical fact in favour of the priority of the Canonical Gospel ; but such priority in conventional ecclesiastical history is based, not on facts, but on the *opinions* of Irenæus and Tertullian, and on the historical falsehoods fabricated by them. The fact itself is of a material or mechanical nature, which carries more persuasion and conviction than any other order of fact. Of two young infants, the one with its mouth full of teeth proclaims its seniority over the one without any teeth, just as a horse with a fully developed tusk is declared by experts to be older than one in which the tusk has not yet appeared. No argument is needed, but simply knowledge of physiology. Tertullian had before him a copy of the Canonical Gospel of Luke, as well as a copy of the Marcionite Gospel. He declares that the former had a title and its author's name, while the latter had neither title nor author's name. These being the facts, as declared by Tertullian himself, a hostile witness—and I can find no contradiction in the historical records—the historical conclusion is, that the Canonical Gospel of Luke, to employ a metaphor, is a child with its mouth full of teeth, or a horse with a tusk, while the Marcionite Gospel was a child without teeth, or a horse without a tusk. This fact, stated by Tertullian, is positive proof that the Marcionite Gospel was produced at an earlier period of history than the Canonical Gospel.

The historical fact that Christian writings were published in the first half of the second century without titles and authors' names, was ascertained by me in my investigation of the Apocryphal

Gospels. These early writings were titleless, and the authors' names were not appended; but in cases in which the author wrote in the first person, he usually stated his name also, but in the body of the writing. The same was the practice in the first century. The ancient practice followed by Christian writers of Epistles was to state their names and the persons they addressed at the beginning, but the Christian writers of treatises, homilies, and of those ancient writings which are now conventionally called Apocryphal Gospels, neither bestowed a title nor their names upon their writings. This practice is the cause of the difficulty now felt in ascertaining the names of ancient Christian writers, a difficulty not experienced in the case of ancient classical writings, nor in the later Christian writings. In the New Testament, excluding the Gospels and the Acts, the writers of all the Epistles, from that to the Romans to the Revelations, which is an Epistle, gave their names. But in the two writings which are not Epistles but homilies, dissertations, or treatises, the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews, and First Epistle of John, the writers neither gave their names nor bestowed a title on their compositions. All the writings of the first half of the second century that we know of, were without titles or authors' names. The titles by which they are now known to us were given to them by editors at a later date for the purpose of identification. The writings of Esdras, the true and false, Enoch, of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, and the Epistle of Barnabas, of the apostles and prophets of the first half of the second century, were without titles and authors' names, but the latter are sometimes found in the body of the writings, conjoined with the first personal pronoun. The names of the two Esdras, Enoch, James, Peter, and the others who wrote in the first person, are thus known. Justin was obliged to generalise the whole body of writings of the Apostles as the Memoirs of the Apostles, because he was at a loss to specify them individually, with one exception, the Memoirs of Peter. He was able to name the latter, as well as the writer of the Revelation, because both wrote in the first person, and gave their names (*Trypho*, ch. 81 and 106, and *Rev. i. 1, 4, 9*). Peter wrote his Memoirs in the first person, as we find in the Akhmîm fragment of his so-called Gospel: "But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew, my brother," etc. Justin and Irenæus both speak of Simon Magus, but neither names the writing in which he declared his doctrines. Hippolytus alludes to it in the next century, under the name of the *Great Announcement* (*Ref. vi. 6*). The only writing attributed to Marcion was without title: both Justin and Irenæus, who deal with Marcion's writing, do not specify it by a title. The title "Antitheses" was subsequently given to it

for the purpose of identification, and we find it used by Tertullian in the third century. The word was probably frequently used in the body of the writing, and was adopted as specially characteristic of it. Hippolytus also refers to this work of Marcion, but he does not call it the *Antitheses*. He says, apostrophising Marcion, "You have made the comparison or juxtaposition, ἀντιπαράθεσιν, of good and evil!" (*Miller*, vii. 30, p. 252), and this might imply that Marcion used the word *Antiparathesis* either in substitution of, or conjointly with Antithesis. Whether Marcion's name appeared in the body of his dissertation, associated with the first personal pronoun, we cannot tell, as there is no historical statement on the subject; but it is very probable. With the exception of the *First Apology*, in which his name appears, it is certain that Justin's writings were published without titles and his name. These titles were subsequently given by editors, and his authorship was ascertained by historical research, and critics are not unanimous on the subject. Eusebius gives the titles of various writings of the second half of the second century, but it is doubtful whether these were original titles, and not subsequently given to identify the writings in his private library and in the public libraries of the day. Even in the case of the great work of Irenæus there is very considerable and reasonable doubt whether it appeared with a title and even his name. Eusebius says (*Eccl. Hist.*, v. 7) that Irenæus inscribed his five books "Refutation and overthrow of false knowledge." This title is adopted by Stieren, the editor of the work of Irenæus, for the Greek text, but under protest: but for the Latin text, or translation, he has the title *Against all Heresies*. He refers the reader to the preface of the second book, where Irenæus refers to his first book, in which he says he refuted "knowledge of the false name," *falsi nominis agnitionem*; and to the preface of his fourth book, where Irenæus says its subject is "concerning the detection and overthrow of false knowledge," *quod est de detectione et everione falsæ cognitionis*. In the preface of his fifth and final book Irenæus says that the subject of his entire work is "concerning the refutation and overthrow of falsely called knowledge," *de traductione et everione falso cognominatæ agnitionis*. This appears to have been the source of the title which Eusebius adopted, with a slight change, in the fifth book of his history. But he did not adhere to this title, for in his Book iv. 11 he refers to Irenæus' work *Against Heresies*, and he repeats this title in ch. xii. of the same book. Stieren points out that the title which he has prefixed to his Latin text is that found in the very ancient Latin translation called the Codex Vaticanus, which was found in the Vatican Library in the sixteenth century. He further points out that even in this Codex the

first title written is "Against all Heretics," but this title had been altered by a second hand to "Against all Heresies." He prints a facsimile of the first page of the neatly written and beautifully illuminated Codex, in which the correction is clearly seen. Epiphanius, who was well acquainted with Irenæus, and copied a large portion of his work in his own, never mentions the title of Irenæus' great work. Further, authors dating from the fourth century and subsequently apply various titles to the great work of Irenæus. Cyril entitled it *Institutiones contra hæreses*; Jerome, Theodoret and Procopius, *Libros contra Hæreses*; Anastasius, *Sermones contra hæreses* (see Stieren, pp. 531-2, Feuardentius). From all these various titles, the natural conclusion can be reasonably drawn that the original copy had no title of its own, but that editors assigned a title as a means of identifying the book, and they were not unanimous. In 1842 a Greek manuscript was discovered in a convent on Mount Athos by Minöides Mynas, a Greek *savant* who was commissioned by the French Government to search for ancient documents. It was without title or author's name. It was published by the University of Oxford in 1851, under the title and name of the *Philosophumena of Origen*, which were assigned to it by the editor, M. Emmanuel Miller. Scholars have since ascertained that the title and author assigned by Miller are erroneous; and both have been changed to *The Refutation of all Heresies*, by Hippolytus, who flourished at the beginning of the third century. From all the above historical facts, the conclusion emerges that in the first half of the second century Christian writings were published without titles and authors' names, except when the latter were stated in the body of the book, when the writers wrote in the first person. The practice was continued in the second half of the second century and even in the early part of the third century; but there are facts to show that at this period of history the practice of appending titles and names to Christian publications originated.

Tertullian lays down as the first argument in his demonstration of the 'adulteration' of the Marcionite Gospel, that the evangelical Testament has apostles or apostolic men for its authors, and these he names, viz., John and Matthew, Luke and Mark. He calls the third Gospel, Luke's Gospel, or the Gospel of Luke, *Evangelium Lucae*; and to that title, I now find to my great surprise, he adheres throughout his voluminous writings. I have failed to find a single instance in which Tertullian uses the title Gospel according to Luke, John, Matthew, or Mark. He continues: "On the other hand Marcion ascribed no author to the Gospel, that is, to his; just as it was not permissible to attach a title even to that, to [or of] which it was not unlawful to subvert the very substance. And here I should be

able to take ground, contending that a work is not to be recognised, which does not put up a front, which offers no assurance, which promises no fidelity from the fulness of a title and the due declaration of an author."¹ It is clear that in Tertullian's time the practice of an author's prefixing a title and his name had become generally current; and being a bad antiquarian, Tertullian came to the conclusion that the Marcionite Gospel being destitute of title and author's name, could be safely disparaged as an unauthenticated writing, while the Canonical Gospel, possessing both title and name, could be vaunted as authentic. I do not think a clearer proof could be produced that the Marcionite Gospel was a more ancient writing than the Canonical; and as the contents of both, to a very great extent, are identical, the inference is that the later writing was copied from the earlier.

VIII. We have the direct testimony of Justin Martyr (A.D. 150) that Marcion and his doctrines were known and existed in the first half of the second century (*First Apology*, xxvi. and lviii.). This writer is silent regarding the Gospel of, or according to Luke, although he dealt largely with the current Christian literature of his time. The first mention of the Gospel according to Luke in history occurs in the great work of Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, published towards the close of the second century, between A.D. 175-190 (III. iii. 3), after the death of Marcion, *c.* A.D. 165. The rational inference to be drawn from these historical facts is that the Marcionite Gospel was published and known in the first half of the second century, and the Gospel of Luke in the second half of the same century, towards its close. The Marcionite Gospel was anonymous. The Canonical Gospel was never anonymous, but possessed a title and its alleged author's name from its first appearance in history.

The above are my reasons for the conclusion which I have arrived at, after a painstaking collection of all the facts, and an impartial, calm, and disinterested consideration of them, that the Canonical Gospel of Luke was a copy of the Marcionite Gospel with all its sectarian characteristics, its satire on orthodox beliefs and manners, and even its clerical errors, and that the prologue, or rather colophon, and preliminary chapters up to ch. iv. 15, with the exception of the first clause in ch. iii. 1, were added to it by a blundering editor and his successors, who were wanting in the needful acumen to perceive and obliterate the contradictions between

¹ Contra Marcion, Evangelio, scilicet suo, nullum ascribit auctorem; quasi non licuerit illi titulum quoque affingere, cui nefas non fuit ipsum corpus evertere. Et possem hic jam gradum figere, non agnoscendum contendens opus, quod non erigat frontem, quod nullam constantiam præferat, nullam fidem repromittat de plenitudine tituli, et professione debita auctoris (*Ad. Marc.*, iv. 2).

the fresh portion contributed by them and the Marcionite portion which was appropriated.

The facts that I have accumulated are unimpeachable; they are all found recorded in the writings of the period, which are specified in the references which I have given. I have placed upon these facts the interpretations which appeared to my mind natural and reasonable, and my inferences and final conclusion have been deduced accordingly. It is possible, and even inevitable, that other minds will put different interpretations upon the same facts. But even if the interpretations that I have put upon one half, more or less, or even a smaller fraction of the facts, be generally accepted, that amount of coincidence will be sufficient to establish the priority of the Marcionite Gospel. For the alleged priority of the Canonical Gospel depends at present only on the testimony of one writer, Irenæus. This writer is the only one of those that have survived who is eligible as a witness, for he was probably contemporary with the publication of both the rival Gospels and certainly of one of them. It is, however, to be remarked that Irenæus has disqualified himself as a witness for the Canonical Gospel, by his allegation that it was published in the first century, *i.e.* before he was born. His testimony regarding the publication of the Marcionite Gospel hence suffers detriment, for the relation of priority was thus induced in his mind by an illusion, assuming that he was honest. His personal character is, however, damaging to his testimony on a point in which the interests of his church were concerned. Besides the point in dispute being one in which he had a personal and one-sided interest, we know the quality of his evidence on the subject of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, which was thoroughly dishonest and dishonourable (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, ch. ix.). The testimony of Tertullian is of no more historical value than mine would be, for he was not a contemporary with the publication of either Gospel. His testimony is hearsay, or opinion founded on circumstantial, or more correctly on fabricated evidence; and the fabrication of his evidence was, further, of his own manufacture. In all historical questions brought before the judgment of a critic the qualifications of the witness must be regarded, as is necessary in all criminal or other questions brought before a court of law. A witness must at least be contemporary with an event, to be eligible to testify. The testimony of a witness who is not contemporary with the event is hearsay. No individual can be accepted as a witness of an event which occurred before he was born. Both Irenæus and Tertullian alleged that the Canonical Gospel of Luke was published in the first century, of which fact they were hence

incompetent witnesses. Of the indirect or circumstantial evidence we moderns are better judges than they were. Bishop Lightfoot has placed his trust in the antiquity of the Gospels on the testimony of Irenæus,¹ and not on Justin's quotations, like Bishop Westcott and Professor Sanday (see *ante*, p. 18). But the great bishop unfortunately confounded testimony with opinion, and what he calls the testimony of Irenæus is merely the opinion of that writer, for he could bear no testimony to events which he alleged to have occurred before he was born. Neither Irenæus nor Tertullian, nor any subsequent writer down to our own days, has appealed to any witness of the first century who was contemporary with the alleged publication of the Gospels in that age, and who has made a statement on the subject. The evidence of the date of publication of the Gospel of Luke, as of the other Gospels, is chiefly indirect or circumstantial; and of that species of evidence we moderns are better judges than the ancients.

My object in this investigation was the collection of facts, from which I may draw natural and reasonable inferences. I have totally avoided argument. Facts are the implements of the investigator; argument is the instrument of the advocate. When all the facts have indicated the natural inference, conclusion, or opinion, argument then comes into play to vindicate that conclusion. I regret to find that in the theological disquisitions on the Marcionite Gospel the argument has not followed the collection of facts, but has preceded this necessary antecedent. Taking Dr Sanday, Professor of Theology at Oxford, as the exponent of the theological procedure, I find him handling the question of priority of the Canonical or of the Marcionite Gospel in the following manner. He starts with the statement, "This is a point that there are ample data for determining" (*The Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 216). He divides his dissertation into four parts. I. He considers what presumption is raised by any other part of Marcion's procedure. "Is it likely that he would have cut down a document previously existing? or have we reason for thinking that he would be scrupulous in keeping such a document intact?" (*ibid.*, p. 226). I find in his argument no data for determining any presumption, but simple assertions, represented to be certainties. It appears to be taken as fact by Dr Sanday that Marcion mutilated Paul's Epistles; but he has not thought it necessary to prove this alleged fact. This simple unsupported assertion comprises all his data for the conclusion that it is "more probable that Marcion took from the text of the Gospel than that a later editor added to it." I must confess that Dr Sanday has not convinced me

¹ See Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, 1893, p. 269 ff.

of the justness of the probability. II. It appears that "in examining the internal evidence from the nature and structure of Marcion's Gospel, it has hitherto been the custom to lay most stress upon its dogmatic character. The controversy in Germany has turned chiefly upon this. The critics have set themselves to show that the variations in Marcion's Gospel either could or could not be explained as omissions dictated by the exigencies of his dogmatic system. This was a task which suited well the subtlety and inventiveness of the German mind, and it has been handled with all the usual minuteness and elaboration. The result has been that not only have Volkmar and Hilgenfeld proved their point to their own satisfaction, but they also convinced Ritschl and partially Baur; and generally we may say that in Germany it seems to be agreed at the present time [1876] that the hypothesis of a mutilated Luke suits the dogmatic argument better than that of later Judaising interpolations" (*ibid.*, p. 218). Dr Sanday proceeds to say that he has "no wish to disparage the results of these labours, which are carried out with the splendid thoroughness that one so much admires. Looking at the subject as impartially as I can, I am inclined to think that the case is made out in the main." His intellectual concurrence was assisted "a long way" by the verse in Luke iv. 31, "understood in a transcendental sense," viz., the statement in the Marcionite Gospel that Jesus "came down to Capernaum" being taken to mean that Jesus dropped down from the sky in a cocked hat and spurs, while the very same statement in the Canonical Gospel should be understood in its natural sense; although in an adjoining verse (Luke iv. 16) Dr Sanday admits that the Marcionite writer relates that Jesus was brought up at Nazareth and was in the habit of frequenting the synagogue in that village for many years before the "transcendental" dropping from the sky! (see *ante*, p. 139). The transcendental sense of Luke iv. 31, he says, indicates unmistakeably "the dogmatic motive in the heretical recension." Marcion, however, knew nothing of the transcendental sense of Luke iv. 31, nor did the rest of mankind in his times, till Tertullian invented it some thirty or forty years after the death of Marcion. Dr Sanday enumerates the various excisions made by Marcion, and the causes or reasons of them. The first chapters, "which relate the human birth of Christ," were excised because "Marcion denied" it; which, however, he did not, as he repeatedly speaks of the mother of Jesus, but rather the Canonical writer did, for the latter has assigned a supernatural, or insectiform birth to Jesus, without a male parent, and this form of birth Marcion denied (see p. 45). The omission of the account of the Baptist's ministry was due to "John being regarded as the finisher of the Old

Testament dispensation—the work of the Demiurge.” Dr Sanday, however, admits that “this omission is not quite consistently carried out, as the passage vii. 24–28 is retained—probably because verse 28 itself seemed to contain a sufficient qualification.” For the other excisions, various plausibly appropriate reasons are assigned—to avoid Ebionism, too anthropomorphic or derogatory to the Divine nature, as recognising or belonging to the kingdom of the Demiurge. At the conclusion of the enumeration, Dr Sanday felt obliged to say: “In some of these instances the dogmatic motive is gross and palpable, in most it seems to have been made out, but some (such as especially xiii. 1–9) are still doubtful, and the method of excision does not appear to have been carried out with complete consistency” (*ibid.*, p. 220). Dr Sanday and the German theologians have not reflected that the argument which they employ is a two-edged sword. The reverse edge of the same argument can be used to demonstrate that passages were added for dogmatic reasons to convert the Marcionite into the Canonical Gospel. The reverse edge of the argument will cut cleaner than the front edge and will leave no inconsistencies unsevered. The argument is, however, of no value, as the inconsistencies prevent it from cutting deep. It can cut both ways, and is not without danger of cutting the hands of the operator. Dr Sanday, himself, does not think highly of it; he says, “It should not be pressed too far”; it implies “the strange and extravagant supposition that we are assumed to make,” viz., “not only to explain its apparent aberrations, but to be able to say positively, ‘this must have been so,’ ‘that must have been otherwise’” (*ibid.*, p. 222). It involves, in fact, the making of a multitude of assumptions, and gives play to invention; and hence I have avoided having anything to do with it. It is plain that arguments No. I and No. II. were thought out before data were collected, and these were searched for to support the arguments which, to use Dr Sanday’s words, were conceived under “the influence of subjective impressions.”

III. Dr Sanday proceeds to say that the literary argument is “safer” and “more capable of being cast into a really scientific form.” It appears that there exist various literary arguments, such as the improbability that the Preface or Prologue was not part of the original Gospel, and Marcion’s treatment of the Synoptic matter; but these he passes over, and confines himself to the argument from “style and diction” (*ibid.*, p. 222). When, in the course of my investigations, the facts disclosed to my mind that two men had been engaged in the compilation of the original Canonical Gospel, *i.e.* that the author of the non-Marcionite portion was a different person from the author of the Marcionite

portion, I considered the desirability of comparing the literary peculiarities of the two writers. But I abandoned the project because the non-Marcionite portion was of small extent, and hardly afforded sufficient material to work with; and further, it appeared to me that both portions being simple narrative, there was not much scope for speciality of diction to be displayed. But my readers may make the comparison for themselves, and it is possible they may perceive different proclivities in the respective portions.¹ My idea, however, was to deal with the two portions as they were in the two Gospels of the second century, according to my restoration of the text. It never entered my mind to include in my survey what Dr Sanday calls the "omissions of Marcion," which are, with the exception of the initial chapters, additions of later times, and had no relation whatever to the original compiler. I was hence much surprised and amused to find that Dr Sanday's argument from style and diction deals with "these omissions, with a view to see whether there is evidence that they are by the same hand as the rest of the Gospel" (*ibid.*, 223). The object of Dr Sanday's argument hence is, if I may use metaphorical language, to prove in a really scientific form that the swans of editors of the second, third, and fourth centuries, were the same as the geese of Pseudo-Luke, the writer of the initial chapters of the Canonical Gospel.

It has been my personal experience that the ecclesiastical profession is an idle one. While barristers, solicitors, doctors, engineers, merchants, and men of business are tied to their work, and cannot get away, except at certain periods, the members of the ecclesiastical profession can disport themselves at Brighton, Boulogne, Bath, or at the mansions of their friends, at any time of the year, or for any prolonged period they desire. The ecclesiastical profession contains many men of active minds, in need of occupation, which, however, they must make for themselves. Numbers find occupation for themselves, retaining their livings, in literary, scientific or other studies and pursuits outside their profession; while a large number of them stick to professional pursuits. For the benefit of these latter, clerical ingenuity has, during the last two centuries, devised the occupation of the collection of theological husks. The '*apparatus criticus*' is an example; the collection of coincidences and divergences of texts in extant Greek codices. Dr Sanday utilises one of the products of the industrious idleness of

¹ I may direct attention to the partiality of the non-Marcionite writer for quotations of Scripture, chiefly prophetic, and for long-winded allocutions or songs; both peculiarities that are wanting in the Marcionite Gospel.

the clergy, viz., Bruder's *Concordance*, which he describes as a "dismal-looking volume—a mere index of words, and nothing more." Bruder's collection of husks was, however, not sufficient for Dr Sanday's purpose—he also uses Dr Holtzmann's collection, which was made with the help of Zeller and Lekebusch (*ibid.*, p. 223). Dr Sanday, with the aid of Bruder's husks, applies Holtzman's results to the so-called Marcionite omissions. The unlearned farmer plants grain, but the learned Oxford professor plants husks "in a really scientific form."

Dr Sanday's argument from style and diction is of a most formidable description. Most men will bow down before it, and readily admit that Luke was the author of the omissions of Marcion, or indeed of Colenso's Arithmetic, Pott's Euclid, or any other work, rather than undergo the torture of verifying or even perusing the innumerable small details with which Dr Sanday operates, the choicest husks from Bruder's collection and Holtzmann's results. "Where Matthew has *γραμματεὺς*, Luke has in six places the word *νομικός*, which is only found three times besides in the New Testament (once in St Mark, and twice in the Epistle to Titus). Of the places where it is used by St Luke, one is the omitted passage vii. 30. In citations where Matthew has *τὸ ῥηθέν* (fourteen times; not at all in Luke), Luke prefers the perfect form *τὸ εἰρημένον*, so in ii. 24 (Acts twice); compare *ἐιρηται* (iv. 12). Where Matthew has *ἀπρί* (seven times), Luke has always *νῦν*, never *ἀπρί*; *νῦν* is used in the following passages omitted by Marcion: i. 48, ii. 29, xix. 42, xxii. 18, 36. With Matthew the word *ἄλεος* is masculine, with Luke neuter, so five times in ch. i. and in x. 37, which was retained by Marcion" (*ibid.*, p. 223). And thus he runs on for two more pages detailing "the peculiarities of style noted by Dr Holtzmann"; such as *ἐξῆς* and *καθεξῆς*, ten times in the third Gospel and the Acts alone in the New Testament (i. 3); *ἄρχι*, twenty times in the third Gospel and Acts, and only once in the other Gospels (i. 20; iv. 13); *ἐξαίφνης*, four times in the Gospel and Acts, and once besides in the New Testament (ii. 13), and so on.

Three more pages are filled with choice selections from Bruder's collection of assorted husks, "of the words peculiar to St Luke, or found in his writings with marked and characteristic frequency, which occur in those parts of our present Gospel that were wanting in Marcion's recension" (*ibid.*, p. 225). All these "are only samples from the whole body of evidence, which would take up a much larger space if exhibited in full." Dr Sanday thus sums up the total result: "Accepting the scheme of Marcion's Gospel given some

pages back, which is substantially that of 'Supernatural Religion,' Marcion will have omitted a total of 309 verses. In those verses there are found 111 distinct peculiarities of St Luke's style, numbering in all 185 separate instances; there are also found 138 words peculiar to or specially characteristic of the third Evangelist, with 224 instances. In other words, the verified peculiarities of St Luke's style and diction (and how marked many of these are will have been seen from the examples above) are found in the portions of the Gospel omitted by Marcion in a proportion averaging considerably more than one to each verse" (*ibid.*, p. 229).

Dr Sanday finds it "difficult to see what appeal can be made against evidence such as this. A certain allowance should be made for possible errors. When every deduction has been made, there will still remain a mass of evidence that it does not seem too much to describe as overwhelming" (*ibid.*, p. 230).

Dr Sanday had a misgiving that his conclusive argument from style and diction would not be acceptable. He says: "True, the English mind is apt to receive literary arguments of that kind with suspicion, and very justly, so long as they rest upon a mere subjective *ipse dixit*; but here the question can be reduced to one of definite figures and of weighing and measuring" (*ibid.*, 222). But even definite figures of weighing and measuring, when improperly employed, may mislead, and justify the criticism of the French cynic: "La statistique, c'est la mensonge en chiffres."¹ The statistics of words may be employed to prove identity of authorship if they be restricted to the similar words and phrases, while dissimilar ones are excluded. It may in this way be possible to prove that Luke was the author of Paul's Epistles, or of Clement's Epistles, or of the Shepherd of Hermas. Feats of that kind can be accomplished with the help of concordances. If only points of similarity are considered while the converse points are kept out of sight, many divergent things may be plausibly proved to be similar. For instance, a cow may be proved to be a man, if the attention be diverted only to the joint possession of the same features, such as eyes, eyelids, ears, nostrils, lips, tongues, and teeth, while the points of divergence are kept out of sight. The main feature that Dr Sanday has overlooked is that the Canonical Gospel of Luke of the second century was not the same as the present one, from which Bruder and Holtzmann collected their facts. The original Canonical Gospel was very much shorter, and consisted of the preliminary chapters and of the Marcionite portion, while the "omissions of Marcion," beyond the initial chapters, are additions made by the dozen or more editors of the Gospel in the second, third and fourth

¹ Statistics are lies in figures.

centuries. The present Canonical Gospel is the result of the labours of many men living at different periods but acting in unison for a common object. The argument from style and diction cannot, from the illusory nature of its basis, be employed as a main proof, superseding all others; and it is in this respect that Dr Sanday uses it. It is, however, useful as a subsidiary support to other proofs. Making all the deductions and reservations that Dr Sanday himself suggests, it appears to me that the learned Professor has made out that there is a certain uniformity of expression and selection of words in the Canonical Gospel, in its preliminary chapters, in the Marcionite portion, and in the so-called omissions of Marcion or interpolations of later editors. But the interpretation of that fact and the inference to be drawn from it should be in agreement with the other facts, unobserved by, or unknown to Dr Sanday, the historical evidence of which is very strong. Dr Sanday's interpretation and inference of identity of authorship jar with the other facts which declare the historical certainty that the present Canonical Gospel was the aggregate result of the combined labours of several men. An easy and natural interpretation of the peculiarities in style and diction throughout the present recension of the Canonical Gospel, which Dr Sanday has laboriously demonstrated, is to regard them as the result of imitation. Pseudo-Luke and the later editors strove to a certain extent to imitate the style and diction of the Marcionite writer, and were so eminently successful in their efforts to do so that they have deceived a learned modern Professor into forming the opinion that their combined labours were the work of one man.

I have not given attention to the subject of style and diction, and hence am not prepared with details to show the process of imitation, or the adhesion of the various editors, beginning with Pseudo-Luke the original compiler, to the same peculiarities of expression. A single detail, however, may be here referred to. Dr Sanday has drawn attention to the fact that the word *ἄρτι*, 'now,' never occurs in the Gospel of Luke, where Matthew uses it, but its place is always taken by *νῦν*. Luke xxii. 16 is a verse that Epiphanius informs us was cut out by Marcion, which means, according to the rule of contrary, that it was added to the Canonical Gospel. In quoting the verse "I will not any more eat thereof," from the Canonical Gospel of Luke in his hands, Epiphanius uses the expression *ἀπ' ἄρτι* 'from now,' which, however, as we find from our received Greek text, has been expunged by a later editor and the word *οὐκέτι*, 'any more,' substituted (see ante, p. 207). Bishop Westcott, in his recension of the Gospel, has added the words *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* to Luke xxii. 18, which do not exist in the received Greek text. This learned

editor was perhaps guided to his choice of words by the knowledge acquired from a concordance. In the corresponding passage in Matthew xxvi. 29, ἀπ' ἀπρί occurs.

IV. Dr Sanday's fourth argument is thus stated: "We may assume, then, that there is definite proof that the Gospel used by Marcion presupposes our present St Luke, in its complete form, as it has been handed down to us. But when once this assumption has been made, another set of considerations comes in, which also carry with them an important influence. If Marcion's Gospel was an extract from a manuscript containing our present St Luke, then not only is it certain that that Gospel was already in existence, but there is further evidence to show that it must have been in existence for some time" (*ibid.*, i. p. 230). The peculiar forms of expression employed, "we may assume—once the assumption has been made—if Marcion's Gospel"—raise a vague suspicion in my mind that Dr Sanday had no real trust in the validity of his previous argument No. III. The facts on which that argument was founded admit and demand an interpretation different from that which Dr Sanday has put upon them, when considered in conjunction with other facts. So that argument No. III. being founded on a delusion, argument No. IV., which is founded upon No. III., is worthless. The converse of that argument No. IV., viz., that the Marcionite Gospel has the priority over the Canonical Gospel, should be substituted.

Dr Sanday's argument No. IV. is pretty much of the same formidable character as No. III., and most readers would shrink from the torture of examining it. The learned Professor states the fact that Marcion's Gospel presents certain readings "which differ both from the received and other texts." Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, he says, maintain that some of them are "more original, and have a better right to stand in the text, than those which are at present found there" (*ibid.*, 231). These learned German theologians have a firm historical basis for their opinion. The direct testimony of Tertullian, with the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospels in his hands, to passages quoted from the former Gospel, which he does not say differed from the latter, is of more historical and hence critical value than the worthless testimony of derelict manuscripts, without a history or credentials, of later centuries. I am glad that I have the support of these German critics for the changes that I have introduced in my restoration of the original text on the testimony of Tertullian. But their view does not suit Dr Sanday, who rejects it for the foolish and uncritical reason that "these critics base their opinion for the most part on internal grounds, and the readings defended by them are not, as a rule, those which are supported by

other manuscript authority" (*ibid.*, 231). He gives a list of thirteen divergent readings in the Marcionite Gospel,¹ all of which, with scores of others, I find, have been introduced in my restored text of the original Gospel. He then gives another list, which appears to be due to original research, of ten derelict manuscripts, beginning with the Codex Bezae, supposed to date from the sixth century; eight Latin manuscripts, falsely supposed to be transcripts, more or less exact, of the imaginary Vetus Latina, but which are not earlier than the fourth century, if so antique; and the Curetonian Syriac, of unknown date, but not earlier than the fourth century (see p. 330). This list tabulates the "relation of Marcion to these various authorities. The brackets indicate that the agreement is only approximate" (*ibid.*, p. 232). In these various derelict manuscripts, some one or other of the thirteen readings in the Marcionite Gospel is reproduced exactly in thirty instances, approximately in sixteen instances, and 'apparently' in one instance. Then comes the clinching argument: "It will be observed that the readings given above have all what is called a 'Western' character. The Curetonian Syriac is well known to have Western affinities" (*ibid.*, 233). "No simple hypothesis will account for them. There can be no doubt that Marcion's readings are, in the technical sense, false; they are a deviation from the type of the pure and unadulterated text" (*ibid.*, p. 234). Dr Sanday's expression "technical sense" has an intellectual affinity with his "transcendental sense": both mean the sense which the purpose of the arguer demands. I have already pointed out that theologians have unanimously agreed to raise the cry of 'mad dog' against the so-called Western text, which means the quotations and representations made by the most eminent Fathers of the Church in the second and third centuries, regarding the text of the Gospels in their hands (see p. 344 ff.). It is in this "technical sense" that the readings of Marcion, which were the same as the original Gospel of Luke, are to be understood as false, impure, and adulterated. These quotations, however, in the judgment of the honest textual critic, represent in the critical and historical sense the pure, and many of them the approximately pure text of the Holy Gospels. Having thus declared the falsity of Marcion's readings in the "technical sense," Dr Sanday's argument becomes muddy and wanders into the murky

¹ Dr Sanday does not appear to have made any personal or original investigation of the subject, but has obtained his information second-hand. Even this short list has been compiled by him "from the valuable work of Rönisch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's*, 1871, and the critical editions, compared with the text of Marcion's Gospel, as given by Hilgenfeld and Volkmar" (*ibid.*, p. 231, footnote). Dr Sanday can only lay claim to the originality of his sophistical argument, not of research.

regions of theological romance. "At a certain point," he says, "evidently of the remotest antiquity in the history of transcription, there was a branching off which gave rise to these varieties of readings which, though they are not confined to Western manuscripts, still, from their preponderance in these, are called by the general name of 'Western.' But when we come to consider the relations among those Western documents, no regular descent or filiation seems traceable" (p. 234). But from the power of Dr Sanday of seeing in the dark, there was a "*convergence* as well as *divergence* of manuscripts, and not always a mere reproduction of the particular copy which the scribe had before him ; at the same time it will also show that Marcion's Gospel, so far from being an original document, has behind it a deep historical background, and stands at the head of a series of copies which have already passed through a number of hands, and been exposed to a proportionate amount of corruption" (*ibid.*, pp. 234 and 235). Dr Sanday plumps the statement of the date of Marcion's Gospel. "In the year A.D. 140 Marcion possesses a Gospel which is already in an advanced stage of transcription—which has not only undergone those changes which in some regions the text underwent before it was translated into Latin, but has undergone other changes besides" (*ibid.*, p. 235). "The affirmation of the antiquity of Marcion's Gospel rests upon the simple axiom that every event must have a cause, and that in order to bring the text of Marcion's Gospel into the state in which we find it there must have been a long previous history, and the manuscripts through which it was conveyed must have parted from the parent stem" (p. 236). There are a few objections to Dr Sanday's argument. There is not a particle of evidence adduced for his statements, and his conclusion of the "long previous history" of Marcion's Gospel is contradicted by the statements of Irenæus that Marcion's Gospel was taken by him from the Canonical Gospel, and hence had no previous history ; and no previous history can be made out from the historical records. There is no knowledge of Marcion's Gospel prior to the first half of the second century. Dr Sanday's argument is hence pure sophistry. There is neither technical nor transcendental sense in his concluding remark : "The only way in which the inference drawn from the text of Marcion's Gospel can be really met would be by showing that the text of the Latin and Syriac translations is older and more original than that which is universally adopted by text-critics" (*ibid.*, p. 547). There is no inference from the Marcionite text that requires this effort, for it has no relation and nothing to do with the Latin and Syriac translations. The Marcionite Gospel, as the historical evidence proves,

was an original composition, though the writer derived much of his materials from previous unknown writers.

I regret to find that Bishop Lightfoot—who prudently abstained from replying to the most salient chapter in *Supernatural Religion*, that on Marcion's Gospel—has spoken of Dr Sanday's work in a commendatory tone. "I must content myself for the present," he says, "with referring to an able and (as it seems to me) unanswerable article on Marcion's Gospel by Mr Sanday in the June [1875] number of *The Fortnightly Review*, in reply to the author of *Supernatural Religion*" (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 186, footnote). Both the learned gentlemen, perhaps, were members of the same Mutual Admiration Society. Not content with the brilliant sophistries in the body of his work, Dr Sanday has added an appendix of further sophistries. But it is distasteful to me, and it would be tedious to my readers, to continue the exposure of this weakness of the learned Professor's mental constitution by criticising his supplement of sophistries.

CHAPTER IX.

DATES, PLACES OF PUBLICATION, AND AUTHORS OF THE CANONICAL AND MARCIONITE GOSPELS.

I HAVE not found any clue to the precise date of the publication of the Marcionite Gospel beyond the general fact that it came into existence in the first half of the second century. Tertullian informs us that it was customary in his days to place an interval of 115 years and six and a half months between Christ and Marcion (*Anti-Marc.*, i. 19). The learned author of the article on 'Marcion' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says: "When he died is unknown; but his death can scarcely have been much later than the year 165," a chronology which accords with the statement of Irenæus that Marcion lived during the episcopacy of Anicetus. Thus, counting from A.D. 31 or 33, the usually assigned dates of the retirement of Jesus from public life, *i.e.* the theological ascension, the public career of Marcion extended from A.D. 146 or 148 to 165, a period of twenty or eighteen years. Justin's expression regarding Marcion in the *First Apology*, xxvi., ὅς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶ διδάσκων, etc., which his Latin translator renders "qui etiamnunc superest," etc., who is even now surviving, indicates that Marcion was, at the time Justin wrote, an old man. This impression is confirmed by Clement of Alexandria, who says that Marcion was an old man when Valentinus and Basilides were young heretics (*Strom.*, vii., sect. 107). The date of his death may thus be reasonably placed earlier. Justin Martyr, who wrote in A.D. 150, makes no mention of the Gospel of Marcion; and also makes no mention of Marcion's work known as the *Antitheses*. But he speaks of Marcion's views regarding the two Gods, and two Sons or Christs (see p. 72), and it may be rationally inferred that he derived his knowledge from the two writings in which these views were declared; whether he obtained his knowledge directly from the two writings themselves or from hearsay regarding them. But as he wrote a book against Marcion,

which unfortunately has perished, the presumption is strong that he possessed the writings in which Marcion's views regarding the two Gods or two Sons or Christs were declared. The date of publication of the Marcionite Gospel may hence be reasonably stated to have been prior to A.D. 150. Whether Marcion came to Rome is uncertain. Irenæus (I. xxvii. 1) tells us that Cerdo came to Rome in the time of Hyginus, ninth Bishop of Rome, whose date is given by Milman as A.D. 139; and Marcion of Pontus succeeded him and amplified his doctrines. But the date or place of Cerdo's death and of Marcion's succession is not stated, nor even the fact whether Marcion succeeded him at Rome, or simply succeeded him in order of time, in the inculcation of his special doctrines. Justin does not give any assistance in this question, as he merely says that Marcion, a man of Pontus, is even at this day alive (*First Apology*, xxvi.), nor does he say where he wrote his *First Apology*;¹ so that the place in which Marcion was alive was rather Pontus than Rome. The decision does not appear to be clear, as our historical sources are not sufficiently definite. It is, however, generally taken for granted, on these indefinite historical statements, that Marcion came to Rome in the year A.D. 151 (Milman), while Justin was also there. Professor Adolph Harnack of Berlin, in the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, already quoted, states that "Marcion took up his residence permanently in Rome, but still undertook journeys for the propagation of his opinions." I confess that I have been unable to discover the historical sources of these statements. But such is the history that is current, and it is very difficult to contend against it. Eusebius, writing more than a century after the death of Marcion, and deriving his information on the subject from the writings of Justin and Irenæus, whose works we possess, and whose accounts I have quoted, makes somewhat similar statements (*Ecl. Hist.*, iv. 11). I do not remember any allusion made in *Anti-Marcion* by Tertullian to Marcion's residence at Rome, or that he was ever there. Tertullian, who wrote thirty or forty years after the death of Marcion, always speaks of him as a shipmaster and barbarian of Pontus, and the Pontic heretic; never as having a permanent residence at Rome, as Professor Harnack states, or as having a school at Rome,

¹ Jerome, in his account of Justin (*De viris ill.*), says that Justin wrote his *Apology* in Rome. As Jerome derived his information from the *Apology* itself, written a century and half before he was born, we are as capable of forming an opinion on the subject as he was. It is possible, however, Justin may have made a definite statement in his work against Marcion which Jerome refers to, but which he only knew from Irenæus' mention of it; so that there are no grounds for giving Jerome credit for more knowledge than we possess ourselves.

as Eusebius records on the alleged testimony of Irenæus! In the days of Marcion Rome was not of much ecclesiastical importance. Its eminence and ecclesiastical predominance began from the time of Victor, A.D. 190, who claimed the position of Chief of Christendom. I have not any firm historical grounds for considering that Marcion resided or was notorious in Rome. The city had no special attraction for him. Tertullian tells us that in his times Marcion's Gospel was not known to most people, *plerisque nec notum* (*Anti-Marc.*, iv. 5). Marcion's fame was great in Asia Minor and the East, and it was there that his literary critics appeared in his days. Justin and Irenæus, in their allusions to Marcion, connect him with Pontus.¹ Bishop Westcott believes that Marcion went to Rome (*Canon of New Testament*, part i. sect. 9). I think Bishop Lightfoot more correctly read history, as he does not associate Marcion with Rome. In his *Essays on Supernatural Religion* he writes largely on Marcion. "Asia Minor," he says, "appears to have been far in advance of the other Churches of Christendom in literary activity during the second century. The region was the hotbed of heresies and the arena of controversy"; and he proceeds to say that it was the scene of Montanism, of the Paschal controversy, of Marcionism, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 219). I coincide with Bishop Lightfoot, and to Pontus I assign the publication of the Marcionite Gospel. Tertullian always alludes to it as the Pontic Gospel or the Gospel of Pontus (*Anti-Marc.*, i. 2, 10-19; iii. 6; v. 1, and elsewhere). Rhodo, an Asiatic writer of the century, styled Marcion the wolf of Pontus (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 13).

I have not found any statement in the historical records that Marcion wrote the Marcionite Gospel, or claimed to be the author of it. The testimony is unanimous that Luke wrote the Gospel attributed to him, and I have discovered nothing to throw discredit on that

¹ There are two passages in Irenæus which appear to associate him with Rome. In Bk. 1. xxvii. 2, after stating that Cerdo came to Rome, he remarks: "But Marcion of Pontus succeeding him, amplified his doctrine." And again in Bk. III. iv. 3: "For Valentinus came to Rome under Hyginus, flourished under Pius, and remained until Anicetus. But Cerdo, who was before Marcion, himself arrived under Hyginus, who was the ninth bishop. But Marcion succeeding him flourished under Anicetus, who held the tenth place in the Episcopate." There is no statement, as in the case of Cerdo and Valentinus, that Marcion came to Rome. The succession may be read in connection with Rome, or in connection with doctrine. There is a passage in *Tertullian*, *De Præscrip. heret.* xx., which cannot be regarded as historical. Marcion and Valentinus are there said to have been at first believers "in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, in the Church of Rome under the Episcopate of the blessed Eleutherus," *i.e.* A.D. 177-180 or 190, and other statements. Epiphanius collects all the libels about Marcion, and constructs a continuous history out of them. His disgraceful history of Marcion reflects discredit upon his own cloth and the Church of which he was a distinguished and eminent bishop in his day. He had a high seat in important Synods and Councils, and presided over a few.

testimony. It is the fact, as I have explained, that the Marcionite Gospel did not bear the name of its author. It now becomes a question who was Luke, the reputed author of the Canonical Gospel, to whom the Marcionite Gospel must also be attributed. Irenæus, who wrote a great book on heretics, maintains a dead silence on the subject of Luke the Marcionite: the wily fox was very cautious and took care not to put salt on his own tail. His silence regarding Luke the Marcionite was practically a *mot d'ordre*; and I have remarked in my work on the Fourth Gospel that a similar policy of silence was pursued with regard to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel (see p. 41 ff. of the work). The Alogi, a sect that rejected the Fourth Gospel, because Cerinthus the heretic was its author, are cryptically alluded to by Irenæus, and not at all by his pupil Hippolytus, nor by any writer of the third or fourth century till the time of Epiphanius. We find Hippolytus, who also wrote a large book on heretics, passes over Luke the Marcionite with a single line, while he devotes a whole chapter to Apelles, another apostate from the church of Marcion. Origen makes a passing allusion to Luke the Marcionite in his treatise against Celsus. "Now I know of no others who have altered the Gospel, save the followers of Marcion, and those of Valentinus, and, I think, also those of Lucian.¹ But such an allegation is no charge against the Christian system, but against those who dared so to trifle with the Gospels" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Celsus*, ii. 27; vol. ii. p. 33 of Origen's works). The bold and independent Tertullian, however, gives us a short account of the proscribed Luke the Marcionite. Speaking of Marcion, he says: "After him arose one Lucan by name, a follower and disciple of Marcion. He, too, wading through the same kinds of blasphemy, teaches the same as Marcion and Cerdo had taught" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Tertullian, *Against all Heresies*, vi., vol. iii. p. 270). Finally, in the second half of the fourth century, Epiphanius, the simple, the irascible and erudite Bishop of Cyprus, who to all his mental frailties added the error of not mixing his honesty with discretion, gives a detailed account of Luke the Marcionite. He calls him Lucianus, and says that he was a follower of Marcion, but withdrew from him and formed a congregation for himself, and was the founder of a new sect, called after him Lucianists. He accepted all the tenets of Marcion: but his sect being ancient and speedily extinct, Epiphanius says that he found the investigation difficult, "as can be understood by all," translates Petavius suggestively. However, the diligence of the good bishop

¹ The Lucian here mentioned cannot be confounded with Lucian who made a Greek recension of the Gospels; the latter flourished after the death of Origen (see p. 327).

collected two and a half folio pages of curious information with which I shall not further trouble my readers (Epiph. xliii., *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 378). In his account of Apelles which follows the above, Epiphanius says he was a condisciple of Lucianus and a hearer of Marcion. These are the facts which raise in my mind the very strong historical presumption, if not moral certainty, that Luke the Marcionite was the author of the Marcionite Gospel. The differences of the names, Luke or Lucas, Lucanus and Lucianus, are misleading, but superficial. They are all contractions and variations of the same name. Similar contracted forms are known of other names. Apollos for Apollonius; Epaphras for Epaphroditus; Mark or Marcus, Marcion and Marcianus, which latter name is applied to Marcion by Serapion¹ (Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.*, vi. 12). All the names applied to Luke are different forms of the same name. Tertullian's Lucanus is the same individual as the Lucian or Lucianus of Origen and Epiphanius, the longer name being assumed in order to form the basis of the appellation of his followers, Lucianists. Luke or Lucas is the abbreviation of Lucanus, the identity being very perceptible in the inflections of the former name, *κατὰ Δουκᾶν*, *secundum Lucam* or *Lucan*.² It is unsafe, however, to decide upon the identity of individuals from the similarity of their names, without collateral evidence. The Epistle to the Colossians was a Marcionite writing, by the apostle and deacon Paul, who, I consider, was a member of the church of Marcion. (See my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 104.) The Luke mentioned by the Marcionite deacon Paul as Luke the beloved physician, in Col. iv. 14, was Luke the writer of the Gospel, a fact testified by no less a person than Irenæus, a contemporary of both individuals, and who was in a position to know. The same writer Irenæus is the authority for the fact that Luke the Marcionite was the fellow-labourer of the Marcionite apostle and deacon Paul. Irenæus does not speak of the identity of the Luke mentioned in Philemon 24, because in his days the orthodox Church had not yet appropriated this Marcionite epistle, which it took possession of subsequently (see *ante*, p. 13). I judge from the above credibly attested facts that the Marcionite evangelist was familiarly known to his own religious community as Luke, but to the

¹ An excellent account of these contractions will be found in Bishop Lightfoot's Commentary on 1st Thess. i. Silas is a full Jewish name meaning Apostle, according to Jerome, and appears in Josephus, *Ant.*, xiv. 3, 2; xviii. 6, 7; xix. 7, 1. It cannot be a contraction of Silvanus, which is a Latin name. Cleopas is not a Jewish name but a contraction of the Greek name Cleopatros, the male form of Cleopatra. Demas is also a Greek name, contracted from Demarchos or Demetrios. Bishop Lightfoot says *Δουκᾶς* is a contraction of *Δουκαρός*: which is exactly the Lucanus of Tertullian. Lucius is not the same name as Lucanus or Lucianus.

² In the page headings of the Codex Bezae, *Lucam* or *Lucan* occurs indifferently.

general public by the fuller name of Lucan, Lucian, or Lucianus, or in Greek Λουκιανός. The name is pagan and not Jewish, and was borne by well known classical writers, one a Syrian Greek and the other a Roman. Luke the Marcionite is the only individual bearing that name known to Christian history in the second century. The earliest mention of the name that I can find is in the Revelation of Esdras (see *postea*, p. 496), where this pretended prophet sees in paradise "Enoch, and Elias and Moses, and Peter, and Paul and Luke and Matthias," all Christian prophets and apostles of the first half of the second century, and namesakes of famous men of an earlier age.

But though the great writers are unanimous in attributing the Gospel to Luke, there was a belief prevalent in the general Christian society of the period, that the Gospel was written by Paul the Marcionite apostle and deacon, whose friend and fellow labourer, according to Irenæus, was Luke. Tertullian says, for even the digest of Luke *people* usually ascribe to Paul. *One* seems to take what disciples have promulgated as the work of the masters: "*nam et Lucæ Digestum, Paulo ascribere solent. Capit magistrorum videri, quæ discipuli promulgaverit*" (*Anti-Marc.*, iv. 5). Tertullian manifestly means Paul the Apostle of the first century; but he was clearly confused by the identity of the names, and did not perceive the difference of the persons. Besides the evidence of the Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Philemon, writings of the Marcionite apostle and deacon Paul himself, we have the evidence of Clement of Alexandria, who quotes from a lost work of this apostle Paul of the second century, in which the latter refers to the Sibylline books. Clement's quotation from this second century apostle Paul is brought in support of the *Preaching of Peter* (*Strom.*, vi. 5). Clement further refers to this later apostle as the master of Theudas, whose pupil was Valentinus, *c.* A.D. 138-156 (*Strom.*, viii. 17).

The clues to the date of the publication of the Canonical Gospel of Luke are sufficiently explicit. The fact that it was published with a title and the name of the author appended, which Tertullian contrasts with the titleless and nameless Marcionite Gospel (*Anti-Marc.*, iv. 1), is a clear indication of late publication, not earlier than the second half of the second century. The letter from the persecuted Church of Lyons and Vienna in Gaul, quoted in full by Eusebius (*Ecd. Hist.*, v. 1), provides accurate data for fixing more precisely the date of publication of the Gospel. According to some modern critics, Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, was the writer, according to others, the bearer of it; but Bishop Lightfoot rejects both opinions as not borne out by facts. He thinks, however, "that Irenæus was intimately

mixed up with all the incidents, and he cannot have been ignorant of the contents of the letter." The bishop considers the letter was written in A.D. 177 or 178 (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, viii., Churches of Gaul, p. 259). This letter contains allusions to, and quotations from the Canonical Gospel of Luke; hence the date of the latter must necessarily have been anterior to A.D. 177. Amongst the references in the letter is one to Paraclete, the Spirit, which Zacharias abounded in. This expression, Paraclete, I have substituted for 'Holy Ghost,' on the authority of Irenæus and of this letter, as the original reading of Luke i. 67 (see *ante*, p. 109). This reference and reading imply the previous publication of the Canonical Fourth Gospel, which, according to the best judgment that I can form on the scanty facts available, took place A.D. 166-168 (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 243). Hence the interval between A.D. 168 and 177 is the date of the publication of the Canonical Gospel of Luke, as nearly as historical facts enable me to determine it.

The subjects of the compiler and site of publication of the Canonical Gospel are involved in deep obscurity, which was the outcome of design. I have not a particle of doubt in my mind that Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, and probably Tertullian and Hippolytus, had full and authentic information on these subjects, for they were contemporary or nearly contemporary with the publication. They all preferred, however, to maintain a deceitful silence; and Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian¹ even to utter, promulgate and enforce by special pleading and direct falsehood, that which they knew was not the truth. These subjects, in connection with the Canonical Gospel, were more under the direct control of the orthodox Church than matters connected with the Marcionite Gospel. The Church, under the guidance of Irenæus, followed a policy of deceitful silence, falsehood and flagrant deception. I have not been able to break through the dense fence of obscurity and the circle of traps which the Church has succeeded in establishing around the author of the Canonical Gospel and the place of its publication. Some facts, however, which I have ascertained in my researches into the origin of the Gospel of Mark, give me a slender clue, which I think may be reasonably followed up.

Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, flourished in the second century, and wrote a book called *Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις*, or Exposition of the

¹ I do not remember any statement made by Origen and Hippolytus that the Gospel of Luke was written in the first century by a companion of the apostle Paul; or any statement bearing on the age of the Gospel. I refrain, therefore, from charging them with falsehood; but restrict myself to the accusation of deceitful silence.

logia of the Lord, or literally, of Lordly logia.¹ Bishop Lightfoot thinks he "should not probably be wrong" if he assigned A.D. 130-140, or even later, as the date of publication of this work,² while the author of *Supernatural Religion* places it as late as the middle of the second century (Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernatural Religion*: V., Papias, p. 150). The two facts of the book having a title, and the employment of the unclassical word *κυριακός*, induce me to advance the date into the second half of the century, though it is impracticable to fix the limit. The absence of the name of the author in addition to the title would not support a far advance. The adjective *κυριακός* was a Christian coinage of the second century.³ It may have been in use colloquially before it was introduced into Christian literature of any pretension. It is found in Revelation i. 10, the *Didache*, ch. xiv., and in the fragment of the Gospel of Peter; but limited to the Lord's day. It was never used by Justin, or by any writer before him, except the three mentioned. It is never used in the New Testament, except in 1 Cor. xi. 20, where it indicates an interpolation, and in the Revelation i. 10, where it is limited to the Lord's day, for which it was a conveniently short expression. It is found in the falsified letters of Ignatius, which can hardly be trusted, where also it is limited to the Lord's day. Papias is the first writer who departs from this restriction, and he is followed by Irenæus (i. viii. 1). Melito of Sardis, a contemporary of Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, and hence of later date than Papias, wrote a book "On the Lordly day" (Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, iv. 26). Papias was a great enquirer after the truth, and combined theological and historical business with the delights of travel and social intercourse. In conversation with John the presbyter, the latter said: "Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately the things said and done by Christ as much as he recollected but not in order," etc. (Eusebius, *Ecl. Hist.*, iii. 39). Eusebius says the Mark here

¹ Logia are epigrammatic sayings. The word is usually translated 'Oracles,' which word is limited to mean narratives.

² Bishop Lightfoot, I regret to remark, appears to great disadvantage in his articles on Papias in *Essays on Supernatural Religion*. He has allowed himself to be deceived by the similarity of names, and has yielded to the traction of Eusebius' leading strings. If he had simply read the quotations from Papias, and skipped the intercalary misleading remarks of Eusebius, he would have perceived that Papias was speaking of men and women of his own times, the second century. His special pleading regarding the unknown contents of Papias' book, viz. that it was practically a commentary on the four Gospels, is unworthy of his great intellect. He puts on theological spectacles, shakes out the folds of his erudition, and proceeds to look into a millstone; and pretends to see the four Gospels, neatly rolled up, in the inside of it! The special pleading of apologists regarding the great antiquity of the four Gospels is always silly and unbecoming to great scholars; and makes it difficult for me to believe that they have a serious regard for the ten commandments.

³ The word *καθολικός* and its Latin co-relative *Catholicus*, catholic, was another word of Christian coinage.

spoken of by Papias wrote the Gospel, but it should be kept in mind that Papias does not say so. These two personages, Peter and Mark, come together in another writing, the First Epistle of Peter, which as I have shown in my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 96, footnote, was a second century composition. The writer of the Epistle, Peter, in ch. v. 13, speaks of Mark as his son: "*She*, the co-elected, at Babylon salutes you, also *so does* my son Mark." The natural meaning of these words is that Peter sends the salutation of his wife in Babylon and that of his son, to his and his family's friends in Pontus, Bithynia, and elsewhere in Asia Minor. I cannot accept the forced and strained interpretation of the A. V. and R. V. that the Church or Peter's sister is meant! The association of wife and son or family in complimentary correspondence is customary even in the present day.¹ Nor can I accept the substitution of Rome by Eusebius for the "more figurative (τροπικώτερον) city Babylon" (*Ecc. Hist.*, ii. 15), a wanton and gratuitous change. Having discarded my theological spectacles, I can afford to dispense with the interested conjectures of theologians who use these false distorting glasses. The *Speaker's* commentator says Peter's "few words present considerable difficulties": he suggests *lady* or *woman*, which is also forced to mean the *church*. He says also that "there is an absolute consensus of ancient interpreters," and I may add of modern also, that Babylon must be understood as equivalent to Rome, as there is no knowledge of a Christian colony at Babylon at this period. History, however, unravels the tangle. The commentator suggests the further substitution of John (the supposed evangelist) for Mark, a more unjustifiable proceeding than the change made by Eusebius of Rome for Babylon. Peter, a Christian Jew or Ebionite (1 Pet. i. 1; ii. 9, 12; iii. 6), writing in the first half of the second century to his fellow Jews, whom he calls "strangers, scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," regions in which he laboured in his earlier days (Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 1), spoke of his wife, son, and present place of residence, viz. Babylon, without any anticipation that ecclesiastical posterity would change these details of his ordinary life into the Church or his sister, John and Rome. Modern theologians may be pardoned for being embarrassed by his place of residence, which has since passed out of memory. But there is no excuse for the falsehood

¹ Perhaps Peter meant that his wife was elected to grace at the same time that he was. Peterina may have been elected to be a deaconess at the same time that Peter was elected to his own office. However the expression may be explained, the natural meaning of the passage is as I represent it. Clement of Alexandria has a short pathetic notice of the martyrdom of Peterina (*Strom.*, vii. 11), which I believe was understood to have been simultaneous with Peter's own, though Clement does not say so.

and suave duplicity of Eusebius, in whose days, less than two centuries after Peter's date, his place of residence was known. The object of the ecclesiastical historian was to convert the simple Peter, an apostle of the second century, who spoke of wife and son in an apostolic epistle and dwelt in Babylon, into Peter, one of the twelve, whom ecclesiastical tradition, which is often pure invention and falsehood, assigns to Rome.

The Babylon where Peter, his wife, and son Mark, laboured, was in Egypt. A modern writer, who has access to Saracenic historical records, speaks of Babylon as "one of the strongest cities of Egypt for about a thousand years, and now almost forgotten. The ruins of its fortress may still be seen a little south of Cairo, but the town itself was burnt to the ground by the Moslems in 1168."¹ Such being the history of Babylon, it is impossible to believe that Eusebius was ignorant of its existence; he does not indeed say that he was ignorant of it, but he unceremoniously proceeds to convert Babylon of Egypt into Rome, because the First Epistle of Peter was said to have been composed in Rome, and here the tradition is proved to be pure falsehood. The ecclesiastical historian deliberately falsified written history to square it with ecclesiastical fiction (Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, ii. 15). Falsehood, deception, falsification, conscious or unconscious, and ecclesiasticism go together.

The association of Peter and Mark, father and son, in two writings of the second century, implies that they were persons of some note at that period. Peter was an apostle, and Mark possessed some literary talent, as he wrote an interpretation or translation of his father's writing. Eusebius speaks of certain writings, called "The Acts," "The Gospel according to Peter," and "The Preaching and the Revelations of Peter," which were ascribed to Peter, the writer of the First Epistle, but he says they are not catholic, or generally received writings (*Ecl. Hist.*, iii. 3). These writings may have been by Peter, or by another namesake, or some unknown person who assumed the name; but the fair historical presumption is that they were the writings of the author of the Epistle, unless disproved. The Gospel of Peter was read in the Church of Rhossus in Cilicia up to the early part of the third century. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, who writes of it, says that he saw in it the heresy of Marcianus,² whom I take to be Marcion, and that he procured a

¹ "Christianity in the Soudan," by L. M. Butcher, in *The Contemporary Review* for June 1899, page 857, footnote.

² In his brochure on the Gospel of Peter, 1894, the author of *Supernatural Religion* remarks (p. 14): "Nothing is known of the Marcianus to whom it refers. The bishop had evidently previously written of him, but the context has not been preserved. The Armenian version, made from a Syriac text, reads 'Marcion' for

copy of it from the successors of the Docetæ (*Ecc. Hist.*, vi. 12). The heresy of Marcion was the rejection of the story of the supernatural birth of Jesus; and the phantom body of Jesus was the heresy of the Docetæ, and was also ascribed ignorantly to Marcion. A fragment of the Gospel of Peter was disinterred a few years ago from a grave in Egypt, the scene of the labours of the writer of the First Epistle of Peter. Peter now passes out of history, but Mark, his son, continues. Eusebius says (*Ecc. Hist.*, ii. 16) Mark was the first that was sent to Egypt, and proclaimed the Gospel there, and the first who established Churches at the city of Alexandria. This is not true history, as Mark's father, Peter, preached the Gospel in Babylon of Ægypt before him; a fact that Eusebius knew, but suppressed and falsified, as I have already shown. Jerome tells us that Mark died and was buried in Alexandria (*De viris ill.*). We know that a school arose subsequently at Alexandria of which Pantænus was the first head, and Clement of Alexandria and Origen his successors. Jerome, in his account of Pantænus (*De viris ill.*), makes the remark that from the time of the evangelical Mark there were always learned ecclesiastics in Alexandria. We might hence surmise that the first beginnings of this school were started by Mark, who had some literary capacity, and had recorded or rather interpreted or translated the sayings and doings of Jesus. Ecclesiastical history is remarkably reticent upon this most interesting institution, and upon the doings of Pantænus while conducting the school. Hence my suspicion falls upon the school as the source from which the Synoptic Gospels issued. The record or translation written by Mark of his father's teaching of the story of Jesus was probably, for there is no clear historical proof, secretly worked up into the Canonical Gospel at the school; and it strikes me as a remarkable coincidence that, like the Gospel of Peter, the Gospel of Mark bears the imprint of the heresy of Marcion in the absence of the story of the supernatural birth of Jesus. Pantænus appears to me the most likely person to fix upon as the author or compiler of the Synoptic Gospels. His exploitation of the Marcionite Gospel and the quality of his contribution to it, does not raise the idea in my mind of surpassing literary ability. The mistakes in his personal contribution were rectified by his successors or coadjutors in the school, Clement and Origen, and their successors. Chronology suffers no violence. It is clear to me that Eusebius was afflicted with the *morbis Bunsbii*,¹

'Marcianus,' but it would be premature on this authority to associate the episode with that arch-heretic of the second century."

¹ The pathology of this ocular disease, peculiar to theologians and the clerical profession, is indicated in various remarks scattered through this work (see pp. 289, 304, etc.). The moral pathologist and humourist Charles Dickens, was the first

for he has thrown back the date of Mark, the son of Peter of the First Epistle, nearly a hundred years, and makes him the original promulgator of Christianity in Ægypt. The mythical Mark who preceded a long line of bishops of Alexandria, beginning with Annianus, in the eighth year of Nero (*Ecc. Hist.*, ii. 24), *i.e.* A.D. 62, is the illusory spectrum of Mark the son of Peter of the First Epistle, a contemporary of Justin and Papias (A.D. 150 and 160, or thereabouts). The real Mark, Eusebius tells us (*Ecc. Hist.*, iv. 11) was appointed bishop or pastor, ποιμήν, of Alexandria at the same time that Pius obtained the episcopacy of Rome, A.D. 143 (Milman). He died in A.D. 153, after holding his office for ten years; and was followed by Celadin, by Agrippinus, who was bishop for twelve years, and by Julian, who was appointed in the first year of Commodus, A.D. 180. About the same time Pantænus governed the "school of the faithful" (*Ecc. Hist.*, v. 9, 10). Pantænus was connected with the school off and on for a long period. He was sent to India by Demetrius (Jerome, *De viris ill.*), the successor of Julian, when Clement officiated for him. Origen also officiated after Clement. Pantænus' connection with the school, according to Jerome, who is never accurate in his chronology, extended under Severus, A.D. 193, to Caracalla, A.D. 211. It is thus clear that Pantænus was at Alexandria when the Gospel of Luke was published (A.D. 168-177); it was there that Clement of Alexandria made his acquaintance and received his own theological education under him. Regarding Pantænus as Pseudo-Luke, Alexandria was the scene of the publication of the Canonical Gospel of Luke. The facts, designedly suppressed, are wanting to support a positive conclusion; but scanty and insufficient as they are, they point to Pantænus and Alexandria. I have been unable to discover a single circumstance that would give a hint in another direction. Nor is the provisional and conjectural conclusion inconsistent with any fact of history; while it reasonably explains the mysterious appearance of the Synoptic Gospels in Christian literature, and the authority with which they were invested, which proceeded from no visible source. When the school at Alexandria disappeared from history, the function of the conservation and modification of the Sacred Writings was assumed by a visible authority, the Pope and the Church of Rome, in the fourth century (see p. 326). While Irenæus maintained a discreet silence regarding Pantænus, not even mention-

who noted the symptoms in one of his characters, the famous Captain Bunsby, a clear-sighted man, who suffered from the singular malady of not being able to see objects within an area of ten miles. Captain Bunsby was of the nautical profession, which has a link with the clerical profession, in the facility common to both of spinning yarns of a mystical nature.

ing his name, after his death Clement, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome eloquently speak of the learning of Pantænus and his great services to the Church; and there can be no doubt that he was held in high esteem and reverence. But not a word is uttered about the special literary performances of this great scholar, in an age in which the writing of books was very general. While every individual who could hold a pen accomplished some literary works, which Eusebius specifies by name and gives long lists of them; while the numerous works of Clement and Origen, his coadjutors and successors, are described in some detail by Eusebius, the historian passes over the writings of Pantænus in silence. He says Pantænus was appointed the head of the Alexandrian school after many good deeds or successes, but he carefully abstains from specifying these (*Ecc. Hist.*, v. 10). I think the mystery of silence is capable of explanation by attributing to this great scholar of the second century, the head of the school at Alexandria, the compilation of the quasi-historical works known since his days, but unheard of before, as the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles. The real authorship of these works was kept a mystery by the Church for a very obvious object. The attribution of the two latter works to Luke, the only individual known to Christian history in the second century bearing an individuality being Luke the Marcionite, was a veiled falsehood. The mythical Luke, the alleged author of the Gospel according to Luke and of the Acts of the Apostles, was in all reasonable probability represented in the flesh by Pantænus, the head of the school at Alexandria in the second half of the second century. The Alexandrian school followed the Ephesian school (which issued the revised Fourth Gospel with a title and a fictitious author's name) in compiling out of pre-existing writings, new Gospels, which were also issued with titles and fictitious authors' names. The master brain and unscrupulous policy of Irenæus presumably dictated and combined the action of the two schools.

CHAPTER X.

NARRATIVE EVANGELICAL LITERATURE OF THE FIRST CENTURY WANTING, BUT OF THE SECOND CENTURY ABUNDANT. CHRISTIAN APOSTLES WERE THE AUTHORS OF THE EARLY EVANGELICAL NARRATIVES, CALLED APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS, WHICH SUPPLIED MATERIALS FOR THE COMPILATION OF THE THIRD GOSPEL.

I HAVE had considerable and serious difficulties in ascertaining the materials employed by the compiler of Luke. It being a fact of history that this Gospel was composed in the second century, it is impossible to think that its compiler did not employ pre-existing writings. If it be assumed that the work was altogether fictitious and the product of the invention of its author, no difficulty would arise. But this was not the case; the canonical compiler admits the use of previous existing materials (Luke i. 1-4). The Marcionite writer likewise, in all probability, utilised prior writings, in whole or in part.

My difficulties have been due to the following causes in the main.

I. The total absence of continuous narratives of the life of Jesus written by contemporaries in the first century. The authentic works of the first century relate only a few isolated incidents. Paul speaks of the crucifixion, of the assumed resurrection (Rom. i. 4; x. 9); of a group of apostles called the twelve (1 Cor. xv. 5), of whom he names Cephas or Peter, James and John (Gal. ii. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 5 and 7), and of others whom he calls "all the apostles" (1 Cor. xv. 7). He further gives a slight corroboration of the judicial trial of Jesus (1 Cor. ii. 8), and a very hypothetical suggestion that he was betrayed (1 Cor. xi. 23); and states that he and many others saw Jesus alive after the crucifixion (1 Cor. xv. 5-8), that Jesus was living when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (vi. 9, 10), but dead or henceforth known no more after or according to the flesh, when he wrote the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (v. 16); and he relates the institution

of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xii. 23-25). The above facts, with the exception of the betrayal, can be accepted as historical, for Paul was a contemporary witness to them. But there is no surviving or existing historical confirmation by contemporary witnesses of any other event in the life of Jesus.¹ The "end of the Lord" spoken of in James v. 11 refers, in my opinion, to the death of Jesus long after the crucifixion.

II. The first half of the second century abounded in narrative literature; and to this fact Justin, a contemporary, and Irenæus, a nearly contemporary witness, testify. But this literature is of no historical value for the biography of Jesus, because it is not the evidence of his contemporaries. The silly and incredible quality of its contents further condemns it as unhistorical. But apart from its historical incredibility, with which feature I am not now concerned, there exists a great difficulty in identifying the components of this literature, arising from the singular circumstance already mentioned, that these works were issued without titles or authors' names. The evidence of identity rests upon their contents and collateral indications, and the knowledge of these is unfortunately rather scanty. The facts are further mostly isolated and dispersed over writings of different generations, extending in some instances to intervals of two or three centuries; so that the connotation and true interpretation of the facts are difficult of perception. A too exigent investigator would be deterred from entering upon an examination of these ancient documents. But as I have learned to be content with a little evidence where much is not available, I have not found the investigation of this early Christian literature, on the whole, unsatisfactory or devoid of historical interest and value.

III. A third difficulty is the confused chronology of events that took place at this early period; and IV., a fourth difficulty arises from the limited store of names amongst early Christians, and the partiality of the latter for christening children with the names of men remarkable in Christian history. When men of different generations bear the same names of John, Peter, Matthew, or Paul,² it

¹ Eusebius and all ecclesiastical historians after him up to Dean Milman and Dean Farrar, who relate all the incidents in the conventional biography of Jesus as history, on the authority of the Canonical Gospels, offend against the canons of historical criticism, and act in a manner unbecoming to scholars. Their writings on this subject are theology, but not history; and it shows small regard for the ten commandments to represent theology as history to their readers. History has been soiled by ecclesiastical historians: the intrusion of theology into science is resented by the cultivators of the latter.

² There are four Johns, viz., John the first, one of the twelve of the first century, and three Johns in the second century, viz., two spoken of by Papias, and a third, the author of the Apocalypse;—three Peters, viz., Peter the first, one of the twelve; Peter the second, the author of the Gospel of Peter or according to the

is a matter of great perplexity to differentiate them in the haze of obscure chronology. The difficulty is greatly increased to the investigator by the fact that the ancient authors upon whose accounts he necessarily depends, have themselves confused, often by design and with deceitful intention, the identity of individuals in different generations who happened to bear similar names.

In my former work on the Fourth Gospel, pp. 68-91, I have stated the historical grounds on which I formed the conclusion that Jesus was the founder of a moral society, not of a new religion, and that the society of Christians continued to be a moral society until the beginning of the second century, when it was converted into a new religion, to which I applied the name Ecclesiastical Christianity, or Credonism. The precepts of morality were the Gospel proclaimed by Jesus and his followers. These precepts constituted the teachings of Jesus, but there is no evidence that he committed them to writing. The historical presumption, however, is great that they were committed to writing by his followers in the first century. The epoch of Jesus, the first century, was not an age of barbarism, but on the contrary of an advanced civilisation. The fine arts had attained considerable perfection, and were widely diffused, and it is even a question whether some branches of these were not further advanced then than in our own days. The earliest followers of Jesus, though chiefly ignorant men, numbered a few men of education, such as Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, and if they be regarded as hypothetical and unhistorical, there was Paul, a learned Jew, who is neither hypothetical nor unhistorical. The surviving writings of Christians of the first century prove, beyond a doubt, that the society of Christians contained communities of fairly intelligent and educated men, amongst whom were some of great talent. The historical presumption is hence strong that these communities of educated men committed the teachings of Jesus to writing. There are clear and well-defined remains of such written collections of the moral precepts of Jesus, constituting the Gospel. In the epistle known as the First of Clement of Rome, *c.* A.D. 95, there is quoted a string of

Hebrews, and of the First Epistle; Peter the third, the author of the Second Epistle, the two latter being of the second century;—four Pauls, viz., Paul the first of the first century; and in the second century, Paul the second, the writer of the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon; Paul the third, the writer of the Epistles to Titus and Timothy; and Paul the fourth, the writer of the Epistles to the Thessalonians;—two Matthews, viz., Matthew the first, a hypothetical member of the twelve, and Matthew the second, the author of the Logia, of the second century. Out of this multitude of namesakes, theologians have constructed four human beings of the first century, but I think the more intelligent of them divide the Papiassian Johns into two individuals (Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, iii. 29).

moral precepts introduced as "the words of the Lord Jesus which he spake, teaching forbearance and long suffering; for thus he spake: *Have mercy, that ye may receive mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven you. As ye do, so shall it be done unto you. As ye give so shall it be given unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be showed unto you. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured withal to you.* With this commandment¹ and these precepts let us confirm ourselves, that we may walk in obedience to His hallowed words, with lowliness of mind. For the holy word saith, *Upon whom shall I look, save upon him that is gentle and quiet and feareth mine Oracles*" (Lightfoot's translation, ch. xiii.). These precepts of Jesus were as certainly contained in a writing, and quoted from it, as the commandment of God by Jeremiah was also in a writing. Under the conditions of civilisation that existed at the close of the first century at Rome, it is historically inadmissible to think that the precepts of Jesus were mere matters of memory and preserved by oral tradition. The Greek words translated 'oracles' by Bishop Lightfoot are τὰ λόγια, and the corresponding words in the Septuagint are τοὺς λόγους. The words τὰ λόγια are applied by Clement to the precepts of Jesus. In Heb. v. 12, the words, τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ, refer, I think, to Christ's precepts. The *Didache*, a writing which Bishop Lightfoot ascribes to the first or beginning of the second century, contains a series of moral precepts, which are expressly said in the first line of the writing to be "the teaching of the Lord to the nations by the twelve apostles." The Lord's prayer is quoted, "as the Lord commanded in his Gospel,"² ch. viii., and in ch. xv. moral precepts are inculcated, "as ye have in the Gospel of our Lord." It is difficult to think that these early Jewish Christian associations, whose rules and regulations were laid down in writing in the *Didache*, had not also a written Gospel containing the precepts of the Lord, but only oral reminiscences of them.

The above form the only traces that I have been able to perceive in the writings of the first century³ of a written Gospel at that early

¹ The ancient writer had previously quoted the commandment of God by the prophet Jeremiah (ix. 23, 24).

² The Lord's Prayer in the *Didache* has been written up to date. This is clear from the presence of the strange word ἐπιόσιον (see p. 169), which it is difficult to believe that this simple community of Syrian peasants could have invented or coined.

³ I do not consider the page of papyrus found in the ruins of Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, and published by Messrs Grenfell and Hunt in 1897, under the title of Logia of Jesus, to date from the first century. The discoverers date it from A.D. 150 to 300. The internal evidence supports this date. Of the seven logia, two, Nos. 2 and 5, are clearly religious, and No. 3 in a slight degree implies divinity or ability to speak after death. This is too large an admixture of religious conceptions to allow a very early date. The admixture of religious conceptions in the moral precepts of the *Didache* is very little.

period, and it will be observed that they are traces of the teachings, precepts, words or *logia* of the Lord. I have not succeeded in finding the smallest trace of any narrative of the Lord's life, or of an incident or event in which he took part, excepting those mentioned by Paul, and a reference to the pleadings of Jesus for mercy in Heb. v. 7, 8.¹ This is a very remarkable circumstance, and it calls forth reflection. There have been other ancient teachers whose instructions were imparted orally. Socrates, at an earlier age, and Mahomed, at a later age, are familiar examples. Their teachings were committed to writing by their followers; by Plato and Xenophon, the pupils of Socrates, and by Zaid ibn Sâbit, the secretary of Mahomed, Hafsah his daughter, Abu Bakr, and Omar, his relatives and contemporaries;² and these same individuals and others preserved the personal history of their great master. This course was perfectly natural and to be expected in an age of civilisation. I do not think that the contrary course, as appears to have been the case with Jesus, can be regarded as historically probable. There are indeed divergences in the history of these three great masters: but the divergences in the life-histories of Socrates and Jesus, so far as the history of the latter is supposed to have been, are not great enough to account for the extraordinary apparent diversity of conduct in their followers. I do not, however, think there was any actual divergency in the conduct of the followers of these great historical personages. They all followed instinctively and humanly the natural conduct of civilised men, as recorded in history. The disciples of Socrates, Jesus, and Mahomed equally recorded the teachings of their masters and their personal history. But the teachings and personal history of Jesus recorded by his contemporaries or proximate contemporaries were suppressed and destroyed by the Holy Catholic Church, from motives necessitated by the circumstances which gave rise to its birth, and which have since compelled it during its prosperous, but nefarious, career from the

¹ The passage is thus translated in the A. V. "Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard, in that he feared; though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered." The R. V. translates similarly with a change of tense and mood, and the substitution of "for his godly fear" for "in that he feared." The above is a devotional or religious translation not precisely literal. I translate as follows as a simple critic, without prejudices or preconceptions: Who in the days of his flesh, having even proffered suppliant prayers, with great crying and tears, to him who could save him from death, and having been listened to on account of his piety, though being Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered. The person to whom the supplications and tears were addressed was, according to my literal translation, Pilate, the arbiter of life and death. This is not a reference to the hypothetical agony in Gethsemane; but to the behaviour of Jesus at his trial, a behaviour which is common enough in the present day in courts of law in the East.

² See Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop: On the proper use of Holy Scriptures*, 1898, vol. i. pp. 480-81.

second to the nineteenth century, persistently to suppress the truth, and to set up and to uphold falsehood in its place. Or, which practically amounts to the same thing, the Church stimulated and encouraged the preference of the populace for the interesting but mendacious narratives of second century chroniclers, apostles and prophets, and thus the prosaic but truthful records written by the contemporaries or near contemporaries of Jesus gradually fell into desuetude and perished.

I have also in my work on the Fourth Gospel stated the historical grounds on which I formed the conclusion that the religion professed by applicants for admission into the moral society established by Jesus was unimportant: that applicants of all religions were freely admitted, and that they retained their religions. "Jesus postulated a belief in God, and no more on the side of religion" (*op. cit.*, p. 68 ff.). Men of all religions were Christians in the first century, the moral system which they observed being unconnected with their religious beliefs. The union of the moral system of Jesus with religion was, however, gradually effected partially and imperfectly in the first century, and I have indicated the stages of conversion in my former work, but it was completed and culminated in the earlier decades of the second century. Christianity, a moral system, was corrupted by association in the second century with religion; and we see from the incoherent and confused accounts of these new Christian religions or heresies, (heresy meaning the religion of other people differing from one's own,) that they were all hybrid combinations of the moral system or Gospel of Jesus with various religions or religious conceptions: with Judaism, with various forms of paganism, with Greek conceptions of the deity and of divine emanations, with even the coarser forms of pagan worship, such as that of the serpent, of the god Abraxas (Tert., *Against all Heresies*, i.), and even perhaps of the Anubis, or mule, jackal or jackass, associated in some instances with obscene and disgusting rites¹ (Justin, *First Apol.*, xxvi.). These new Christian religions, all hybrid combinations of some form of religion, or of religious conceptions, with the Gospel of Jesus, were very numerous, and their names would nearly fill a page. The Christian religions of Cerinthus, Marcion and Peter, appear to me to have been the simplest, purest, least *outré* and most reasonable of all these

¹ I do not think the obscene and vicious rites ascribed to some sects of early Christians of the second century are incredible, when I reflect upon the facts of the modern confessional, where suggestions, in the form of enquiry or interrogatories, of an immoral character, are made to young men and girls. Impure ideas are practically equivalent to impure acts; and both are capable of being justified on *religious* views, but not on moral grounds. The bestial obscene rites of the Agapemone, practised in our days, were those of a new Christian religion organised by an ordained clergyman of the Church of England.

new religions that in the second century sprang up in connection with the Gospel or morality of Jesus. The religion of Cerinthus consisted chiefly in the tenet that Jesus, a man, was the recipient of an æon or emanation from the Supreme Deity: that of Marcion was a purified conception of God in association with the morality of Jesus, a man, and he probably added certain ascetic practices. I will not attempt to describe the various Pagan-Christian religions elaborated by Simon Magus, Valentinus, Basilides;¹ Bardesanes, Saturnilus, and other pagans, nor those of the Cleobians, Dositheans, Gorthæonians, Masbothians, Menandrians, Marcosians, Carpocratians, Ophites, Sethians, Peratæ, and others; nor of the Jewish-Christian sects or religionists, Essenes, Galilæans, Hemero-baptists, Pharisees, Sadducees,² and other "ancient heresies" which Hegesippus states existed amongst the children of Israel (Eus., *Ecc. Hist.*, iv. 22), nor of the sects of Nazarenes and Ebionites. The conflict of these various new Jewish-Christian and Pagan-Christian religions in the second century resulted in the formation, in the second half of that century, of the ecclesiastical form or system of religion which, with some later modifications and additions of a purely pagan, as well as of a metaphysical character, has continued to our times. In the main, the Jewish supernatural element prevailed in the resulting eclectic religion, this having been found by experience to be generally more attractive to the populace, and hence financially the most productive. The intellectual, or Greek element, was, however, not neglected; and in fact it was not altogether unsuccessful, as Cerinthus' view, in perhaps a modified form, had been established in some parts of Asia Minor, and was well received by the Jewish-Christian communities; Marcionism had succeeded in establishing a strong and widely-diffused church which existed in an independent form for a few centuries; and the Valentinian metaphysical theology was much prized. The four Canonical Gospels

¹ Mr King says: "Basilides, indeed, to judge from the account left by his contemporary, Clement, appears never to have been a Christian at all" (*Gnostics*, p. 5). He is mistaken, and in fact contradicts himself in p. 33, where he says, Basilides "embraced Christianity, calling himself a disciple of the apostle Matthew, and boasted of, having had for his master Glaucias, a disciple of St Peter himself." Basilides, like Origen, was doubtless a Platonist, but he compiled a Pagan-Christian religion, combining the worship of the god Abraxas with the teachings of Jesus, or what passed for such. All these heresiarchs were Christians. Justin says: "All are called Christians" (*First. Apol.*, vii.), and "call themselves Christians" (*Trypho*, xxxv.), and he was a contemporary. Even in the fourth century Epiphanius says that in his day all heretics, and he enumerates Marcionists, Gnostics and others "who are not Christians," are accustomed to be called Christians by all (ch. xxix. 6; *Pet.*, i. 122).

² These sects were both purely Jewish, and also Christian-Jewish sects, and are so described by Epiphanius in his work on heresies. See Acts xv. 5. Pharisees were a Christian sect from early days. Justin mentions the following Christian sects of Jews: Sadducees, Genistæ, Meristæ, Galileans, Hellenists, Pharisees, Baptists (*Trypho*, lxxx.).

were a selection from the religious writings of the more successful of the new Christian religions or heresies, the name applied by the followers of any one religion to all the others. Greek religious thought was represented in the Fourth and Third Gospels, which comprised the writings and views of Cerinthus, Valentinus, and Marcion, with a trace of the writings of other Pagan-Christian sects, such as the Ophites, or snake-worshippers;¹ and the whole strongly flavoured with Jewish supernaturalism. The Second and First Gospels were almost purely Jewish in character. These four Gospels appear to me to have been the outcome of a brilliant policy of union and conciliation, the product, I think, of the master mind of Irenæus, the Bismarck of Ecclesiastical Christianity. The four Gospels afforded a means of pacification and amalgamation, and they appear to have in general satisfied the members of the great dissenting bodies of Christians of the second century. In the third century we do not hear the roar of strife among contending sectaries that filled the air in the earlier three-fourths of the second century. The publication of the four Canonical Gospels stilled the rage of controversy for a hundred years and more. The new religion had been well conceived and established, and was universally accepted,² combining together religious ideas and beliefs which were agreeable to both the Jew and the Gentile. Irenæus, writing towards the close of the second century, alludes to this general appeasement, with pardonable theological exultation. "So great is the strength around these gospels," he says, "that the very heretics themselves render testimony to them, and starting from the *gospels* themselves each one of them endeavours to confirm his own doctrine. For the Ebionites who use that gospel alone which is according to Matthew, not rightly understanding about the Lord, are convinced by that alone. But Marcion mutilating that *Gospel* which is accord-

¹ See John iii. 14; Mark xvi. 18; Luke x. 19.

² I copy the following statement made by Schwegler, a German theologian, in his work called *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, i. 258, or *The Post-Apostolical Age*, which I found sometime after writing the above, quoted by Strauss in *Das Leben Jesu; Einleitung*, ii. *Die Evangelien*, 19. "Bei jedem Schritt treffend, den das theologische Bewusstsein vorwärts that, wurde auch an den Evangelien nachcorrigirt, Veraltetes und Anstössiges ausgemerzt, Zeit-gemässes zugesetzt, mitunter selbst manches Schlagwort der neueren Zeit eingeschaltet, und so sehen wir die Kirche in einer fortwährenden Production evangelischer Reden und Sprüche begriffen, bis diese Evangelienreform mit der ausschliesslichen Anerkennung unserer synoptischen Evangelien und der Verfestung der catholischen Kirche ihre Endshaft erreichte." Corresponding to every step, which the theological consciousness made in advance, there was after-correction made in the Gospels, what was obsolete and offensive was erased, what was suited to the time added, sometimes even many a watchword of later times interpolated, and so we see the Church engaged in a constant production of evangelical speeches and sayings, until this Gospel-reform reached its finality with the exclusive recognition of our Synoptic Gospels, and the establishment of the Catholic Church.

ing to Luke, is shown from those *passages* which are still retained by him, *to be* a blasphemer against the sole existing God. Those again who separate Jesus from Christ, and say that Christ remained impassible, but Jesus suffered, preferring *the Gospel* which is according to Mark, reading that with the love of truth, can be corrected. Those, moreover, who are from Valentinus, using very much that *Gospel* which is according to John for displaying their conjunctions; from that very *Gospel* are exposed *as* saying nothing rightly, as we have shown in the first book. Since therefore they who contradict bear testimony to us and use these *gospels*, our declaration regarding them is firm and true" (*Irenæus*, III. xi. 7).

To Irenæus, I think, was due the conception and the carrying out of the great policy of uniting the warring sectaries of the period by the publication of Gospels in which all the predominant sects would find their peculiar tenets more or less fully included. The policy or idea must have originated in the mind of some man of commanding intellect. No other man stands out in the history of the period as the presumptive originator of this grand project. The great literary work of Irenæus was ostensibly directed to the refutation of heresies, but was really and essentially written in vindication of the four Canonical Gospels. The coadjutors of Irenæus were Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, with the elders of Ephesus and presumptively Pantænus of Alexandria in the background. The magnificent and successful enterprise of Irenæus was carried out by methods which morality cannot approve. Coercion and force could not be employed, as the Church was not at that period in possession of legislative and magisterial authority; but their place was taken by fraud, falsehood, and deception accentuated by audacity. It would be difficult to find parallels in history to the audacity with which Irenæus and Tertullian assailed Cerinthus, Valentinus, and Marcion, whose religious writings and thoughts had been appropriated in the Gospels. These great leaders were now dead; and their followers were too weakened by internal splits and dissensions amongst themselves and too flattered by the introduction of their tenets, slightly changed, into the Gospels, to offer serious opposition. The only antagonism that history has recorded came from the adherents of orthodoxy, who objected to the inclusion of the writing of Cerinthus, and from Jews and pagans, like Celsus and others, who were not Christians at all. The audacity of Irenæus and Tertullian gave *éclat* and strong support to the inventions and falsification of history put forth by these ecclesiastics, who filled positions of importance and enjoyed a high literary and religious reputation. The share of Clement consisted in the passive aid which his great learning supplied in

editing and suitably arranging the supplementary writings, and the modest repetition of hearsay and false histories, possibly his own inventions, of the origin and authorship of the Gospels.¹ This learned and good man probably felt, under the circumstances, that opposition to untruthfulness and deceit would effect no useful result, and would end in his own extinction; and hence he acquiesced in and feebly supported the falsehood and deception that had gained the upper hand. Religious belief formed the valuable financial asset in the four Gospels, and the morality of Jesus occupied a secondary position. Irenæus busied himself exclusively with the exploitation of religious belief with the true business instinct of the company promoter. Religious belief was the element which would fetch most consideration and interest, and produce the largest financial harvest. In his hands morality incurred the risk of extinction, and it certainly underwent the process of perversion. I feel convinced from the facts of history, as well as from historical presumption, that the final clause of Luke xvi. 9 was inserted in that Gospel by the irresistible influence of Irenæus upon the masters of learning and custodians of the Gospels at Alexandria, in spite of the disapproval of Clement and Origen. "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations," was the foundation on which Irenæus built.² The language of the final clause is cryptical and evangelical, but translated into the ordinary vernacular the verse means, "Make to yourselves money in any unrighteous way; that, when ye die, ye may go to or find a residence in heaven." It does not appear that the organisation of the Church, which had spontaneously grown up, was interfered with. Simultaneously with the appearance of the Gospels, the attenuated and spectral forms of apostles and prophets vanish in the haze of obscure history: they are no longer visible in the dim historical horizon. They had, in fact, been gradually absorbed owing to economic causes, and not to the historically impalpable influence of the Holy Ghost, into the robust and well-nourished corporation of the bishops and presbytery; and their very remembrance has been extirpated from ecclesiastical history. No principles of intolerance and persecution, apart from the reception of the Gospels, were formulated. The

¹ These statements were made in his lost work, called *Hypotyposes*, which Eusebius pounced upon, and, though founded on hearsay or traditions from the oldest presbyters, introduced into his history (*Ecc. Hist.*, vi. 14). But for these unfortunate statements, preserved by Eusebius, Clement's fault would have been, like that of Origen and Hippolytus, deceitful silence, for I do not remember any remark on the age of the Gospels in the surviving works of Clement.

² A full exposition of this verse will be found in p. 184 ff.

keen insight and business aptitude of Irenæus perceived the advantage of peace, concord, and unanimity as essential to the financial prosperity of the orthodox Church. Irenæus appears prominently in Christian history as a peacemaker, a character which Eusebius (*Ecc. Hist.*, v. 24) says well suited his name. As in the case of Ah Sin, "I do not deny, with regard to that same, what it seems to imply." There is no trace at this early period of the history of the Church of any hankering after political power. It appears to me that Clement of Alexandria was the most prominent of the men of his times who felt and deplored the subordination of morality to religious belief. His are almost the only surviving Christian writings of the second century which the modern general reader can peruse with interest and appreciation. They are exclusively devoted to the inculcation of morality; and his ethics, cleared of some crudities, are the ethics of our own times. Clement occupied himself little about religious belief, except in the spirit of a historian and philosopher. The aggressive mendacity, vituperation, and invective of Tertullian in vindication of the Gospel of Luke were probably of much persuasive force in his times; but we have no evidence that Tertullian's advocacy was approved at Alexandria, and I think it turned the gorge of Eusebius himself, no mean prophet of false history, for he passes it by in silence. Apart from his falsehoods regarding Marcion, Tertullian possessed some excellent qualities and good impulses which sufficiently account for the high reputation which he acquired; so that his advocacy of the four Gospels, but especially of the Third, had its value. But this ecclesiastical rough-riding, a convert from paganism, became ultimately disgusted with the literary and general immorality of the orthodox Church, and abandoned it, and joined the sect called Montanists. The vicious interpolations made in the Sacred Writings, and the malpractices of Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus, unmitigated rogues and knaves, against which Tertullian protested in vain, and perhaps other causes not recorded in history, were the real reasons of his secession. (See my work on the Fourth Gospel, pp. 306-327.)

It is historically impossible to think that the immoral methods above spoken of were limited to the great leaders above named. It was a necessity of the case that the same methods should have been practised by innumerable minor agents. It was a necessity that the Canonical Gospels should be advertised in the various Christian communities scattered over the Roman Empire. The bishops and presbytery naturally formed the agency for the promulgation of the Gospels. It is hard to think that these minor agents were unaware of the sources from which the Gospels were derived: and yet they

represented them in their churches and schools as the writings of the apostles John and Matthew, members of the twelve, and of apostolic men bearing the names of Luke and Mark, and described as companions and fellow-labourers of the first century apostles Paul and Peter. The circle of immoral methods, of the exercise by official sanction and encouragement of fraud, falsehood and deception, was undoubtedly very extensive. The publication of the Canonical Gospels, a grand measure which affected the union and consolidation of ecclesiastical Christianity, by the very success which attended the immoral methods employed in ensuring their general reception, laid the foundation of the appreciation of fraud, falsehood and deception which is one of the most marked characteristics of the ecclesiastical hierarchy from that period to the present. Religious belief, demonstrated and disseminated by immoral methods, by "illicit logical processes,"¹ by sophistry, special pleading, falsification of history, and audacious utterance of untruth, is the financial asset of ecclesiasticism, and to these methods were added, in times when the power of the Church was predominant, chains, fire and sword; methods which I do not feel quite sure may not be again reverted to, if in the unknown future the Holy Catholic Church, now administered by an infallible pope and ignorant curia, should regain its ancient supremacy.

The unification of Christendom, and the supremacy of the bishop of Rome (see p. 209), are two great works for which ecclesiastical Christianity is indebted to Irenæus, a man gifted with a powerful mind but tainted with unscrupulous moral principles, which he employed in establishing a religion on a stable basis which has proved to be no blessing to the human race. It has been the persistent enemy of civilisation and the inveterate opponent of the development of the human mind in all ages, a lever of deadly strife between communities and nations. It is apparent from the facts of history, that Christ had no voice or participation in the initiation or development of the Church, as he was peacefully reposing in his grave a century before it made its first appearance in history. The morality which Christ inculcated was assigned a position secondary to religious belief, which was regarded as the more valuable financial asset of the Church.² In all papal bulls, rescripts, and definitions,

¹ *The Quarterly* reviewer, 1881, attributed the accomplishment of the Revised Version to "illicit logical processes" (see p. 364).

² Irenæus and the orthodox Church accurately estimated the relative financial value of the inculcation of religious belief and that of morality; they cultivated the former with great assiduity but neglected the latter. The utter financial uselessness of teaching morality has recently been experimentally demonstrated. The London Ethical Society in 1899 attempted to raise a small sum, about £200, if I remember rightly, for the payment of ethical lecturers; and a strong appeal was made to its supporters. In the following year, the leader of the society, Dr

morality was assigned theoretically the second place, but practically no place at all, but was simply perverted to an immoral system of Casuistry. In the most important of all recent papal declarations, the definition of the dogma of the infallibility, issued on the 13th July 1870, Pope Pius IX. assigned the second place to "mores" after faith, "*de fide vel moribus*" ("moribus" meaning, not "morality," but Moral theology or Casuistry), *Life of Cardinal Manning*, by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, vol. ii. p. 450. The sect called Antinomians rejected the commandments; and under this sect all ecclesiastical historians should be classified. In the services of the Church of England called Morning and Evening Prayer, there is an enormous disproportion between the amounts of religious belief and of morality brought before the minds of the congregation. The small modicum of morality is further associated with wrong motives, and is enveloped in the slime of Jewish superstition and of religious belief. The beauty of the religious ideas or mythology contained in the Church services is admirable, but it barely reaches the exquisite grace of the religious conceptions or mythology of the classical pagans, which still adorn the pages of the poets and prose-writers of all civilised nations. Morality has no place whatever in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England: and forms only a subsidiary item in the Church Catechism, in which two or three precepts at least are of doubtful propriety, and have not the authority of Christ. The moral precepts of Jesus, which in the dim light of history appear to have been the sole teaching in the assemblies of the early Christians of the first century (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, pp. 87, 89), are conspicuous by their rarity, if not absence, in the assemblies of the modern Churches. The conservation of morality in the Christian communities of later times was due, not to the principles and practice inculcated by the Church as a great organisation, but to the private and personal exertions, ministrations and example of good men and women amongst the laity and clergy. Where these private and personal exertions of good men and women are wanting, morals fall to a low ebb, wither or become practically extinct, though religious belief be green and flourishing. The labours, for the conservation of morals, of these good men and women cannot be credited to the Church as a religious organisation, just as the philanthropic labours of John

Stanton Coit, announced in *The Ethical World*, the organ of the society, that not a shilling had been collected! This may be taken as a crucial test of social opinion, that the teaching of morality should not be mercenary: a sound and correct view of the subject, which I have endeavoured to inculcate in my former work, on the Fourth Gospel, pp. 367-371, and 381, 382, etc. If payment for the inculcation of morality be inaugurated, the system will degenerate into a financial association, like ecclesiastical Christianity.

Howard and Elizabeth Fry and other good men and women cannot be credited to the British Parliament.¹

In my work on the Fourth Gospel I discussed the nature and character of the Christian literature of the first half of the second century (*op. cit.*, pp. 19-23, 63-67, 91-104). Partly from historical facts, and partly from historical presumption, I formed the conclusion that these early writings were the productions of the apostles, teachers and prophets of the early Christian societies, churches, or ecclesiæ; and being such they must be regarded as documents officially recognised by the early churches. These early churches were not heretical, and the writings of the apostles and prophets which were read in them were not heretical in these early days. But they became retrospectively heretical, or partially heretical, or the subjects of disapproval, in the second half of the second century, when was founded the composite or eclectic church which is grandiloquently described by Irenæus, with a profound disregard of chronology, and a serene indifference to the truth, as "the very great, the very ancient Church, known by all, founded and organised at Rome² by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul"; and to which Church "it was necessary, on account of its own potent principality, that every church should agree" (*Ad. Her.*, III. iii. 2). The Church of the second century which had compiled and adopted the Canonical Gospels was the ancient Church of Irenæus' theological and guileful imagination. To this great Church every minor church that did not adopt and solely use the Canonical Gospels was heretical or partially heretical, or subject to disapproval; for had not the decree gone forth that "It is not

¹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Dr Samuel Horsley, Bishop of Rochester, was regarded as the most eminent prelate of the Church of England of his day. He strongly advocated the preaching of dogma, and disapproved of the teaching of morality by the clergy. The clergy ought not to be degraded to be "mere apes of Epictetus" was his reason. Hence the teaching of the morality of Jesus, being pretty much on a level with that of Epictetus, was to be equally neglected by the clergy. There appears to be a tendency in the present day among the better spirits in the Anglican Church, more marked, however, in the dissenting clergy, to preach morality, and to keep dogma in the background. Morality may thus gradually supersede religion in the Churches. This change may possibly be detrimental to the teaching of morality, and lead to the latter degenerating to hypocrisy. The teaching of religion by a paid clergy is hypocrisy elevated to a fine art, *i.e.* religion is used as a means of obtaining income and social position. It would be a great blow to the teaching of morality to sink it to this degraded condition. Morality should be kept free from mercenary taint.

² The Church of Rome was insignificant in the first two centuries, at which period the Eastern Churches were more important and had more numerous members; and their bishops took precedence of the Bishop of Rome. Theophilus, late in the second century, author of *Ad Autolyicum*, and Bishop of Cæsarea, was the Primate of Christendom (Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, v. 23). After him Victor, Bishop of Rome, c. 190, assumed the primacy, assisted to it by his own arrogance and audacity, and by Irenæus and his decree, interpolated in Matt. xvi. 18, 19 (see *ante*, p. 209).

possible that the Gospels can be either more or fewer than four since there are four zones in the world and four principal winds?" (*Ad. Her.*, III. xi. 8). The writings of the apostles and prophets of the first half of the second century were titleless and without authors' names; but in the second half of the same century and subsequently some of them were called Gospels, and the names of their real or fictitious authors were appended; others were called epistles, or special titles derived from the nature of the contents were attached to them, and almost invariably the author's name was appended. The names of the authors were not necessarily fictitious, and there is reason to believe that in some cases at least they were genuine, the authors being known to their immediate or proximate contemporaries. The names, however, being the same as those borne by apostles distinguished as belonging to the twelve, the authors were erroneously mistaken for the latter. The word 'gospel' was never used in the plural by any writer of the first hundred and fifty years of the Christian æra, Justin being the limit. The only exception to be found occurs in the *First Apology* of Justin, ch. lxvi., in which are the words "For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, *which are called Gospels*, have thus delivered unto us," etc. The words which I have put in italics, I am convinced, are a gloss or interpolation. The exception proves the rule, and the rule proves the exception to be an accretion or monstrosity, or sport. The Gospel meant, in the first century and first half of the second, the teachings, precepts, words, or *logia* of the Lord. This is the view that Justin, A.D. 150, puts into the mouth of Trypho, ch. x.: "I know that the precepts in the so-called gospel are so admirable and great, that I suspect no one can keep them." It was originally delivered orally, but there are historical proofs, already mentioned (see p. 417), that it had been committed to writing towards the close of the first century. The Memoirs of the Apostles spoken of by Justin were not the Gospel, and he never calls them so; nor does any writer of his age and prior apply the term gospel to a narrative, or to a writing other than the one containing the "words of the Lord."¹ It is singular that Irenæus never uses the plural word 'gospels' in the first book of his great work on heresies, consisting of 31 chapters. The plural word is first used in ch. xxii. 3 of the second book. The words *αἱ γραφαὶ* or

¹ Bishop Lightfoot devotes many pages in his articles on Papias in his *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 171 ff., to prove, from German authorities and sheer erudition, that the word *logia* meant narratives. He has overlooked the opinion of the celebrated writer, who shall be nameless, that the word also meant a broomstick; but I have no desire to introduce this meaning. I take the natural meaning of the word, as it was used by these early writers, without putting any forced interpretation upon it.

writings and *Scripturæ* or Scriptures are used instead (i. viii. 1, 2; ix. 1, 34; xviii. 3; xix. 1; xxvii. 4. II. Preface, 1; x. 2; xxii. 2). The singular word Gospel is often mistranslated by the plural word Gospels, and in the first book of Irenæus is so translated in fact in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library (*Iren.*, i. xx. 2). Irenæus uses the word *logia* twice in the sense of the Gospel (i. Preface, 1, and viii. 1), which the above translator renders 'oracles,' following Lightfoot's lead. Origen tells us that the disciples of Marcion maintained that there was only one Gospel in the days of Paul, because "the apostle says: 'According to my Gospel in Christ Jesus'; he does not speak of Gospels in the plural." Against this statement Origen made the lame defence that as the evangelists all speak of one person, Jesus, the four Gospels are in effect one (*On John*, v. 4); utterly oblivious that Irenæus had decreed that there could not possibly be less than four Gospels because there were four zones and four winds. I conclude from these facts that the word Gospel was in the first hundred and fifty years of the Christian era applied solely to the teachings, precepts, words or *logia* of the Lord and not to narratives; that this use of the singular word continued even after the publication of the Canonical Gospels; and it was not till he had advanced to beyond the middle of his second book *On Heresies*, did Irenæus become accustomed to use the plural word Gospels, which he frequently uses in the rest of his books. The chronology of these early Christian writings is very difficult to settle. I think there is no resource but to deal with them in the lump, as it is not possible to fix the date of individual writings: historical presumption may be employed to estimate their relative dates, or the priority of certain writings. The priority of the writing of Cerinthus is founded on his association with John the Apostle, one of the twelve (who is understood to have attained extreme old age), in the famous bath anecdote (*Iren.*, iii. iii. 4). Irenæus tells us that John survived to the days of Trajan (*Ad. Her.*, ii. xxii. 5). But it is not necessary to think that Cerinthus' writing dates from this early period, A.D. 98, when Trajan became emperor, but it will be quite reasonable to presume that they may have been published some years later. In the dearth of information, I think we may place our trust in Clement of Alexandria, a writer at the close of the second century, who was a learned man, and, with the exception of the falsehoods, uttered under compulsion probably, concerning the Gospels, and his deceitful editing of the epistles of Paul, may be regarded as truthful and reliable on subjects of general history.¹ Clement tells us that it was in the times of Hadrian,

¹ The search for an honest man amongst the orthodox ecclesiastics of the second

A.D. 117, that those who invented the heresies arose (*Strom.*, vii., xvii. sect. 106). This date may hence be taken as the earlier limit of the age of the literature we are now studying. It receives support from the statement made by Aristides in his *Apology*, A.D. 125, who speaks of these Christian writings in his days. The later limit may be fixed at A.D. 150, the date of Justin's *Apology* (ch. xvi.), in which he speaks of the Memoirs of the Apostles and the writings of prophets (ch. lxvii.). I do not think we should limit the terms apostles and prophets used by Justin to one sect or body of Christian-religionists. The historical presumption is that all or many of them had a similar organisation and body of officials. The Marcionite Church, a Pagan-Christian one, so far as I can judge, had a similar organisation as the Jewish-Christian Churches, *i.e.* apostles, prophets, teachers, bishops, presbyters and deacons. These officials appear in the Marcionite Epistles (Eph. ii. 20, iv. 11; Phil. i. 1; Thess. ii. 6; and other passages). Tertullian, speaking of the later heresies of his own times, gives us some insight into the organisation of the heretical systems. He mentions, as existing amongst the heretics, novices, catechumens, readers, deacons, presbyters and bishops, two peculiarities he specially directs attention to—they had no distinct body of ecclesiastics specially separated from the laity for church offices, but church duties were discharged by laymen who were in secular employment, *i.e.* laymen performed the functions of the priesthood, *sacerdotalia munera*; and women were also employed in clerical functions: they taught, disputed, exorcised, undertook cures, and even baptised (*De Præscrip. Heret.*, xli.). The clerical grades of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, and occasionally of apostles and prophets, are spoken of in the Clementine Homilies, showing that they existed in the very ancient Jewish-Christian sect which followed Peter, the author of the Gospel of Peter, or according to the Hebrews. (See pp. 411, 454). Hence, speaking from the analogy, Marcion should be regarded as an apostle. Tertullian does in fact refer to Marcion in a single passage as an apostle.¹ And the same analogy may fairly and reasonably be extended to Cerinthus, Valentinus, Basilides and other heresiarchs. Our historical authorities were unfortunately the professional theological enemies of these great leaders of religion, and we learn little of the organisation of their churches, but only of their

half of the second century, even with the help of Diogenes' lantern, is a fruitless enterprise. We must take the men as we find them, and make the best use of them with all their faults. Clement is the best selection that I can make.

¹ In *Anti-Marcion*, iv. 9, Tertullian speaks of the partiality of Christ for fishermen, and then remarks: *Aliud est, si affectavit de naviculariorum collegio allegere, habiturus Apostolum quandoque nauclerum Marcionem.* It is another thing, if he tried to choose out of the college of ship-owners or masters, he would have at any time the skipper Marcion an apostle.

tenets, and these in an incoherent and unintelligible form, and they are called, not by the official dignities which they held in their own communities, but by opprobrious names, such as heretics, barbarians, Pharaohs, blasphemers, sons of Satan, beasts, dogs, snakes, and wolves. In the absence of information regarding these religious leaders and their churches which the writers of their history, Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius have withheld from us, one is necessitated to fall back on historical presumption. If Dr Westcott should descend to posterity by the hand of rival religionists as a dog, wolf, or snake and horrid blasphemer, who infested the sea-bound land of England, posterity would be compelled to resort to historical presumption, founded upon his writings, or such few of them as shall have survived, or other indications, to ascertain that he was a highly cultured, refined and learned bishop of the Church of England. Some of these ancient writings of the first half of the second century have survived to our times. It is unimportant for the purposes of my investigation that the text of these ancient documents has undergone changes. But their general character and contents may be historically presumed to have been retained; just as our Canonical Gospels, although they have certainly undergone much change, retain the same general character and contents which they possessed in the second century. The identity of these surviving documents with those referred to by Justin is recognised by evidence of various sorts, testimony, contents and general circumstances. All this is good evidence, but there is unfortunately in regard to some of them too scanty evidence of this good quality to produce absolute conviction. Of these kinds of evidence, contents or internal evidence is the best. In ordinary life this is the evidence that is the most convincing. When you cash a cheque for £50 at a bank, the cashier hands you a bag, containing money, which you accept without question as containing the right amount. This is evidence from testimony. But when you go home, a doubt arises in your mind, from the possibility of error. You count the contents of the bag to assure yourself, and after this proceeding, which is internal evidence, no particle of doubt remains in your mind. The actual presence of poison, the indications of disease in the organs, and injury on the body are the best evidences of the cause of death. Circumstances also furnish good evidence. More murderers are condemned by circumstantial evidence than by the testimony of eye-witnesses of the murder. The misfortune with regard to these early Christian writings is that evidence regarding their contents, and hence their identity, of their age and authors, is in most cases too scanty to produce absolute conviction.

Cerinthus. Looking upon this heresiarch as an apostle of his religious community, there is no reason for excluding his writings as constituents of the general Memoirs of the Apostles of Justin. This author does not say that these apostles were the twelve. The idea that there were only twelve or fourteen apostles, which the later theologians of the second century, as well as those of our own day, falsely and deceitfully generate and encourage in all manner of illicit ways, did not prevail in the days of Justin. There were numerous contemporary apostles in Justin's days, and the writings of these apostles were summed up by him as the Memoirs of the Apostles. The Memoirs of Cerinthus have not survived to our days in a separate form, but they had been incorporated into the Fourth Gospel. The result of my attempted restoration of them in my former work cannot, however, be regarded as a historical document, as it was made only on rational and logical grounds, *i.e.*, on the connection or consistency with the known views of Cerinthus. Had I historical grounds to go upon, as in my restoration of the Marcionite Gospel, there would be no serious critical objection to the recognition of the restored writings as historical. As the Fourth Gospel was not in existence in the days of Justin, certain allusions apparently derived from it, and from no other known source, may be reasonably regarded as taken from the Memoirs of the Apostle Cerinthus, which were the basis of the Fourth Gospel. The interview with Nicodemus is one of these (*First Apology*, lxi.), and the remark in *Trypho*, lxiii., "His blood did not spring from the seed of man, but from the will of God," may be perhaps regarded as another, though it is used for a perverted purpose. A third example may be the expression "Sons of God," found in John i. 12, which was probably taken from 1 John iii. 1. Justin says that "we from Christ are called and are the true sons of God" (*Trypho*, cxxiii.); and again, "all are deemed worthy to be able to become sons of the Highest" (*ibid.*, cxxiv.). Epiphanius mentions the writings of Cerinthus as possibly used by the compiler of the Gospel of Luke, (li. 7: *Pet.*, i. 528; see *ante*, p. 39). I have not been able to identify many incidents or passages; but it should be remembered that we have no means of ascertaining what omissions were made in the writings of Cerinthus by the compilers of the Fourth Gospel. Marcion may have used it, and have followed Cerinthus' example in excluding from his narrative the early history of Jesus, beyond the statements of his bringing up in Nazareth and his attendance at the synagogue of the village. Justin could not have derived his knowledge of the Logos from the Fourth Gospel, which was published after his day, but probably from

the Memoirs of Peter, which were subsequently called the Gospel of Peter, or according to the Hebrews, from the book of James and other sources.

The narratives of Cleobius and Hermogenes, which Epiphanius says might have been used by Luke (see p. 39), are lost. Cleobius was probably anterior to Cerinthus, as he is spoken of in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vi. 8 and 16, in association with Simon Magus, as having "compiled poisonous books under the name of Christ and of His disciples, and do carry them about to deceive you who love Christ and us His servants" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, p. 115). The *Apostolic Constitutions* were written after the publication of the Canonical Gospels, probably in the third century, but were largely interpolated. Tertullian wrote a treatise in refutation of Hermogenes' doctrines.

The Protevangelium, or Gospel of James. This document has the reputation of being the first Gospel, and it is undoubtedly very ancient. It is not alluded to by title or author's name by Justin, because it had no title though probably it had the author's name in his days. The earliest name it received was the Book of James, by which it was indicated by Origen (*On Matt.*, Bk. x. 17) in the earlier half of the third century. Origen cited it as one authority for the tradition (the other authority being the Gospel according to Peter) that the brethren of Jesus were the sons of Joseph by a former wife before he married Mary. This statement is found in ch. ix. of the Gospel of James, in which it is said that when Mary was allotted to Joseph by the high priest, Joseph refused her because he had sons and was an old man, and Mary was a young girl. Again, in his work against Celsus, Origen refers to the cave in which Jesus was born, not according to our Canonical Gospel, but to the Gospel of James. He says: "With respect to the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, if any one desires, after the prophecy of Micah, and after the history recorded in the Gospels by the disciples of Jesus, to have additional information from other sources, let him know that, in conformity with the narrative in the Gospel regarding His birth, there is shown at Bethlehem the cave where He was born, and the manger in the cave where He was wrapped in swaddling clothes" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Celsus*, i. 51, page 453). The Gospel of *James* is not named by Origen, but it contains the story of the cave (ch. xxi.) and of the manger (ch. xxii.); both passages are quoted further on (pp. 439, 440). Clement of Alexandria has a curious passage: "But so Mary, not being in childbed (λεχῶν), seemed and even now seems to many to *have* been in childbed, on account of the birth of the child; for some say that being

examined after her confinement she was found a virgin.”¹ This extraordinary statement has no corroboration in the Canonical Gospels, nor in the whole mass of theological literature of nineteen centuries, except in the Gospel of James and its ally the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (see p. 444). In ch. xix. of the Gospel of James is a strange account of the appearance of the infant in a cave overshadowed by a luminous cloud and filled with a bright light, in which Mary had taken shelter; the midwife who was summoned exclaimed, To-day is a great day to me because I have seen this new sight; and she tells her companion outside, Salome, Salome, I have a new sight to narrate to you; a virgin hath brought forth, which her nature has no room for, ὁ οὐ χωρεῖ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆς. Salome was incredulous, and positively refused to believe without an inquest, which she accordingly made, and was convinced.² There can be no possible doubt that Clement possessed the Gospel of James. In the *Stromata*, i. 1, sect. 11, Clement mentions James as a holy apostle, who in association with Peter, John, and Paul (these being second century namesakes of the older apostles), transmitted the tradition of the blessed doctrine, which descended from father to son. Papias, writing somewhat after the middle of the second century, tells us that he gathered up information in conversation. “If anyone who had followed the presbyters (or elders) should come, I questioned him about the words of the elders; what Andrew, or what Peter said, or what Philip, or what Thomas, or James; or what John, or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord; and what Aristion, and the presbyter or elder John say. For I did not take it that things from books help me so much as things from the living and remaining voice” (Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 39). Theologians, including Bishop Lightfoot, maintain that the words presbyters or elders, and disciples of the Lord, spoken of by Papias, mean the twelve apostles; but they always forget to mention that an eminent but nameless author was strongly of opinion that these words also mean twelve broomsticks. The natural meaning of Papias’ language is that he gathered information from persons who had followed and had personally known the presbyters or elders, who

¹ ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔοικεν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέχρι νῦν δοκεῖ ἡ Μαριάμ λεχῶ εἶναι διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου γέννησιν οὐκ οὕσα λεχῶ· καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθῆισάν φασί τινες παρθένον εὐρεθῆναι (*Strom.*, vii. 16, sect. 93; Klotz’ text). The learned translator of Clement in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library renders the word λεχῶ “in the puerperal state” (vol. ii. p. 476).

² This Gospel apparently contradicts itself, because in ch. xiii. it states that Joseph found Mary pregnant after her sixth month in his charge, and the statement is repeated in ch. xv.; the meaning, however, is that there were no signs of parturition. In all these Gospels, including the Canonical, unbelief is dealt with as a serious and punishable offence. The examining hand of the unbelieving Salome got “on fire” (ch. xx.).

were of course disciples of the Lord, in the same sense and degree that Bishops Eusebius, Lightfoot, and Westcott are also disciples of the Lord. It is chronologically difficult to think that the interlocutors of Papias in the middle of the second century had a personal acquaintance with any of the twelve. These interlocutors undoubtedly enjoyed the acquaintance of presbyters who had been christened with the names of the twelve, but that distinction did not confer upon them identity with the twelve. James appears in the Papias list as a person of consequence, and the only James of the second century of whom we know anything is the author of the *Protevangelium* or Gospel of James. He evidently was deceased in the days of Papias, but had been personally known to individuals whom Papias met; so that a reasonable date can be assigned to James, namely, the first half of the second century. Hence it becomes an historical fact that the Gospel of James was prior to Justin, *c.* A.D. 150; and that it was used by him is proved by the following facts, which come under the head of internal evidence. Passages in the Gospel of James are found to correspond with passages in Justin's works; and the natural and logical presumption, or rather inference, is that the later writer borrowed from the earlier. It would be convenient to associate passages from the Gospel of James which correspond with the Gospel of Luke, the first as well as subsequent editions of the latter; and thus would be exhibited one source from which the compilers of the Canonical Gospel derived their materials.

GOSPEL OF JAMES,
A.D. 117-150.

JUSTIN MARTYR,
A.D. 150.

GOSPEL OF LUKE,
A.D. 168-177.

<p>xi. And behold the angel of the Lord stood before her, saying, Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour before the Lord of all, and shalt conceive by His word. And she hearing disputed in herself, saying, If I shall conceive from the living Lord God, and shall bear as every woman beareth? And the angel of the Lord said, Not so, Mary; for the power of the Lord shall overshadow thee, and the holy thing born of thee shall be called the Son of the High-</p>	<p><i>1st Apol.</i>, xxxiii. But the power of the Lord having come upon the virgin, overshadowed her. . . . And the angel of God sent to the same virgin at that time announced to her, saying, Behold thou shalt conceive in belly from the Holy Spirit, and shalt bear a son, and he shall be called the Son</p>	<p>i. 26. ff. 1st edit. But at that very time the angel Gabriel was sent from God, who said to the virgin also, Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy belly, and bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great and shall be called the Son of the Highest. . . . And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall over-</p>
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GOSPEL OF JAMES,
A.D. 117-150.

JUSTIN MARTYR,
A.D. 150.

GOSPEL OF LUKE,
A.D. 168-177.

est. And thou shalt call his name Jesus; and he shall save his people from their sins. And Mary said, Behold the handmaiden of the Lord before him; be it to me according to thy word.

of the Highest, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins. . . . It is right then to regard the spirit and power from God as nothing else than the Word, who is also the first-born to God.

Trypho, c. But the virgin Mary, having received faith and joy, the angel Gabriel announcing to her that the spirit of the Lord would come upon her, and the power of the Highest would overshadow her, therefore also the holy thing begotten of her is the Son of God, answered, Be it unto me according to thy word.

xii. And the priest blessed her, and said, Mary, the Lord hath magnified thy name, and thou shalt be blessed in all the generations of the earth. And Mary having received joy, went to Elisabeth, her kinswoman. And she knocked at the door. And Elisabeth hearing ran to the door and opened, and beholding Mary, she blessed her and said,

No quotation.

shadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. . . . And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.

i. 39 ff. And Mary entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth. . . . When Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth said, Blessed art thou among women. . . . And whence *is* this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in

GOSPEL OF JAMES,
A.D. 117-150.

JUSTIN MARTYR,
A.D. 150.

GOSPEL OF LUKE,
A.D. 168-177.

Whence *is* this to me that the mother of my Lord should come to me? for behold that which is in me leaped and blessed thee. And Mary was forgetful of the mysteries which Gabriel the archangel told her . . . and said, Who am I, Lord, that all the generations of the earth bless me?

x. And at the time Zacharias became speechless, and Samuel was in his stead, until Zacharias spake.

x. And the priest remembered the girl Mary, that she was of the tribe of David, and was pure to God.

xvii. And there was a command from Augustus the King that all in Bethlehem of Judæa be enrolled. And Joseph said, I shall enrol my sons; but what shall I do with this girl? How shall I enrol her? my wife? I am ashamed. But daughter? But all the sons of Israel know that she is not my daughter. The day of the Lord will bring it about as the Lord willeth. And he saddled the ass, and set her upon *it*, and his son led and Joseph followed.

No quotation.

1st *Apol.*, xxxiv.

And hear what part of the earth he was to be born in, as another prophet Micah foretold. And he spoke thus, And thou, Bethlehem, land of Judæa.

. . . Now there is a village in the country of the Jews, distant thirty stadia from Jerusalem, in which Jesus Christ was born, as you can learn from the registers made by Cyrenius, being your first procurator in Judæa.

Trypho, lxxviii. But, the first taxing in Judæa then taking place under

mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy. . . . And Mary said, . . . from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.

i. 20. And, behold, thou [Zacharias] shalt be dumb, and not able to speak, until the day that these things shall be performed, because thou believest not my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season.

ii. 1 ff. 1st edition. And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. (*And* this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) Joseph went up from Galilee unto Bethlehem, to be taxed with Mary . . . because they were of the house and family of David.

2nd edit. The family error was corrected thus: "Joseph went up from Galilee unto Bethlehem (because he was of the house and lineage of David) to be taxed with Mary," etc. (See *ante*, p. 112.) Mary was of the tribe of Levi, being the cousin of Elisabeth, the wife of Zacharias the priest.

GOSPEL OF JAMES,
A.D. 117-150.

JUSTIN MARTYR,
A.D. 150.

GOSPEL OF LUKE,
A.D. 168-177.

Cyrenius, he went from Nazareth, where he dwelt, to Bethlehem, whence he was, to be taxed, for his race was from the tribe Juda inhabiting that land.

1st *Apol.*, xlv.
We say that Christ was born one hundred and fifty years ago under Cyrenius.

xviii. And he found a cave there, and led her in, and placed his sons by her, and going forth he sought a midwife in the country of Bethlehem.

xxi. And behold Joseph made ready to go into Judæa. And there was a great tumult in Bethlehem of Judæa; for Magi came saying, Where is he that was born King of the Jews? for we saw his star in the East, and are come to worship him. And Herod having heard was troubled, and sent servants to the Magi; and summoned the high priests and questioned them saying, How is it written regarding the Christ, where is he born? They say to him, In Bethlehem of Judæa; for so it is written. And he dismissed them. And he questioned the Magi, saying to them, What sign did ye see of the King that is born? And the Magi said, We saw a star of enormous size shining among these

Trypho, lxxviii.
For truly this King Herod (Magi having at that time come to him from Arabia and said that we know from a star appearing in heaven that a King is born in your country, and we come to worship him), having enquired from your elders of the people, and the elders having said in Bethlehem, that it was so written in the prophet; and thou Bethlehem, land of Juda, . . .; then the Magi from Arabia having gone to Bethlehem, and worshipped the child and offered presents to him, gold and frankincense and myrrh;

i. 1st edit. The expunged verses contained the story of the Magi and of the cruelty of Herod. (See *ante*, p. 114.)

GOSPEL OF JAMES,
A.D. 117-150.

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stars and dimming them, so that the stars were not seen ; and so we knew that a King was born to Israel, and we came to worship him. And Herod said, Go and seek ; and if ye find *him*, inform me, so that I also coming shall worship him. And the Magi departed. And behold the star which they saw in the East went before them until where they came to the cave, and it stopped upon the head of the cave. And the Magi saw the child with his mother Mary, and they took out from their bag gold and frankincense and myrrh. And having been warned by the angel not to go into Judæa, they proceeded to their own country by another road.

xxii. And Herod knowing that he was tricked by the Magi, being angry, sent slayers, saying to them, Slay the babes from two years and under. And Mary having heard that they killed the babes, becoming alarmed, took and swathed the child and put it into a manger of oxen.

xix. And the midwife said, My soul has been magnified this day. Ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου.

xxiv. And the lot fell upon Simeon ; for this was he who was warned solemnly by the Holy Spirit that he would not see death until he saw the Christ in flesh.

after that, they were warned by a revelation after worshipping the child in Beth-lehem not to re-turn to Herod. . . . The child having been born at that time in Bethlehem, since Joseph had not in that village where to lodge, he lodged in some cave near the village. . . . And Herod, the Magi from Arabia not returning to him, . . . not knowing the boy, whom the Magi had come to

worship, simply ordered all the boys in Bethlehem to be slain.

No quotation.

No quotation.

i. 46. And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord. Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου.

ii. 25, 26. There was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon. . . . And it was revealed to him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ.

GOSPEL OF JAMES,
A.D. 117-150.

JUSTIN MARTYR,
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xxiii. And one of them having ventured, went in, and he saw near the altar blood congealed, and a voice saying Zacharias is murdered, and his blood shall not be wiped out until his avenger come.

No quotation.

xi. 51. From the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple: verily I say unto you, It shall be required of this generation.

The above parallelisms show beyond a doubt that the Gospel of James was one source of information not only to Pseudo-Luke, but to the later interpolators of the Third Gospel. The Marcionite writer evidently rejected the history fabricated by James, for no part of it has been used by him. The internal proofs of antiquity in this Gospel are marked. Prophecy had not yet come into active service. James was ignorant of the story of the flight and the sojourn in Egypt, as well as the residence of Joseph at Nazareth: these stories were invented after his time by another apostle, whose Gospel comes up next for consideration. The facts justify the popular belief that the Gospel of James is the most ancient of the Apocryphal Gospels, and, it may be added, of all so-called Gospels or continuous narratives; its age and authority are well attested by testimony, contents and circumstances, the best evidence available. It should be remembered that it was not published as a Gospel, but without a title. In the concluding short chapter, or colophon, the author gives his name, but does not call himself an apostle; and states the circumstances under which he wrote his 'history,' not Gospel, in the desert in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which was his place of residence. We are indebted for this ancient Gospel to William Postell, a professor of foreign languages at Paris, who brought it from the Levant, declared it to be the first Gospel, or Protevangelium, and published it, translated into Latin, in 1552, and in Greek in 1564. Postell was subjected to much abuse and persecution for "giving such a document to the world": his statement that it was read in all the Oriental Churches was "mainly correct," as Bishop Ellicott expresses it, in his article on the "Apocryphal Gospels" (*Cambridge Essays*, 1856).

The next Gospel appears in Latin in Tischendorf's collection, 1853, under the title *Liber de ortu Beatæ Mariæ et infantia Salvatoris. A beato Matthæo Evangelista Hebraice scriptus et a beato Jeronimo Presbytero in Latinum translatus*. Book of the birth of the blessed Mary and the infancy of the Saviour. Written in Hebrew by the blessed Evangelist Matthew, and translated into Latin by the blessed

Presbyter Jerome. The running heading of Tischendorf's pages is *Pseudo-Matthæi Evangelium*, or Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, which is the name for this Gospel adopted by English translators. The evidence is not so good for this Gospel as for the preceding : but as I remarked before, the investigator of the theological mysteries of the second century must not be too exigent, but must content himself with a little trustworthy evidence. The evidence from testimony is scanty, and the facts are isolated and scattered over a period of three centuries, or perhaps four. But the internal evidence is good, and better than that for the previous Gospel. The deficiency of evidence from testimony is supplied by that from contents : and the evidence for this Gospel is greatly circumstantial. The names given to this Gospel were manifestly of late date : the Gospel originally had no title or author's name. This fact is a clear indication of very ancient date, before the second half of the second century, when Christian writings began to be published with titles and authors' names ; and it was obviously one reason of the difficulty of its identification, for the writers who used it had no means of specifying it. The statement in the heading that it was written in Hebrew by the Evangelist Matthew cannot be accepted as veritable ; nor can the letters from the two bishops and those from Jerome in reply, which Tischendorf prints, be accepted as genuine. All these were the outcome of the love of deception and fraud of ecclesiastics. The Latin Gospel, however, was a translation, but the original Greek is lost. Though Jerome was not the translator, he was acquainted with this Gospel, as the learned translators of the Apocryphal Gospels in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library state (*Introduction*, p. viii.), "there are in his works many allusions to some of the legends mentioned in this book." I accept this fact on their sole authority, as they give no references, and it would be a very serious task to me to wade through the four thick folio volumes of Jerome's works to find out. The Gospel was also known to Epiphanius, who died in A.D. 402. In speaking of the criticism of Celsus and others on the chronology of the narrative in the Gospel of Luke (see *ante*, p. 114), this simple and honest bishop enters upon a vindication of the general evangelical chronology (li. 9 ; *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 431). I cannot completely understand the episcopal explication either from the Greek or from the Latin of Petavius ; but the starting point appears to be that the concourse of people gathered from all the world to be registered at Bethlehem being considerable, there was no dwelling space in the village. As the people who were registered gradually went away, there was more living room. But this process took two years!! Joseph apparently went away and returned to Nazareth, and came

back to Bethlehem with Mary and the child as if to the same registration. After this muddy point is got over, the episcopal meaning becomes clear. On the return to Bethlehem after two years, Mary was able to suit herself with a lodging; and it was not the same as that in which Luke testified that she had taken up her abode (Luke ii. 7). At this time the magi paid their visit; and they "found Mary, not in the cave where he (*i.e.* Jesus) was born; but, as the Gospel has, the star led them to the place *where the child was. And entering the house they found the child with Mary*; not in a manger or in a cave but in a house." Hence, expounds Epiphanius, is the accurate truth of the matter, that two years had elapsed between the birth of the child and the coming of the magi. But on that very night, two years after the nativity, the angel gave the order for the departure to Ægypt; and the whole family remained in Ægypt for another two years; and it was subsequently to the death of Herod, which Epiphanius dated four years after the nativity, clearly thereby exposing the inaccuracy of Archbishop Ussher, who dated the death of Herod in the year 4 B.C., that Joseph returned to Judæa. The Gospel quoted by Epiphanius was that of Pseudo-Matthew: the words in italics are the words of Matthew (ch. ii. 9 and 11), and of Pseudo-Matthew (ch. xvi.), a little pruned, but the chronology is exclusively that of Pseudo-Matthew. The cave is mentioned in Pseudo-Matthew (ch. xiii.), but not in the Canonical Gospels. The good bishop found a difficulty in specifying the Gospel he quoted from, because it had neither a title nor author's name; and this indicates the great antiquity of the nameless Gospel. The fact that the bishop was able to read and quote this nameless Gospel implies that it was written in Greek, for the simple reason that Epiphanius was ignorant of both Hebrew and Latin,¹ for I have found no indications in such portions of his works which I have read that he was acquainted with these languages, but rather the contrary. That a bishop of the eminence of Epiphanius should use a nameless Gospel in explanation of the chronology of the Canonical Gospels is in itself an important fact, and indicates that the nameless Gospel was of recognised authority and great antiquity, for its authority was derived from its antiquity. I have already alluded to the strange view spoken of by Clement that Mary had not been in childbed. The same account reappears in Pseudo-Matthew, but in a neater and clearer form than

¹ I am certain that Epiphanius was ignorant of Latin, as he makes no reference to Tertullian's work on Marcion, and of Hebrew, for reasons that I state further on in connection with the Hebrew Gospels used by the Jewish sects. In so much of his writings as I have read, I have found no reference made to Syriac or other documents. Jerome was mistaken in his statement that Epiphanius knew Hebrew and Latin: he flattered Epiphanius.

in the Protevangelium, showing that the latter was the earlier writing. The birth took place when Mary was alone, while Joseph was away in search of a midwife. The latter on arrival found that "no pollution of blood was made on the child born; no pain in the bearing mother." Hence, as the Latin epigrammatically says, "*Virgo concepit, virgo peperit, virgo permansit.*" A virgin conceived, a virgin brought forth, a virgin remained. The signs of recent parturition, which Tertullian has described (see p. 49), were wanting. This is a better explanation than that generally adopted regarding what is called the sign of virginity. Clement found the statement not in the Protevangelium alone, for he had the means of specifying that single source as the Book of James, as Origen had, but in more than one writing, and he was unable to specify them from the absence of names or titles to these writings. The above are all the evidences from testimony that I have been able to gather, but the evidence from contents, or internal evidence, is very strong. And this evidence I shall present in the same form followed in regard to the Protevangelium.

GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-
MATTHEW, A.D. 117-150.

JUSTIN MARTYR,
A.D. 150.

GOSPEL OF LUKE,
A.D. 168-177.

ix. The angel appeared to her saying, Blessed art thou, Mary, because thou hast prepared in thy womb a habitation for the Lord. . . . Which when she heard, she trembled and feared. Then the angel of the Lord added, Fear not, Mary; thou hast found favour with God; behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bear a king, who shall fill not only the earth but heaven, and shall reign for ever and ever.

No quotation.

i. 28 ff. And the angel came in unto her and said, Hail, *thou that art* highly favoured, the Lord *is* with thee: . . . and when she saw him, she was troubled . . . and the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God. And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son . . . and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

xiii. The angel commanded the beast to stop because the time of bearing had arrived; and he directed the blessed Mary that she should descend from the

No quotation.

ii. 1-20. First edit. And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And the angel of the Lord

GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-
MATTHEW, A.D. 117-150.

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beast, and enter a cave under a cavern, in which light never was, but always darkness, because it could not receive the light of day. And when the blessed Mary had entered into it, it began to lighten with complete splendour, as if it was the sixth hour of the day; a divine light so illumined the cave, that neither in the day nor in the night light was there wanting, so long as the blessed Mary was there. And there she brought forth a male, whom *while* being born the angels immediately surrounded, whom, *when* born and standing at once upon his feet, they adored saying, Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will.

. . . . For the shepherd of sheep also declared that they had seen angels in the middle of the night saying a hymn, praising and blessing the God of heaven, and saying that the Saviour of all was born, who is Christ the Lord, in whom the safety of Israel shall be restored.

xxxvii. And since Joseph was a carpenter, and made of wood nothing else but yokes of oxen and ploughs and implements for turning up the soil and suited for agriculture, and made wooden bed-steads (or charpoys), it happened that a certain youth desired a charpoy of six cubits to be made for him. And Joseph ordered

Trypho, lxxxviii. And Jesus having come to the Jordan, and been known to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, and seemed obscure, as the Scriptures announced, and known to work at carpentry,

appeared to the shepherds announcing joy to them, because there was born in the house of David, a Saviour who is Christ the Lord. Then a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will.

Later ed., v. 9. And lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them and the glory of the Lord shone round about them (A. V. and R. V.).

The fact that Jesus was a carpenter was suppressed in the Canonical Gospels in the second century. No better authority for the latter fact can be adduced than that of Origen, who says "that in none of the Gospels current in the churches is Jesus himself ever described as being a carpenter" (Ante-Nicene Ch.

GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-
MATTHEW, A.D. 117-150.

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his boy [Jesus] to cut the wood with an iron saw according to the measure which he had sent.

ploughs and yokes, when among men, and through these teaching the symbols of righteousness and an active life, etc.

Lib., *Celsus*, vi. 34; vol. ii., p. 375). Celsus, however, learned the fact from the so-called Apocryphal Gospels. The fact was introduced after the time of Origen into Mark vi. 3. It is difficult to believe that the information was not derived from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.

xv. But on the eighth day circumcising the child, his name was called Jesus, as it was called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb. But after the days of purification of Mary, according to the law of Moses, were fulfilled, Joseph took the infant to the temple of the Lord. And when the infant had received circumcision, they offered for him a pair of turtle doves and two chicks of pigeons.

. . . . Now there was in the temple a certain man of God, perfect and just, whose name *was* Simeon, a hundred and twelve years old. He had received a response from the Lord that he would not taste death unless he saw Christ the son of God living in the flesh. When he had seen the infant, he exclaimed in a loud voice, saying, God has visited his people and the Lord has fulfilled his promise. And after that he took him in his *pallium* (or cloak) and kissing his feet, and said, Now, Lord, thou lettest depart thy servant in peace, according to thy word,

Not quoted.

ii. 21 ff. And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcision of the child, his name was called Jesus, which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb. And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present *him* to the Lord; . . . and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtle doves, and two young pigeons. And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name *was* Simeon; and the same was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God,

GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-
MATTHEW, A.D. 117-150.

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because my eyes have seen thy salvation (*salutare*), which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, a light for the revelation of Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel.

There was also in the temple of the Lord, Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asser, who had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity; and this widow was now through (*per* or over) eighty-four years; who had never departed from the temple of the Lord, attending to fastings and prayers. She likewise similarly adored the infant, saying that in him is the redemption of the age.

and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, etc., and the glory of thy people Israel. . . . And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser; she was of great age, and had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity; and she *was* a widow of about four score and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served *God* with fastings and prayers night and day. And she coming in at that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.

The above are all the parallelisms with the Gospel of Luke found in these two ancient writings, but there are others with the Gospel of Matthew. The closeness of the song of Simeon in Pseudo-Matthew to the Latin of the Vulgate has given rise to the hasty opinion that it was merely copied from the latter. I think otherwise. The song was probably not the original production of the writer of Pseudo-Matthew, but was one of several that were current in the second century, and was appropriated by him. Jerome's version, which is the basis of the Vulgate, was, I think, the popular Latin translation which was current in his days. The retention of the word *salutare*, instead of the correct word, *salutem*, for salvation, σωτηρίον, indicates this. The translation of the song in Pseudo-Matthew was doubtless touched up, and brought to square with the Vulgate, just as the same song quoted in the works of Irenæus was similarly improved and brought up to date by his Latin translator (see p. 120). But without definite proof to the contrary, it cannot be admitted that the song, perhaps in a cruder form, did not exist in the original writing of Pseudo-Matthew. The references to prophecy, the residence at Nazareth, the flight to and sojourn in Egypt, all which were wanting in the Protevangelium, indicate that Pseudo-Matthew was a later writer, whose invention went beyond the earlier writer's.

Pseudo-Matthew, under the name of Matthew, is associated with Thomas, as the writer of an apocryphal Gospel, by Origen, in a passage which is quoted further on. The belief that Matthew wrote a Hebrew Gospel, or rather Logia, is a very ancient one, and is mentioned by Papias; but nobody knew what this Hebrew Gospel was, and I have not succeeded in unravelling the ancient mystery.

The next ancient writing is known in translations by the name of *The Gospel of Thomas*. It is of great antiquity, the evidence of which is very good. It has been called by various names, and exclusive of the name given to it by modern translators, Tischendorf enumerates five others in Greek manuscripts. This is a proof that it was originally published without a title of its own, a clear indication of its antiquity, going back to the period when Christian writings were published without titles, that is, to the first half of the second century. Its author writes in the first person, giving his name, also a proof of antiquity, thus: "I Thomas the Israelite declare to all you brethren of the nations," thus revealing himself to be a Jew addressing Gentiles or pagans. Eusebius (*Ecl. Hist.*, iii. 25) speaks of it conjointly with other uncanonical writings as the Gospels of Peter, Thomas and Matthew, as adduced by heretics under the names of the apostles. The historian was clear-sighted in speaking of the writers of these unofficial Gospels, but his vision failed him completely when discoursing of the interlocutors of Papias and of their reminiscences of the very same persons as these writers, who, in connection with Papias, it suited Eusebius to view as the twelve (*Ecl. Hist.*, iii. 39). However, his testimony on this point is useful, as it shows that there was an individual named Thomas, a person of some distinction, about whom Papias desired information from living persons who had known him. This individual, Thomas, mentioned by Papias, was hence not one of the twelve, but being personally known to men living a little after the middle of the second century, his date was the earlier half of the same century. It is hence justifiable to associate this individual Thomas with the apocryphal Gospel. The Thomas of Papias was a presbyter or elder, and as the function of apostle was often combined with that of presbyter, it is not improbable that he was also an apostle. Though Eusebius was pleased to call the Gospels of Thomas, Matthew and Peter heretical, yet these writers being apostles and presbyters in their day, their writings were not heretical in their own times, but became so retrospectively, after the Canonical Gospels were compiled later on. Origen speaks cursorily of the Gospel of Thomas; he says, according to his Latin translator: "I know the Gospel which is called according to Thomas and according to Matthew, and we read many others, that

we may not seem to be ignorant of any thing, on account of those who think that they know something if they have known these" (Homily i. on Luke). Hippolytus also speaks of the Gospel according to Thomas, which was in use among the Naasseni or snake worshippers, a Pagan-Christian sect of the first half of the second century. He says, the Naasseni "explicitly hand down in the Gospel inscribed according to Thomas, saying so: He who seeks me shall find *me* in children from seven years; for there in the fourteenth year concealed I am made visible." Hippolytus immediately adds: "This is not the language of Christ, but of Hippocrates saying, A child of seven years is half of a father" (*Miller*, v. 7, 90, p. 101; Ante-Nicene Christ. Lib., *Hippolytus*, i. 133). I do not think the saying of the Naasseni is a quotation, but rather a generalisation from the Apocryphal Gospel, which treats of the doings of the child Jesus from five to twelve years of age. These early churches, or bodies of religionists, were not scrupulous about changing the words or meaning of documents to render them agreeable to their ideas. It was a small matter to change the numbers five and twelve in the Gospel, to the more propitious numbers seven and fourteen. Professor Rendel Harris tells us an amusing history of how the early Palestinian Churches changed the evangelical diet of John the Baptist from *locusts* in the Gospel, to *pancakes* (i.e., *chupatties*), according to their ideas of the dietary appropriate to a holy man. If regarded as a quotation the passage is not found in the Gospel of Thomas; but it is clearly obvious from his remark that Hippolytus did not himself regard it as a verbal quotation. Tischendorf directs attention to ch. xxx. of Pseudo-Matthew, in which a passage occurs: "I was amongst you with infants and you knew me not." A most thoroughly satisfactory proof to my mind of both the antiquity and identity of the Gospel of Thomas is found in Irenæus (*Ad. Her.*, i. 20) who speaks of the "unspeakable number of apocryphal and spurious writings" put forth by the earliest heretics, the special heretics of whom he was discoursing being the Marcosians, a Pagan-Christian sect antecedent, I think, to Marcion, as far as I can make out the facts, in Irenæus' confused chronology and history. The passage is so important that I shall display it side by side with the corresponding place in the Apocryphal Gospel of our day.

IRENÆUS.

GOSPEL OF THOMAS.

i. 20. They receive besides even to that wicked and reckless *story*, as of the Lord, on the teacher saying to him, as the

vi. And he told him all the letters from Alpha to Omega with much distinctness and clearly. And looking at the

IRENÆUS.

GOSPEL OF THOMAS.

custom was, say Alpha, answered Alpha. And again the teacher telling him to say Beta, the Lord answered, You tell me first what is Alpha, and then I shall tell you what is Beta. And this they explain as he alone knowing the unknown, which he manifested in the type Alpha.

But they also change to a similar character some things of those having a place in the Gospel; as the answer to his mother, being twelve years of age: Know ye not that I must be about my Father's business? They say he announced to them the Father whom they knew not.

teacher Zacchæus, he saith to him, Thou that knowest not Alpha according to nature, how dost thou teach others Beta? Hypocrite! if thou knowest, first teach Alpha, and then we shall believe thee about Beta. Then he began to puzzle the master about the first letter, and he was not able to answer him.

xix. And being twelve years old . . . and Jesus said to them, Why seek ye me? Know ye not that I must be about my Father's business?

Irenæus thus testifies to the fact that a sect of the first half of the second century employed writings containing the story of Alpha and Beta, and of an answer made by Jesus to his mother when he was twelve years of age. Both these stories are to be found in the Gospel of Thomas. The expression of Irenæus regarding the latter story is in the Greek, *Ἐνία δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ κειμένων*, which I have translated as above. The ancient Latin translator (probably of the fourth century) renders the Greek thus: *Quædam autem eorum, quæ in evangelio posita sunt, i.e.* But some things of those which have been placed or put in the Gospel. This form of translation gives the impression, under the knowledge of the whole of the facts, that the story of the answer was put into the Canonical Gospel. The latest clerical modern translator, however, renders the passage in a manner which I consider unjustifiable, being divergent from the original: "Some passages, also, which occur in the Gospels" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Iren.*, vol. i. p. 79). The existence of the clause "Know ye not," etc., in the Gospel of Thomas implies the existence of the context in which it is found. In the dearth of information to the contrary the critic is obliged to proceed upon this presumption, and is justified in so doing. In my criticisms of the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels, I was compelled to accept the authenticity of the text of the whole story of the Gadarene swine (Luke viii. 26 ff.), on the strength of Tertullian's single and casual expression, "a multitude of demons calling itself legion" (see p. 153). The existence of the whole chapter xix. of the Gospel of Thomas, as

it has come down, must hence be conceded ; though of course the verbal accuracy of the text is not guaranteed. We thus find an incident circumstantially related in the Gospel of Thomas, a writing published in the first half of the second century, also related with much detail in the Gospel according to Luke, a writing published in the second half of the same century. The reasonable and critical inference is that the latter was derived from the former. The source from which Pseudo-Luke obtained the passage Luke ii. 41-52 is thus ascertained. The reader will observe that the literary finish of the story in Luke is superior to that in the Gospel of Thomas, and that unnecessary details have been omitted in the former.

GOSPEL OF THOMAS, A.D. 117-150.

GOSPEL OF LUKE, A.D. 168-177.

xix. And being twelve years old, his parents went to Jerusalem to the feast of the passover, after the custom, with their companions, and after the passover they returned to their home. And as they returned, the child Jesus went up to Jerusalem, but his parents thought him to be in the company. Having travelled the road one day they sought him in their company, and not finding him they were sorrowful, and turned back again to the city seeking him. And after the third day they found him in the temple sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing the law, and asking them questions. And all gave heed and wondered, how he, being a child, puzzled the elders and doctors of the people, explaining the chapters of the law and the parables of the prophets. And his mother having come, said to him, Why hast thou done this, son? behold sorrowing we have sought thee. And Jesus said to them, Why seek ye me? Know ye not that I must be about my Father's business? And the scribes and Pharisees said, Art thou the mother of this child? And she

ii. 41-52. Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover. And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast; and when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not of it. But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among *their* kinsfolk and acquaintance. And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him. And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions. And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. And when they saw him, they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How *is it* that ye sought me? wist [knew] ye not that I must be about my Father's business? And they understood

GOSPEL OF THOMAS, A.D. 117-150. GOSPEL OF LUKE, A.D. 168-177.

said, I am. And they said to her, Blessed art thou among women, for God has blessed the fruit of thy womb; for such glory and such virtue and wisdom we never either saw or heard. And Jesus having risen, followed his mother, and was subject to his parents. And his mother kept all the things that happened. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and grace. To him glory for ever and ever, amen.—Tischendorf's Gospel of Thomas, Greek, A.

not the saying which he spake unto them. And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them; but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.

I now come to the consideration of a writing used by Justin, and which he has specified by the name of the writer. The passage occurs in *Trypho*, cvi.,¹ and may be thus literally translated: And the saying to have-changed-the-name-of him Peter one of the apostles, and the having written in his memoirs this also happened, and after this also to have-changed-the-name-of others two brothers, being the sons of Zebedee to the name of Boanerges, which is sons of thunder, was an indication, etc. The Ante-Nicene Christian Library translates the above thus: "And when it is said that He changed the name of one of the apostles to Peter; and when it is written in the memoirs of Him that this so happened, as well as that He changed the names of other two brothers, the sons of Zebedee to Boanerges, which means sons of thunder; this was an announcement," etc. (*op. cit.*, p. 233). It will be noticed in the above translation that the antecedent to the pronoun αὐτοῦ, which can be rendered either 'his' or 'of him,' may be made to be either Peter or Jesus, so that the 'Memoirs' may be regarded either as the 'Memoirs of Peter' or the 'Memoirs of Jesus,' which latter signification is evidently adopted by the Ante-Nicene translator. The custom of Justin, however, was to associate the 'memoirs' with their writers, not their subject; throughout, his words are 'memoirs of the apostles,' never 'memoirs of Jesus.' That was not the ancient custom. Memoirs or *memorabilia* meant the memorials of the subject, not of the writer: for example, the *Memorabilia* of Socrates indicate

¹ Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνομακῆναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἓνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον καὶ τοῦτο, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφούς, υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου ὄντας, μετωνομακῆναι ὀνόματι τοῦ Βοανέργης, ὃ ἐστὶν υἱὸς βροντῆς, σημαντικὴν ἦν, κ. τ. λ. (*Trypho*, cvi.).

that Socrates was the subject, not the writer, who was Xenophon. To consider that in the above passage the reference is to the Memoirs of Jesus, would mean that Jesus was the writer of the memoirs, and not the subject. I do not think that view is tenable: it would be subversive of Justin's intention and custom. The reference of Justin was to the Memoirs of Peter, a writing which can be identified, and large fragments of which have survived to our days. I have already identified the Peter of Justin as the Peter spoken of by Papias in connection with Mark (see p. 409). The change of the names of Peter and of the sons of Zebedee alluded to by Justin as contained in the Memoirs of Peter is found in the Gospel according to Mark, iii. 16 and 17: the change of Peter's name is also found in John i. 42. The writer of the Memoirs of Peter is one of those apostles, regarding whom Papias made enquiries of persons who had known them: so that his date was the first half of the second century. It is further clear to me that Peter had left a writing from the statement made by Papias regarding him and his son Mark, quoted by Eusebius (*Ecl. Hist.*, iii. 39). This quotation has been translated by Bishop Lightfoot, Professor Crusè, and others; and to these translations no serious literary objection can be made. They are accurate and agreeable to the *words* of the original; but I do not think they convey the *meaning* which Papias intended. The personal, relative, and demonstrative pronouns appear to have been stumbling-blocks to the less literate of these ancient Greek writers. I have already spoken of the difficulty in numerous passages of the Fathers, especially Hippolytus and Epiphanius, of ascertaining the personality of the mysterious 'he' they speak of (see p. 116), and I have just been discussing the 'his' of Justin. There is a similar difficulty with the pronouns of Papias in this quotation. The usual meaning attached to the word ἐρμηνευτῆς used by Papias is 'interpreter,' and the passage is generally understood in the sense of the following note of Valesius, which Professor Crusè appends to his translation of the passage: "When he heard Peter preaching the word of God to the Jews in Hebrew, Mark carefully digested these things in the Greek language which concerned Christ" (Crusè's Eusebius' *Ecl. Hist.*, Bohn's ed., p. 115). Whatever may be the general meaning of the Greek word, secretary or interpreter, the special meaning in this passage is 'translator.' Mark was the translator of Peter, *i.e.* of Peter's writing. Papias wrote colloquial Greek, and Eusebius further says that he was a man very limited in his comprehension. I believe he confused his nominative cases and personal pronouns, and my grounds for this belief are the whole facts on the subject of Peter and Mark scattered over a period of

three centuries, which I shall bring together. The passage of Papias, when read as this illiterate writer intended, will be found to convey some historical facts which harmonise with other historical facts. I shall place in juxtaposition Bishop Lightfoot's translation and my own rendering, with Papias' Greek in a footnote.¹

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT'S TRANSLATION.

And the elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without however recording in order what was either said or done by Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him; but afterwards as I said (attended) Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs (of his hearers), but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's oracles. So then Mark made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he heard, or to set down any false statement therein (Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 39).

MY LITERAL TRANSLATION.

And the elder said this also: Mark having become the translator of Peter, wrote down accurately the things said and done by Christ, as much as *Peter* remembered (or recorded), but not in order. For *Mark* neither heard the Lord nor followed him; but, as I said, later on *followed* Peter, who made his teachings according to needs, but not making just as the order of the Lord's words, so that Mark made no mistake, having so written some things as *Peter* remembered (or recorded), for *Peter* made a care of one *thing* to omit nothing of those *things* which he heard, or to falsify any *thing* in them.

It will now be seen that Mark made a translation of Peter's writing, which might reasonably be inferred to have been in Hebrew and not Greek. Mark was not the only Greek translator of Peter, for Clement of Alexandria tells us that Glaucias, the master of Basilides, was also an interpreter or translator, ἑρμηνεία, of Peter (*Strom.*, vii. 17, sect. 106). As history does not record any other Peter but this one in the early part of the second century, I am justified in concluding that the Hebrew writing of Peter, of which there were two Greek translations, was the Memoirs of Peter spoken of by Justin.

¹ Καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε. Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενομένος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μὲν τοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. Οὐτέ γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥστερ' σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἐνιαγράφας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. Ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς (*Ecc. Hist.*, iii. 39. Bright's text).

Hegesippus, writing in the second half of the second century, spoke of some matters of information which he took from a foreign writing, which Eusebius has described in strange language, καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου (*Ecccl. Hist.*, iv. 22). This curious description has given a pretext to some, but not all theologians, unscrupulously to assert that it means a Syriac translation of the four Gospels! It is not easy to understand and translate, but I take it to mean a Gospel, both Syriac and essentially of the Hebrew dialect, according to the Hebrews. It should be remembered that the description of the writing as a Gospel, and the title "according to the Hebrews," are particulars due to Eusebius, not to Hegesippus. It is evident that there was a writing which Eusebius was acquainted with, and which was known as the Gospel according to the Hebrews. This is clear from the statement of Eusebius that Papias gives a history of a woman, which the former says is also contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews (*Ecccl. Hist.*, iii. 39). Bearing this fact in mind, it would not be unjustifiable to conclude that the writing quoted as the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, ii. 9, sect. 45) is the same writing. We thus find that a document existed in the second century which was known to Justin as the Memoirs of Peter, and to Papias, written in some strange language, Syriac and Hebrew, translated by two translators into Greek, known to Hegesippus and quoted by Clement as the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Papias mentions another Hebrew document which he describes as the Logia, written by Matthew in the Hebrew dialect, which had not been translated (Eusebius, *Ecccl. Hist.*, iii. 39). These two Christian documents are the only ones written in Hebrew known to history in the second century. In the third century, Origen quotes a very curious passage from the Gospel according to the Hebrews (*On John*, ii. 6). In the fourth century, Eusebius' knowledge of the Gospel according to the Hebrews has already been stated. The continuity of the history of the nameless document specified by Justin as the Memoirs of Peter or the Gospel according to the Hebrews of Eusebius and others, which latter name the document acquired at the close of the second century, is thus carried on unbroken to the beginning of the fourth century. Towards the close of the latter, Jerome speaks familiarly of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which he says he translated into both Greek and Latin (*De viris ill.*, 2 Jacobus). Here is a clear proof that it was not originally written in Greek. What the original language was is somewhat puzzling from Jérôme's description of it, just as it is from the description given by Eusebius quoted above, and which has furnished a

handle to unscrupulous theologians untruthfully to assert the Syriac translation of the four Gospels in the second century (see *ante*, p. 331). Jerome's description of the language is the following: *In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est* (*Adv. Pelag.*, III. i.). In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is written in the Chaldaic and Syrian language¹ but in Hebrew letters. These translations made by Jerome of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, both in Greek and Latin, were evidently not published or widely disseminated, for the Greek translation was unknown to Epiphanius, his contemporary; and both translations have been suppressed, by design I think, and have not been preserved in the collection of his works. Up to the time of Jerome the continuity of the history of the Memoirs of Peter or the Gospel according to the Hebrews is unbroken; but we hear nothing of the Logia of Matthew. This remarkable fact may be accounted for by the circumstance that the former had been very early translated into Greek by two translators, but the latter was never translated from the Hebrew. We hear finally of two Hebrew evangelical documents from the diligent and erudite Epiphanius: both these, he says, were in Hebrew, but he makes no statement regarding their translation. Nevertheless he actually gives us two Greek translations differing from each other, of the beginning of one of the Hebrew Gospels; a great feat, incomprehensible as accomplished by a man who was unacquainted with Hebrew, but perfectly intelligible when it is borne in mind that two Greek translations existed from early times of one of these Hebrew Gospels. Epiphanius tells us that the Nazarenes possessed a Gospel according to Matthew, written in Hebrew, and very complete, πληρόστατον: he was very certain that it was written in Hebrew from the beginning, ἐξ ἀρχῆς; but he did not know whether the genealogies from Abraham to Christ had been cut out from it (xxix. 9; *Pet.*, vol. i. p. 124). He further says that the Ebionites possessed a Gospel according to Matthew, not entire and perfectly complete, but bastardised, νεοθευμένω, and mutilated, which they call the Hebrew Gospel. The genealogies in Matthew were cut out. He gives a long quotation in Greek from the Hebrew Gospel, in which occurs the following passage: And John had raiment of camel's hair and a leathern² girdle around his loins. And his food,

¹ Justin, in his not very clear etymology of the word Satan, derives it from the language of the Jews and Syrians (*Trypho*, ciii.).

² Bishop Westcott translates "a girdle of skin" (*Introduction to Study of Gospels*, App. D, p. 472 of 8th ed.). This is a mistranslation. Epiphanius uses the adjective *leathern*, ζώνην δερματίνην, which are the exact words in the received Greek text of Matt. iii. 4. Petavius translates *zonam pelliceam*.

it says, was wild honey, the taste of which was that of manna, like a cake in oil. Quoting thus far, the irascible bishop could no longer restrain his wrath, but he breaks out into the remark that they change the word of truth into a lie by substituting *cakes* for *locusts*, ἐγκρίδας for ἀκριδας; the variation showing, Bishop Westcott says, that the Gospel was in Greek, thereby wrongfully giving the lie direct to his ancient episcopal brother. But rather, I think more charitably, that Epiphanius quoted the Greek translation of the Hebrew Gospel. Here was the source of Justin's description of the costume of John the Baptist, and of Matt. iii. 4. Epiphanius proceeds to quote in Greek the beginning of the Hebrew Gospel; and in the next section, after an angry remark on the lameness, crookedness, and the nothing-rightness of the Hebrew Gospel, and the statement that Cerinthus and Carpocrates relied upon this Gospel to prove that Christ was the natural offspring of Joseph and Mary, he again quotes in Greek the beginning of the Gospel; and it is remarkable that these two quotations in Greek of the beginning of this Hebrew Gospel do not verbally agree, showing that they were taken from different translations. I quote them side by side, literally translated.

xxx. 13. It was in the days of Herod, the King of the Jews, John came baptizing a baptism of repentance in the Jordan river, who was said to be of the race of Aaron the high priest, a son of Zacharias and Elisabet, and all went out to him (*Pet.*, vol. i. p. 138).

xxx. 14. It was in the days of Herod, King of the Jews, in the time of a high priest Caiaphas, a certain *man* John by name came baptizing a baptism of repentance, in the river of Jordan, and the rest (*Pet.*, vol. i. p. 138).

Bishop Westcott says this passage has apparently been interpolated from Luke i. 5 (*Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, App. D, p. 472, footnote 2, 8th ed.). I do not see how this statement can be considered fair and just, seeing that the Hebrew Gospel was of more ancient date than the Canonical Gospel. The impartial critic will rather decide that the introductory words in the Hebrew Gospel were imitated in the Gospel of Luke.

I have shown above that in the first half of the second century, history records the existence of only two evangelical Hebrew documents, one of which was untranslated into Greek, and the other translated into Greek by two translators. History records no other Hebrew documents as existing between this period and the close of the fourth century. At the close of the fourth century we find Epiphanius discoursing of two Hebrew Gospels, one of which was untranslated, and the other having two translations in Greek. I have

in no way dressed up these facts, but have simply brought them together, so that their correlation to each other may be perceived, although there is a wide interval between them of over two centuries. The conclusion that I draw is that these pairs of Hebrew documents are identical; and hence that Justin's Memoirs of Peter, which had been translated, is the same writing as the Gospel according to the Hebrews used by the Ebionites, and the untranslated Logia of Matthew was a Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes.

In speaking of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, Jerome informs us that it was known by various names. He says: *In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni secundum Apostolos, sive et plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum, quod et in Cæsariensi habetur bibliotheca*, etc. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which is written in Hebrew letters but in the Chaldaic and Syrian language, which the Nazarenes use to this day according to the apostles, or even, as many allege, according to Matthew, and which is in the library at Cæsaræa, etc. It would thus appear that there was confusion between the two Hebrew documents above spoken of, the same name, *according to Matthew*, being applied to both.¹ This confusion, however, does not interfere with the facts already stated. The plurality of names given to the same document is a clear proof that it possessed no name of its own; and hence is proof of the great antiquity of the document, reaching back to the first half of the second century, when Christian documents were published without titles. There is reason, then, for the document having other names also, though Jerome does not mention them all. A name by which the same document was known in ancient times was the Gospel of Peter, a better title than the Gospel of the Hebrews, as Peter wrote the document in his own name. This title, however, had fallen into disuse, as Eusebius says that no writer quotes such a Gospel. Neither he nor Jerome nor Epiphanius knew anything of it, obviously because they were unable to identify it. This was the Gospel used by the church at Rhossus, which Bishop Serapion condemned, as already stated (see p. 411). There is no testimony of individuals that this Gospel was the same as the Memoirs of Peter used by Justin: but the evidence of its contents affords proof that it was used by that ancient writer. The name may have been local and confined to Rhossus. The identity of the

¹ Eusebius tells us that Pantænus found "the writing of Matthew in letters of the Hebrews" in India. The curious description leads me to conclude that this was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was the work of Peter but confused with Matthew. Eusebius himself did not know what writing this was (*Ecc. Hist.*, v. 10).

Memoirs of Peter and of the Gospel according to the Hebrews has been ascertained by the evidence derived from testimony and circumstances. There are means of deriving further evidence from contents or internal evidence, which I shall now proceed to exhibit, appending at the same time proofs that this document, called the Memoirs of Peter by Justin, and by his successors, the Gospel of Peter and according to the Hebrews, was also utilised by the compilers of the Canonical Gospel of Luke and probably also by the Marcionite writer.

MEMOIRS OF PETER, OR
GOSPEL OF PETER,
or according to the Hebrews,
A.D. 117-150.

JUSTIN MARTYR,
A.D. 150.

GOSPEL OF LUKE,
A.D. 168-177.

No. 1. There came a man by name Jesus, and he was about thirty years old. (*Ephph.*, xxx. 13; *Pet.*, i. 137).

Trypho, lxxxviii. (Jesus) waited for thirty years, more or less, until John appeared.

iii. 23. And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age.

No. 2. And when he came to Capernaum, he entered into the house of Simon, surnamed Peter, and opened his mouth and said: As I passed along the lake of Tiberius, I chose John and James, sons of Zebedee, and Simon. . . . You then I wish to be twelve apostles (*ibid.*).

Trypho, cvi. The saying to have changed the name of him Peter one of the apostles . . . two brothers, sons of Zebedee.

iv. 31. And came down to Capernaum. . . . 38. And he arose out of the synagogue, and entered into Simon's house. v. 1. And it came to pass . . . he stood by the lake of Gennesaret. . . . 10. And so *was* also James and John, the sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. 11. They forsook all and followed him.

No. 3. And John had raiment of camel's hair and a leather girdle about his loins; and his food was wild honey, the taste of which was that of manna, like a cake in oil (*ibid.*).

Trypho, lxxxviii. (John) wearing only a leathern girdle and a vesture made of camel's hair, eating nothing but locusts and wild honey.

Not quoted.
(See Matt. iii. 4.)

No. 4. It was in the days of Herod, the King of the Jews, John came baptizing a baptism of repentance in the Jordan river, who was said to be of the race of Aaron the high priest, a son

Ibid. John sitting by the Jordan, and preaching a baptism of repentance.

i. 5. There was in the days of Herod, the King of Judæa. 5-25, 57-77. John represented to be the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, a daughter of Aaron. iii. 3. (John) came into all the

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of Zacharias and Elisabet,
and all went out to him
(*ibid.*).

No. 5. The people having
been baptized, Jesus also
came and was baptized by
John. And as he came up
from the water, the heavens
were opened and he saw the
holy Spirit of God in the
form of a dove, having come
down and entered into him.
And a voice was from heaven,
saying, Thou art my beloved
Son, in thee I am well
pleased. And again, To-day
have I begotten thee. And
immediately a great light
shone about the place. See-
ing which John says to him:
Who art thou Lord? And
again a voice from heaven to
him, This is my beloved Son,
in whom I am well pleased.
And then John having fallen
down before him, said: I
pray thee, Lord, you baptize
me. But he forbade him,
saying, Suffer *it*, for thus it
is becoming all things to be
fulfilled (*ibid.*).

Ibid. And then
Jesus having come
to the Jordan
river, where John
was baptizing, and
Jesus having come
down to the water,
even a fire ap-
peared in the Jor-
dan, and he com-
ing up from the
water, the apostles
of this very Christ
of ours wrote the
Holy Spirit like a
dove flew upon
him. . . . Then
the Holy Spirit
. . . in the form
of a dove flew
upon him, and at
the same time a
voice came from
the heavens. . . .
Thou art my Son,
this day I have
begotten thee.

No quotation.

No. 6. In the Gospel
according to the Hebrews,
. . . he says, If thy brother
has sinned in word, and
made thee satisfaction, seven
times in a day receive him.
Simon his disciple said to
him: Seven times in a day?
The Lord answered and said
to him: Yea, I say unto thee,
until seventy times seven.
For in the prophets also, for
often they were anointed with

country about Jordan,
preaching the baptism of
repentance.

iii. 21. 1st edit. Now when
all the people were baptized,
it came to pass that Jesus
also was coming to the bap-
tism, *being* of about thirty
years of age, and praying, the
heaven was opened, and the
Holy Ghost descended in a
bodily shape like a dove
upon him, which said, Thou
art my beloved Son; this
day have I begotten thee.

2nd edit. . . . in thee I
am well pleased.

xvii. 4. And if he trespass
against thee seven times in
a day, and seven times in a
day turn again to thee, say-
ing, I repent; thou shalt
forgive him. (See also Matt.
xviii. 21, 22.)

MEMOIRS OF PETER, OR
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the Holy Spirit, there was found word of sin (Jerome, *Ad Pelagianos*, iii. 1).

No. 7. It is written in a Gospel, which is styled according to the Hebrews, if any pleases to receive it, not as an authority, but as an illustration of the subject before us. Another rich man said to him, Master, doing what good thing shall I live? He said to him, O man, do the law and the prophets. He replied to him, I have done so. He said to him, Go sell all things which thou possessest, and divide amongst the poor, and come follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and *it* did not please him. And the Lord said to him, How dost thou say, I have done the Law and Prophets? because it is written in the law, Love thy neighbour as thyself: and, behold, many thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are wrapped up in filth, dying from hunger, and thy house is full with good things, and not anything at all goes from it to them. And having turned he said to Simon, his disciple, sitting near him, Simon, son of John, it is easier that a camel enter the hole (eye) of a needle, than a rich man into the kingdom of the heavens. (Latin version of Origen on Matthew, k. xvi. 14; Westcott, *Study*

No quotation.

x. 26-28. 1st edit. And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to obtain life? He said unto the lawyer, What is written in the law? how readeest thou? And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength. And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right; this do and thou shalt live.

2nd edit. And with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself. (See also Matt. xix. 16, 19 and 21.)

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of Gospels, App. D, p. 468,
8th edit.; Tischendorf, on
Matt. xix. 16.)

No. 8. In the Gospel
which is inscribed according
to the Hebrews, he (Barabbas)
is interpreted son of their
master (Jerome on Matt.
xxvii.).

No quotation.

xviii. 18. . . . Away with
this *man*, and release unto
us Barabbas.

No. 9. The Gospel that
has come down to us in
Hebrew characters has
directed the threat, not
against him that concealed
[his talent], but against him
that lived riotously. For it
contained [an account of]
three servants, one who con-
sumed his lord's substance
with harlots and female
flute players; a second who
multiplied it by business; a
third who hid the talent.
And then that one was
welcomed, one blamed only,
and one shut up in prison
(Eusebius, *Theoph.*, sect. 22,
fragm. Gr.; Migne, *Pat. Gr.*,
xxiv. 685. Translated by
Bishop Westcott, *Introduction
to Study of Gospels*, App. D,
p. 470, 8th ed.).

No quotation.

xix. 12-27. A certain
nobleman . . . called his
ten servants, and delivered
to them ten pounds. . . .
These servants he called unto
him, to whom he had given
the money, that he might
know how much every man
had gained by trading.
Then came the first, saying,
Lord, thy pound hath gained
ten pounds. And he said,
Well, thou good servant.
. . . And the second came,
saying, Lord, thy pound
hath gained five pounds. . . .
And another came, saying,
Lord, behold *here is* thy
pound, which I have kept
laid up in a napkin. (See also
Matt. xxv. 21.)

"I wish, therefore, know-
ing that you are the best
instructed of my attendants,
to turn to account those
noble powers of judging with
which you have been en-
trusted by the Lord, in
order that you may be
saluted with the *Well done*,
good and faithful servant, and
not be found fault with, and
declared liable to punish-

MEMOIRS OF PETER, OR
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or according to the Hebrews,
A.D. 117-150.

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ment, like him who hid the one talent" (*Clementine Homilies*, iii. 45, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, p. 85).

No. 10. And they [the Ebionites in their Gospel] made . . . him saying, Have I not with desire desired to eat this flesh the Passover with you? (*Epiph.*, xxx. 22; *Pet.*, i. p. 146).

No. 11. For they [the Ebionites] say according to this frivolous word, Sufficient to the disciple to be as the master (*Epiph.*, xxx. 26; *Pet.*, i. p. 151).

No. 12. . . . But of the Jews no one washed hands, neither Herod nor one of his judges; and they not having desired to wash, Pilate rose. And then Herod the king commandeth the Lord to be taken, saying unto them, etc. (Fragment of Akhmîm of Gospel of Peter.)

No. 13. . . . And they said, Let us drag along (*σύρωμεν*), the son of God, having had power over him. And they put over him purple, and set him upon a seat of judgment, saying, Judge justly, King of Israel. And one of them having brought a crown of thorns, set it upon the head of the Lord. And others standing

No quotation.

No quotation.

First Apol., xl. The prophetic spirit . . . how he revealed the coming - together against Christ which took place of Herod, the King of the Jews, and of the Jews themselves, and of Pilate being your governor among them, with his soldiers, etc.

Ibid., xxxv. . . . As the prophet said, dragging him along (*διασπροντες*) they set him upon a rostrum and said, "Judge us."

xxii. 15. And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer.

vi. 40. The disciple is not above his master. (See also Matt. x. 25.)

xxii. 54. Then they took him . . . and brought him into the high priest's house. xxiii. 1. . . . led him into Pilate. 8. . . . he sent him to Herod. (See also Matt. xxvii. 24.)

xxiii. 11. And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, etc. (See also John xix. 2, 13; Matt. xxvii. 28, 29; and Mark xv. 17, 18, 19.)

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by spat upon his face, and others struck him on the cheeks; others pricked him with a reed, and some scourged him saying, With this honour let us honour the Son of God (*ibid.*).

No. 14. And having put the garments before him, they divided and cast lots (*λαχμὸν*) upon them (*ibid.*).

Trypho, cxvii. And they who crucified him divided the garment amongst themselves, casting lots (*λαχμὸν*) each according to the cast of the lot (*κλήρον*) what he had wished to have received.

xxiii. 34. And they parted his raiment and cast lots (*κλήρον*).

No. 15. "For once the King of the present time came to our King of righteousness, using no violence, for this was not in his power, but inducing and persuading, because the being persuaded lies in the power of every one. Approaching him, therefore, as being King of things present, he said to the King of things future, 'All the kingdoms of the present world are subject to me; also the gold and the silver and all the luxury of this world are under my power. Wherefore fall down, and worship me, and I will give you all these things.' And this he said, knowing that after He worshipped him he would have power also over Him,

Trypho, ciii. For this devil at the time of his coming up from the river Jordan, the voice having said, Thou art my Son, this day I have begotten thee, is written in the Memoirs of the Apostles, having come to him, and tempting as far as the saying to him, Worship me, and Christ to have answered him, Get thee behind me, Satan; thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve. For as he

iv. 1 ff. 1st edit. And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness, being forty days tempted of the devil. . . . And the devil . . . showed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, All these things will I give unto thee, since they have been delivered unto me, and I give them unto whom I will, if falling down, thou wilt worship me. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Depart, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. . . . And when the devil had ended all the

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and thus would rob Him of the future glory and kingdom. But He, knowing all things, not only did not worship him, but would not receive aught of the things that were offered by him. For He pledged Himself with those that are His, to the effect that it is not lawful henceforth even to touch the things that are given over to him. Therefore He answered and said, 'Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve'" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *The Clementine Homilies*, viii. 21).

deceived Adam, he said to be able to have this also done.

Ib., cxxv. For when he became man, as I said, the devil, that is to say, that power and snake called also Satan, came to him, tempting him, and striving to overthrow him, by the deeming worthy to worship. But he put down and overthrew him, proving that he, deeming to be worthy to be worshipped as God against scripture, is wicked, having become an apostate of the will of God. For he answers unto him: It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. And being discomfited and confuted, the devil then departed.

temptation, he departed from him for a season.

2nd edit. Get thee behind me, Satan. If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine. (See also Matt. iv. 1-11.)

The last parallel is taken from the work known as the Clementine Homilies, in which is an account of the disputes between Peter and Simon Magus. It is usually understood that these personages were living in the first century, Peter being one of the twelve. This is a serious chronological error. Both these personages were living in the second century, Peter being the author of the Memoirs or Gospel of

Peter, or Gospel according to the Hebrews. Simon Magus was his contemporary. I hardly think Clement of Alexandria could have been mistaken about the date of the latter. He tells us distinctly that he was after Marcion, and that he heard the preaching of Peter (*Strom.*, vii. 17). This can only mean the second century, and that Simon Magus appeared on the scene after Marcion's reputation had become public.¹ The view that the Simon of the Clementine Homilies was an assumed name for Paul the apostle of the first century is utterly gratuitous: he was the genuine Simon, who was the antagonist of Peter, the author of the Gospel. The chronology and history of the Acts of the Apostles are largely false, wrong, and confused. The historical presumption is strong that the writer of the Clementine Homilies, a follower of Peter, used the Gospel of his master, and derived his quotations and allusions from it. I have not been able to satisfy myself on all points regarding the Clementine Homilies; but I hope for further light from the minute examination of the text of the remaining Synoptic Gospels, which I have not yet accomplished. I shall therefore defer their consideration, as well as that of the other writings bearing the name of Peter. I believe, however, I am provisionally justified in using the quotations marked Nos. 9 and 15, for there can be little if any doubt that their source was not the Canonical Gospels, but the Gospel of Peter. I shall, however, abstain from taking further parallels from the Homilies. Some difficulty is caused by the appearance of Peter the second, or rather the third, the writer of the Second Epistle, in the second half of the second century.

I now come to speak of the writing known by the name of *Acta Pilati*, or the Gospel of Nicodemus. The proofs of its great antiquity are very good. There is evidence from testimony, from contents, and from circumstances. Justin Martyr, in his *First Apology*, refers the reigning Roman emperors to this writing for proofs of the fulfilment of alleged prophecies regarding Christ. In ch. xlviii., Justin, after quoting a prophecy of Isaiah regarding the lame leaping, the stammerer speaking clearly, the blind seeing, and lepers being cleansed, adds: That he did these things, you can learn from the Acts drawn up (*γενομένων*) by Pontius Pilate. Again, in ch. xxxv., with reference to the alleged prophecy regarding the partition of Christ's clothing at the crucifixion, he repeats the same remark: That these things happened, you can learn from the Acts of Pontius Pilate. Again in ch. xxxviii., after quoting various prophecies regarding

¹ Justin's chronology of Simon, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, is of course a mistake. But he speaks of Menander, the pupil and successor of Simon, as a man of his own times, though dead. And immediately after speaking of Menander, he refers to Marcion as still living, A.D. 150 (*First Apology*, xxvi.). He associates Simon and Menander in ch. lvi.

scourging, buffeting, and mocking, he remarks : All these things happened to Christ by the Jews, you can learn : the reference probably being to the same source of information. The word *Acta* in Latin is used by Justin, and it can only mean an official report or *procès-verbal*. It is not probable that Pilate sent to the reigning emperors a report of the summary execution of an obscure Jew ; but assuming he had done so, it is not likely that Justin, writing a century and a half after the event, could be aware of its contents. There can be no doubt that Justin had in mind a writing purporting to be the Acts of Pilate, of the contents of which he was quite certain, and he assumed that the emperors would search in the archives at Rome for a report supposed to have been made a hundred and fifty years before. The view that Justin meant the hypothetical official report is the feeble phantasy of a few weak-kneed theologians. This writing to which Justin referred has survived to our days, and has been printed by Tischendorf in his collection of the Apocryphal Gospels. It will be found to contain the fulfilment of Justin's prophecies put into the form of depositions made by witnesses to Pilate. This writing has been known through the ages as the Acts of Pilate, and in more modern times as the Gospel of Nicodemus,¹ but the more ancient MSS. do not bear these names. The writing was without a name, but the early Christians gave it the name of *Acta Pilati*, to identify it ; and as copies multiplied and amplifications were made to the story, fictitious authors' names were further appended. Tertullian, in the third century, refers to it, not by name, but incidentally and pompously, as archives in Rome containing the story of the judicial trial and execution of Jesus reported by Pilate to the reigning Cæsar, Tiberius (*Apologeticus*, ch. xxi.). All the details given by Tertullian are found in the *Acta* ; and I think it may be fairly said that Tertullian obtained his details from the *Acta* and not from the Canonical Gospels. Tertullian says that Jesus with a word dismissed his Spirit. The Gospels put together assign many sentences to Jesus ; but the *Acta* relate that Jesus gave up the ghost after saying, Into thy hands I commend or commit my Spirit (ch. xi.). Again, Tertullian says that the people thought the darkness at the crucifixion was an eclipse. Not one of the Canonical Gospels says this, but the *Acta* do (ch. xi.). Again, Tertullian says the Jews surrounded the sepulchre with a military guard, *militaris custodiæ* ; Matthew is the only Canonical evangelist

¹ Bishop Ellicott says : " It has been thought that *our* nation, in its anxiety for one of its reputed apostles, has had something to do with this titulation, as the most ancient of the versions (except the Latin), the Anglo-Saxon, has the name of Nicodemus prefixed to it " (*Cambridge Essays*, 1856, p. 203).

who speaks of a guard. He makes the Jews apply to Pilate for a watch; but Pilate refused and told them to use their own watch, which was civil or police. Calling this guard 'soldiers,' as in Matt. xxviii. 12, means nothing, as police or civil watchmen are called soldiers all over the East, or Sepoys in India. The *Acta* state that the Jews obtained a guard from Pilate (ch. xii.), which means a military guard; and the amplified copy, marked No. 2, exaggerates the strength of the guard to 500 soldiers! (ch. xii.). It would appear from the above details that Tertullian quoted from the *Acta* rather than from the Canonical Gospels. It is a point of importance that the details mentioned by Justin and Tertullian as contained in the *Acta* are found in the Apocryphal Gospel; these details being further, as Tischendorf points out, sufficiently peculiar and definite, and of a kind least to be expected in an official report. The evidence that there was in existence a popular version of reputed *Acta Pilati* is greatly strengthened by what Eusebius tells us of the conduct of the Emperor Maximinus in the early part of the fourth century. This emperor was hostile to the Christians and persecuted them. Eusebius tells us that certain Acts of Pilate respecting Jesus were forged, containing every kind of blasphemy against Christ, and the emperor commanded that this writing be published and disseminated throughout his dominions, that schoolmasters should make children commit it to memory, and declaim passages from it as exercises (*Ecc. Hist.*, ix. 5, 7). These opposition *Acta* presuppose the general prevalence and public importance of the *Acta* of Justin and Tertullian. Further, Epiphanius, later in the fourth century, quotes the *Acta* as a writing of authority (l. 1); his reference, however, is not found in our copies. But allowance should be made for variations, additions, and changes in the manuscripts. The extensive learning of Tischendorf has enabled him to carry on the evidence through the Greek historian Orosius to the fifth century, and Gregorius Turonensis to the sixth century, ages from which manuscript copies of the *Acta* date. The evidence from testimony, from contents, and from circumstances, is so strong that even some theologians have confessed their conviction that the *Acta Pilati*, substantially as the writing has come down to us, existed in the first half of the second century. Of these I may mention Tischendorf and Bishop Ellicott. The latter says: "When it is remembered that the quotations made by Tertullian and others from the ancient *Acta* are all found in the present *Acta*, it seems fair to conclude, especially from the nature and length of the composition, that these changes or interpolations have not been very serious, and that we have in

this first part of this Gospel of Nicodemus, *substantially* the very ancient and important *Acta Pilati* of the second century" (*Cambridge Essays*, 1856, p. 203). This ancient writing was also a source from which the compilers of the Gospel according to Luke obtained their materials. With regard to the Marcionite compiler, as I cannot, with any feeling of precision, assert that his date was subsequent to that of the *Acta*, the fact that he was the borrower may be disputed, but the presumption may be made that he was. The following parallelisms are very striking:—

ACTA PILATI, A.D. 117-150.	JUSTIN MARTYR, A.D. 150.	GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LUKE, A.D. 168-177.
And one of the Jews starting up, asked the governor that he might say a word. The governor saith, If thou wilt speak, speak, etc.	That our Christ has been prophesied to heal all diseases and to raise the dead, hear the things that had been said. They are these: At his coming, the lame shall leap as a deer, and the tongue of stammerers (or the dumb) shall be clear. Blind men shall see, and lepers be cleansed, and dead men shall rise and walk about. And that he did these things, you can learn from the Acts drawn up by Pontius Pilate (<i>First Apol.</i> , xlviii.)	xviii. 35-43. And it came to pass, . . . a certain blind man sat by the wayside begging. And hearing the multitude pass by he asked what it meant. And they told him Jesus of Nazareth passeth by. And he cried, saying, Jesus, <i>thou</i> Son of David, have mercy on me. . . . And Jesus said, Receive thy sight . . . and immediately he received his sight.
And another Jew starting up, said, I was born blind; I heard a voice, but saw no person; and as Jesus passed by, I cried with a loud voice, Have pity on me, Son of David; and he had pity on me, and placed his hands upon my eyes, and immediately I saw. . . . And another said, I was a leper, and he healed me with a word (ch. vi.). And a certain woman cried out from a distance, and said, I had an issue of blood, and I touched the hem of his garment, and my issue of blood, which had been for twelve years, was stayed. The Jews said, We have a law not to admit a woman to witness (ch. vii.).	v. 12-16. Behold a man full of leprosy: . . . And he put forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will, be thou clean. And immediately the leprosy departed from him.	viii. 43. And a woman having an issue of blood twelve years, . . . came behind <i>him</i> , and touched the border of his garment: and immediately her issue of blood stanch'd.
x. And Jesus went from the prætorium, and the two malefactors with him; and when they came to the place, they stripped him of his garments, and gird a cloth round him, and put a crown of thorns	And after the crucifying of him, they cast lot upon his garment, and the crucifiers divided it amongst themselves. And	xxiii. 32-53. And there were also two other malefactors led with him to be put to death. And when they were come to the place, which is called Calvary, there they crucified him and the

ACTA PILATI, A.D. 117-150.

JUSTIN MARTYR,
AD. 150.GOSPEL ACCORDING TO
LUKE, A.D. 168-177.

around his head. And they crucified him; and at the same time they hung up the two malefactors with him. And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they are doing. And the soldiers divided his garments. And the people stood beholding him. And the chief priests and the rulers with them derided him, saying, He saved others, let him save himself; if this one is the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the soldiers mocked him, approaching and offering vinegar with gall to him, and said, If thou art the King of the Jews, save thyself.

And after the sentence, Pilate ordered his crime to be written for a title in Greek, Roman and Hebrew letters, according as the Jews said that he is the King of the Jews.

And one of the malefactors hung up said to him, saying, If thou art the Christ, save thyself and us. And Dismas having answered, rebuked him saying, Dost thou not fear God, because thou art in the same condemnation? and we indeed justly; for we receive things worthy of what we have done; but this one did nothing evil. And he said to Jesus, Remember me, Lord, in thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him, Amen, amen, I say to thee, that to-day thou art with me in paradise.

xi. And it was about the

that these had been, you can learn from the Acts drawn up by Pontius Pilate (*First Apol.*, xxxv.)

And again, when he says, They cast lot upon my garment, and pierced my feet and hands. And I lay down and slept, for the Lord sustained me. And again when he said, They talked with their lips, they moved the head, saying, Let him save himself. All these things happened to Christ from the Jews; you can learn. For he being crucified, they twisted out their lips, and moved their heads, saying, Let him who raised the dead, save himself (*ibid.*, ch. xxxviii.).

malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left. Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. And they parted his raiment, and cast lots. And the people stood beholding. And the rulers also with them derided him, saying, He saved others; let him save himself, if he be Christ, the chosen of God. And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar. And saying, If thou be the King of the Jews, save thyself. And a superscription also was written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, This is the King of the Jews.

And one of the malefactors which was hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us. But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost thou not fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? and we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. And Jesus said unto him, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth, until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent

ACTA PILATI, A.D. 117-150.

JUSTIN MARTYR,
A.D. 150.GOSPEL ACCORDING TO
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sixth hour, and darkness was upon the earth to the ninth hour, the sun having been darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst. And Jesus crying in a loud voice said, Father, Baddach ephkid hrouel, which is interpreted, Into thy hands I place (commend) my Spirit. And having said this he gave up the ghost. And the centurion seeing what had happened, glorified God, saying that this was a just man. And all the crowds present at this spectacle, seeing the things that had happened, returned beating their breasts.

And the centurion reported to the governor what was done. And the governor and his wife having heard, were very sorry, and did not eat nor drink on that day. And Pilate having sent for the Jews, said to them, Have ye seen what has happened? and they say, An eclipse of the sun has happened in the usual manner.

And his acquaintances stood afar off, and the women who came with him from Galilee beholding these things. And a certain man, Joseph by name, being a councillor from the city Arimathea and himself expecting the kingdom of God, this *man* having come to Pilate, begged the body of Jesus. And having taken it down, wrapped it in linen, and put it in a sepulchre hewn in stone, in which no one was yet lying.

in the midst. And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my Spirit: and having said this, he gave up the ghost.

Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man. And all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts, and returned. And all his acquaintances, and the women that followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things.

And, behold, *there was* a man named Joseph, a counsellor, *and he was* a good man, and a just (the same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them): he *was* of Arimathea, a city of the Jews: who also himself waited for the kingdom of God. This *man* went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre, that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.

(In the Marcionite Gospel, the casting of lots, omitted in the *Acta*, and the colloquy of the two malefactors, are not to be found.)

There are many more parallelisms than those selected above to be found between the Apocryphal Gospels and the Canonical Gospel according to Luke; and there is a very large number of similar parallelisms with the other Canonical Gospels. The parallelisms *per se* do not afford grounds for ascertaining priority. Theologians in general, with the exception of Bishop Lightfoot and a few others, seriously err in regarding parallelisms as proofs that the Canonical Gospels were the originals from which the others copied. They merely indicate that the writers copied one from the other, but they do not indicate who was the original writer. To ascertain the original writer, recourse must be had to history and chronology. The relative dates of the writers are needed to ascertain the original writer. Here is the grave and important logical omission which theologians have made. They foolishly infer the antiquity of the Gospels from the fact that parallelisms are seen between them and Justin Martyr and other early writers; and this is the serious error made by Bishop Westcott and Professor Sanday, which I have already spoken of (see p. 18). Parallelisms afford no proof of relative date. The latter must be investigated and ascertained from other means of evidence. The reader will have observed that I have made an independent investigation of the dates of the Canonical and the Apocryphal Gospels; and those dates having been ascertained, I am justified in considering the parallelisms set forth to be proofs that the compiler of the Canonical Gospel obtained his materials from the Apocryphal Gospels. That must be regarded as a historical fact. I am unable to speak with the same decision regarding the Marcionite writer, from the difficulty of obtaining data to fix the precise dates of the apocryphal writings as well as of the Marcionite Gospel. But the historical presumption is that he used the same or similar materials, but exercised a wiser discretion than the Canonical evangelist in selecting and pruning his materials.

Bishop Ellicott, in his younger days, while he was still an aspirant to ecclesiastical preferment, wrote an excellent and most interesting account of the Apocryphal Gospels in the *Cambridge Essays*, 1856. While I admire the literary qualities, the command of language, the choice of expression, the extensive learning conspicuous in this essay, I regret to have to qualify my appreciation of it by the remark that the history of the Apocryphal Gospels is inaccurately represented in it. The accomplished essayist is accurate in his dates and in his statement of individual facts; but his generalisations and his broad conclusions are not fair and reasonable inductions from the facts he details. They are erroneous and false conclusions, not deducible from the individual and general facts recorded in history, some of

which only he quotes. They are inductions not from the facts related by our author and from those recorded in history, but apparently from nebulous conceptions connected with the orthodox faith existing in his mind. Here, for instance, is a choice extract from the essay: "But still the torrent of abuse, condemnation and invective that issued from the fountains of early orthodoxy, and has never lacked an affluent in any generation since the days of Irenæus, has raged against these unhappy mythologies with an unabated vehemence which, as far as the honour of the orthodox faith is concerned; must be pronounced both edifying and exemplary. The whole vocabulary of theological abhorrence, a vocabulary by no means limited in its extent or culpably weak in its expressions, has been expended upon these unfortunate compositions, individually and collectively" (*op. cit.*, p. 154). Limiting my range of view to the second, third and fourth centuries, I regret to say that history not only does not justify these strong expressions, but, on the contrary, clearly shows that they are absolutely false and inapplicable to these Gospels. In perusing the writers of this period of three centuries I have not been struck by any strong expressions of condemnation of apocryphal gospels, and I do not remember any. Bishop Ellicott does not supply quotations in support of his crushing remarks. The denunciations by Irenæus of the doctrines of Cerinthus, Marcion, Valentinus, and others, cannot surely be diverted to apply to the Protevangelium, Pseudo-Matthew, the *Acta Pilati*, the Gospel of Peter or according to the Hebrews, and other apocryphal gospels: these great heresiarchs cannot be assumed to have written the latter. So far from condemning these apocryphal writings, I find the Fathers of the Church of the second, third, and fourth centuries quoting them with respect and using the information which they supply. Justin Martyr refers to the *Acta Pilati* by its popular name, as a writing in which the Roman emperors, if they will call for it, will find the fulfilment of the prophecies regarding Jesus; and I have identified the Memoirs of the Apostles used by Justin as these very Apocryphal Gospels. Bishop Ellicott does not, however, go so far back as Justin, but he begins with Irenæus, who makes no clear reference by way of approval or condemnation to any of these documents; but his writings contain passages purporting to be the words or deeds of Jesus, which are not to be found in our Canonical Gospels. All theologians, so far as I know, express the opinion that these derelict passages were quoted from apocryphal gospels, and the Gospel according to the Egyptians is one specially mentioned. I have, however, taken the liberty of forming a different opinion on the subject. (See p. 479.) In my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 101, I quoted a

passage in Irenæus (*Ad Her.*, iii. xi. 9) in which the latter expresses high approval of the "Gospels of the Apostles," which I understand to mean the same writings called by Justin, *Memoirs of the Apostles*. Clement of Alexandria quotes apocryphal writings with respect. In the third century it is plain that Origen did not approve of these Apocryphal Gospels, but his disapproval was remarkably subdued. He informs us that he and everybody else perused them, and that it was considered in Christian society to be a mark of ignorance to be unacquainted with them. (See p. 448.) He quotes the apocryphal writing called the ascension of Moses, of which he says the apostle Jude makes mention in his epistle (see Jude 9), for the extraordinary contention between the archangel Michael and the devil for the body of Moses (Origen, *de Principiis*, iii. 2). He further refers to a nameless apocryphal gospel under the title of "the Gospel" in explanation of the exhibition of the *cave* at Bethlehem to visitors (see p. 434). Tertullian, a master "of abuse, condemnation, and invective," displayed no animosity against the *Acta Pilati*, which he pompously referred to as the archives at Rome (see p. 467). He makes no allusion to other apocryphal gospels. He referred to Hermas as the "shepherd of adultery"; but this was his personal opinion, and it counts for nothing when contrasted with the fact he relates that his own community adopted the practice of sitting after prayer because Hermas so enjoined it (*On Prayer*, xvi.), and with the fact that Hermas was read in the churches, and a complete copy of the 'Shepherd' was actually discovered bound up in the same volume with the Sinaitic Codex. In the fourth century Jerome translated an apocryphal gospel into Greek and Latin, and used it in exegesis (see pp. 169, 455); and Bishop Epiphanius, an eminent prelate in his own days, quoted the *Acta Pilati* as an authority, and used a nameless apocryphal gospel, identified as Pseudo-Matthew, to explain away the impossible chronology of the Synoptic Gospels. (See p. 442.) These facts are recorded in history; and they clearly show that Bishop Ellicott's scathing remarks have no foundation in history. His statements are so grossly opposed to historical verity that they may justly be regarded as a deliberate misrepresentation of history, attributable to the professional zeal of a clever theological aspirant.

Bishop Ellicott proceeds: "Now and then the tares have been gathered into bundles, and Pope Gelasius or Pope Damasus, or some other champion of orthodoxy, has presided at some grand moral *auto-da-fé*; at other times they have been dealt with singly, and one by one have suffered every horror of truculent extirpation and pitiless rancour. This document, we are told by one Father, was the production of a knave; that, another good soul tells us, was the *deliramen-*

turn of a fool; a pestilent heretic, good sturdy Jerome informs us, was the author of a third; the devil himself, according to the not very charitable judgment of Epiphanius, had no mean share in a fourth"¹ (*op. cit.*, p. 154). These facts are doubtless correct with the exception of those that are hypothetical, but the induction to be drawn from them is not such as Bishop Ellicott's severe remarks imply. The conduct of the popes and the reprobation of ecclesiastics, except in the case of the indecent gospels referred to by honest Bishop Epiphanius, were due to ecclesiastical policy, not to a general feeling in society of disgust and disapprobation. On the contrary, the ecclesiastical policy arose in consequence of the popularity and the extensive reception of these Apocryphal Gospels by the Christian public. The object and motive of the ecclesiastical policy are self-evident, and hardly require explication; and, in fact, are unintentionally indicated by Bishop Ellicott himself in his remarks immediately following, which, read between the lines, clearly show the great popularity of these gospels, proscribed, hypocritically and from orthodox reasons, by the clergy in power. "Nay, even when better days seemed in store for them; when the intense Mariolatry of the medieval Church might have given the documents relating to the nativity of the Virgin some little hope of being treated with toleration, if not civility; when their unwearied mendacity might have commanded some sympathy and admiration, their fate was but little ameliorated; they were but impertinent meddlers that soiled everything they presumed to touch, and that told the truth only by unwelcome accident."² As time went on they fared no better; if any of them were separately published, it was always under protest; if any of them, through some act of editorial weakness, crept into better company, and came forth to the world between the boards of some folio that also embraced less noxious matter, there was never any peace for the unhappy collector until he had been brought to profess every degree of abomination for the luckless object of his industry.³

¹ "Some of these gospels appear really to have been very infamous compositions; the Major and Minor Interrogations of Mary, noticed by Epiphanius, *Her.*, xxvi. 8, seem, for example, to deserve especial reprobation." These objectionable gospels were probably used by the interpolator of the letters of Ignatius, and the forger of the false letters. See my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 17.

² "For example, even such a man as Fulbert, who has the honour of having introduced the festival of the Nativity into the Gallican Church, could not bring himself openly to endorse the Latin *Nativities*; 'hac die recitandus esse videtur ille liber si non judicassent eum patres inter apocrypha esse numerandum.'" The book seems *one* to be read out [in the churches?] this day, if the Fathers had not judged it to be numbered amongst the Apocrypha.

³ "Henry Stephens did not express himself with much amenity when an early collector, of the name of Herold (*Orthodoxographia*, Basil, 1555), was incautious enough to publish, in a somewhat mixed collection, Postell's translation of the *Protevangel of St. James*."

Toleration they received from none, contempt from all. Even a collector like Fabricius, whose love for archæology and palæography might have been thought too devoted to leave room for any fears of misconception or misconstruction, felt himself obliged to disclaim any save a reprobative interest in these poor gospels; if they were to be published, it was only that the world might see how worthless they were, that they might be obelized and condemned, and then might be consigned, with a greater confidence and certitude, to the expurgatorial index of Oriental and Occidental Christendom. From all alike—from orthodox Fathers, from early historians, from popes, from councils, from Romanist divines and Protestant commentators—the same amount of contempt and reprobation has been expended on the Apocryphal Gospels, and yet they live and thrive, and all, perhaps, now as much and as curiously read as ever” (*op. cit.*, pp. 154, 155). The history is doubtless correct in parts which are not inaccurate, but it limits the view too much to the domain of ecclesiasticism, and does not sufficiently extend it to general society. Bishop Ellicott has produced no facts of history to justify his statement that the Apocryphal Gospels received “toleration from none, contempt from all.” Even in the ecclesiastical region he has misrepresented history. Mr B. Harris Cowper, who has published an excellent translation of these Apocryphal Gospels, says: “If some of the false Gospels and revelations have not been formally adopted, stories from them, as told by John of Damascus and others, have been transferred to the Roman Breviary. It is well known that the *Legenda Aurea* drew largely from several of the spurious Gospels. The histories of Joachim, Anna, Joseph and Mary, as contained in the service books of the Romish Church, and in other authoritative works, are mainly founded on the Christian Apocrypha. Such facts,” he concludes, “show the importance of these documents, and the desirableness of an acquaintance with them” (*op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxx.). Again he remarks: “In the Middle Ages and onward the apocryphal books were very popular; were read with avidity, were reproduced in poetry, and were literally translated into a variety of languages. In one form or other we encounter them in Egypt, Syria, Persia and India, in Greece and Italy, in Germany, Spain and France, in Britain, and as far north as Iceland” (*ibid.*, p. xxxii.). Tischendorf, in his essay *On the Origin and Use of the Apocryphal Gospels*,¹ a work which I have not read, but Dr Ellicott had, as he disparages it, “shows the use made of them in supporting various doctrines and opinions con-

¹ Bishop Ellicott disapproves of this work. He calls it “a very dull prize essay.” The true history of the Apocryphal Gospels it contains probably was unpalatable to a writer who preferred false history (*Essay on Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 183).

cerning Christ, Mary, Joseph, the parents of Mary, the descent of Christ into the underworld, and so forth." "He next proceeds to indicate the many evidences of their general and special influence in the Catholic Church, which condemned and yet adopted them"; —an excellent comment on the proceedings of Popes Gelasius and Damasus and others, which Bishop Ellicott commends, without, however, appending Tischendorf's corollary. "He then mentions the well known fact that Mahomed and other Arabic writers drew largely from the Christian Apocrypha. After this he resumes his illustrations from Church writers, who have accepted as facts what they have taken from the Apocryphal Gospels. His examples demonstrate that the fabric of ecclesiastical tradition is built up very much of fictions and founded upon the same. The picture is very humiliating, but the contrivance has been remarkably successful, and old falsehoods have been preferred to older truths. I do not think any sane man would raise any of these books to the dignity of real history"; a very unnecessary final remark made by Mr Cowper. "Events and persons mentioned only in the false Gospels are solemnly commemorated." Mr Cowper mentions Joachim and Anna, the latter one of the principal saints, and the feast of the immaculate conception of the mother of Mary. Tischendorf points out that certain religious rites in the Romish Church are also derived from apocryphal sources. "Still more numerous are the uses to which the apocryphal books have been put by painters, sculptors, etc. The well known ox and ass in representations of the nativity have no other origin" (*op. cit.*, pp. xlv. — xlv.).

Bishop Ellicott having artistically served up to his readers a preliminary pungent savoury of falsified history, proceeds to entertain them with a most interesting and scholarly account of the 'noxious,' 'mendacious' and 'abominable' Apocryphal Gospels. I do not think it would be justifiable to conclude from the numerous instances of deliberate falsification of history by divines that have spontaneously, and without special search, come before me in the course of my investigations, that this vice is regarded as a qualification or recommendation for ecclesiastical preferment. But I think it is impossible to evade the suspicion that it is not regarded as a moral disqualification in persons discharging the functions of the episcopacy. Falsification of history is not confined to the clergy, but I believe the practice is more prevalent amongst them than amongst politicians. Protests by competent persons who have made history a special study, have recently been made against the falsification of the ecclesiastical history of England, in the interests of ritualism, by the clergy, in the text books used by children in elementary and other schools. This

is a subject of national importance, and should receive the serious attention of the British public.

But while I reprobate Bishop Ellicott's falsification of history and the dissemination of untruth and falsehood by ecclesiastical scholars, I have no fault to find with his conviction of the fraudulent nature of the Apocryphal Gospels, with the exception of the adjective 'pious,' which he often prefixes. During the past centuries great and small ecclesiastics have committed literary and religious frauds of a similar character, and it was in their behalf the adjective has been invented by divines. I would rather not apply it to the writers of the Apocryphal Gospels, because fraud is fraud, and should not be modified by an attenuating adjective. People do not commit fraud for the attainment of noble objects, but for mercenary objects. The object of the apocryphal writers was not the winning of the souls of their followers, but of the money in their pockets and girdles. In my former work, I applied the epithets rogues and knaves to these apostles and prophets of the second century; and I think those terms sufficiently indicate their character. Those who may feel inclined to employ other terms may choose from the following list of more than fifty English words, which express different shades and varieties of fraud, which Dr Francis Galton has collected: "Cant, cheat, chicanery, circumventing, counterfeit, chouse, connivance, cozen, crafty, cunning, deceit, defraud, delude, dishonest, dissemble, dissimulate, dodge, duplicity, fallacious, feign, flattery, fraud, furtive, hoax, hypocrisy, insinuation, intrigue, jesuitical, jobbery, knavery, lying, mendacious, peculating, perfidious, perjury, personation, puzzling, rascality, roguery, scheming, scoundrel, sharper, shuffler, slanderer, slimness (a new word, due to the Boers), slyness, sneaking, spying, stratagem, subterfuge, traducing, treachery, trickery, wiles" (*Nineteenth Century* for July 1900, art. "Identification Offices in India and Egypt." By Francis Galton, F.R.S., D.C.L.). I might remark that Dr Galton does not prefix the adjective 'pious' to a single word in his extensive list. That is an adjective invented and designed to throw a halo of respectability over fraud and deceit when practised in ecclesiastical spheres.

History and criticism combine in showing that the Apocryphal Gospels supplied the materials from which the Canonical and presumably also the Marcionite Gospel were compiled. These materials were not invariably used in the form in which they existed in the apocryphal writings; but they were worked up into the form needed by the evangelist. Usually they were improved upon: the extreme simplicity of the original being wrought up to the advanced intelligence of later times, and of a superior class of readers.

Numerous examples besides those already given from well known apocryphal gospels, are to be found in the fragments preserved of these ancient writings, amongst which I select a few. The ancient homily called the Second Epistle of Clement—which has, however, no claim either to this title or authorship, but was an anonymous and nameless publication—is dated by Bishop Lightfoot from A.D. 120–140; it contains numerous quotations from ancient apocryphal writings, which Bishop Lightfoot coolly and complacently sets down as taken from the Canonical Gospels. But there are several which are not to be found in the latter, and these Bishop Lightfoot hypothetically derives from the Gospel of the Egyptians. They were all more probably quoted from the Gospel of Peter, or according to the Hebrews, but their source cannot be accurately determined. None of them could have been taken from the Canonical Gospels, for the simple and intelligible reason that the latter were not in existence at this early period of history.

ANCIENT HOMILY, A.D. 120–140.

1. And he himself says, *Him* confessing me, I shall confess before my Father (ch. iii.).

2. On account of this, you doing these things, the Lord said, Though ye are gathered together with me in my bosom and do not my commandments, I shall cast you out and shall say to you: depart from me, I know not whence ye are, workers of iniquity (ch. iv.). Bishop Lightfoot says from the Gospel of the Egyptians.

GOSPEL OF LUKE, A.D. 168–177.

xii. 8. 1st edit. Also I say unto you, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I also confess before God.

Later editions. Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God.

xiii. 27, 28. 1st edit. But he shall say unto you, I know not whence ye are; depart from me all ye workers of iniquity, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. When ye shall see all the just in the kingdom of God, but yourselves thrust out and vanquished outside, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Later editions. But he shall say, I tell you, I know not whence ye are; depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you *yourselves* thrust out.

ANCIENT HOMILY, A.D. 120-140.

3. For the Lord says: Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves. But Peter answering says to him: If then the wolves shall rend the lambs? Jesus said to Peter, Let not the lambs fear the wolves after their death. And fear ye not them that kill you and are able to do nothing to you, but fear Him who after your death has power of soul and body, of casting into a gehenna of fire (ch. v.). From the Gospel of the Egyptians, according to Lightfoot.

4. But the Lord says: No servant can serve two masters. If we wish to serve both God and mammon, it is unprofitable for us. For what *is* the advantage, if one should gain the whole world, but lose his soul? But this age and the coming is (*sic* in orig.) two enemies; this says adultery and defilement and avarice and deceit, but that says farewell to these. We cannot then be friends of the two; but it is necessary that we having bid farewell to this, follow that (ch. vi.).

5. For the Lord says in the Gospel: If ye have not taken care of the little, who will give you the great; for I say unto you that he who is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much (ch. viii.).

6. Let us then give him eternal praise, not from the mouth only but also from the heart, that He may receive us as sons. For the Lord also said: My brothers are those who do the will of my Father (ch. ix.).

GOSPEL OF LUKE, A.D. 168-177.

xii. 4, 5. 1st edit. And I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more power over you. But I will show you whom ye shall fear: Fear him who after he hath killed hath power to cast thee into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.

Later edit. And I say unto you . . . and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you, etc.

xvi. 13. No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

xvi. 10, 11. He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much, and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much. If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true *riches*?

viii. 20, 21. 1st edit. And it was told him *by certain* which said, Behold thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to see thee. And he answered and said unto them, Who is my mother and who are my brethren, but those who hear my words and do them.

Later edit. My mother and my brethren are those which hear the word of God and do it.

I have noted, in these ancient writings, a specimen of the way in which the same prophecy was used by different writers for diverse objects. The Epistle of Barnabas, which, however, was neither written by Barnabas nor an Epistle, but was a titleless and nameless dissertation of the first half of the second century, though theologians have exerted their ingenuity to antedate it, contains an argument founded on prophecy, to prove that Jesus was not the Son of man in any sense, but of God. The same argument and prophecy are used by the Marcionite evangelist to prove that Jesus was not the son of David, without the least implication that he was not the Son of man. The contrast is sufficiently amusing, and it shows further the certainty that Marcionism did not deny the ordinary human origin of Jesus, which Barnabas did.

EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.

Behold again Jesus, not at all, οὐχὶ, the son of man but the son of God, and having been manifested in the flesh in a figure.¹ Since then men are on the point, μέλλουσιν, or going to say that Christ is the Son of David, David himself prophesies, fearing and perceiving the erring of sinners; The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou on my right hand until I set thine enemies a footstool of thy feet. And again Esaias says thus: The Lord said to Christ my Lord, of whom I laid hold of his right hand, the nations should give ear before him, and I will break the force of kings. See how David calls him Lord, and does not say Son (ch. xii.).

THE MARCIONITE GOSPEL.

Luke xx. 41-44. And he said unto them, How say they that Christ is David's Son? And David himself saith in the book of Psalms, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. David therefore calleth him Lord, how is he then his Son?

Compare the above with Luke xviii. 35, where the blind man is rebuked for the cry, *Thou* Son of David.

On the question of the credibility of the history contained in the Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels, for from the historical and critical point of view they must be associated as ancient writings of the same *genre*, the latter proceeding from the former, nothing contained in them can be accepted as unimpeachable history, except

¹ Is this Docetism? Jesus is said to be a figure! I think not. The writer means a substantial human figure.

the few details recorded by Paul the apostle of the first century,¹ a contemporary witness. (See p. 415.) Of the great residue nothing more can be said than that it must be judged according to the ideas of probability upon which men act in the ordinary matters of life. Such ideas, however, are not the same in the minds of all men: what one man or woman may regard as probable and credible, others may reject as the reverse. There is nothing whereby to check or verify a conclusion. Even the same mind, by change of mood, or from additional light derived from facts not at first perceived, is liable to change of opinion. I have to say, regretfully and apologetically, that such has been the case with me. In my former work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 96 ff., I enumerated sundry statements in the writings of the second century apostles and prophets and in the Canonical Gospels which appeared to my mind to be so probable that they may be trustfully accepted. Among these were the names of the twelve apostles and the anecdotes regarding the sisters Mary and Martha. Further investigation has satisfied me that the latter are unreliable and fictitious (see p. 168); and that the names of some of the twelve are ambiguous. There is a want of uniformity in the names in the various lists of the apostles that have come down to us in the writings under consideration. There exist six ancient lists, dating from the second century, all but one containing twelve names, the deficient list being in the Ebionite Gospel, which, however, is the most ancient writing of all, dating from the first half of the second century, while all the others date from the second half. The natural inference is that the names had not been made up in the early part of the second century, and they were not all known to Peter, whom I have identified as the author of the titleless writing, called afterwards the Ebionite Gospel, otherwise called the *Memoirs of Peter*, by Justin; the Gospel of the Hebrews, or according to the Hebrews, of Eusebius, Jerome and Epiphanius; and the Gospel of Peter, of Serapion. (See p. 411.) The names omitted by Peter, viz. Thomas, James the son of Alphæus, and Judas son of James, are discredited. The doubt regarding Thomas, generated by his omission in the Petrine list, is supported by the fact that he is named Judas Thomas or the twin, in the Acts of Judas Thomas, the dual name not appearing in any of the other lists, nor the description 'twin,' though the latter is found in John xx. 24 and xxi. 2. James, the son of Alphæus, appears in all the other lists. Judas, son of James, is,

¹ Paul the apostle of the first century must be kept distinct from Paul the apostle who wrote the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, from Paul the apostle who wrote the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and from Paul the apostle who wrote the Epistles to Timothy and Titus; the three latter were of the second century.

however, omitted in the two lists in Matthew and Mark, and there is a tendency amongst theologians, amounting to falsification, to make him out a brother of James. In the latter Gospels his place is occupied by Thaddeus in Mark, and by Lebbaeus surnamed Thaddeus in Matthew; this additional name is hence hypothetical, and it reflects doubt upon the name James, son of Alphæus. The name Thaddeus, however, was an ancient one, and appears in Peter's list; but that it was erased is clear from a statement made by Origen in his treatise against Celsus, i. 62. "The Lebes (Λεβης), also, who was a follower of Jesus, may have been a tax-gatherer; but he was not of the number of the apostles, except according to a statement in one of the copies of Mark's Gospel" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Orig.*, i. p. 466). It is curious that Lebbaeus, who was not one of the apostles in the earlier part of the third century, except in one copy of Mark, is found in the number of the apostles in our copies of Matthew, surnamed Thaddeus, and that he appears under his surname only in our copies of Mark. The Λεβης of Origen is the same name as the Λεββαῖος of Matthew. In fact, there can be no doubt that the name was fictitious; and Jones surnamed Robinson may with the same historical propriety be substituted. Of the twelve apostles, the names of three only, Peter, James, and John, are guaranteed by Paul. The fact that out of six lists of the apostles, three out of nine, who are not historically accredited, are ambiguous, does not induce me to accept the six others. And the distrust is strengthened by the fact that in John xxi. 2 and i. 45-50 Nathanael of Cana is spoken of as an apostle, thus making a supernumerary, and that Simon is described in some lists as the Canaanite and in others as Zelotes. It is interesting to contrast the lists. Of the date of the Ebionite Gospel I have already spoken; the Canonical Gospels and Acts are of a later date; as far as I can make out, the Acts of Judas Thomas are somewhat late in the second century. The late Professor Wright of Cambridge, to whom we owe the recovery and translation of this writing, gives us no history of it. An independent translation will be found in the volume of Apocryphal Gospels, etc., in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, to which my references refer. I infer the date from the facts that the writer is well acquainted with the orthodox Gospel story, represents the apostle as laying his hands on persons baptised (*op. cit.*, pp. 394 and 406), using oil in baptism¹ (p. 402 and again 403), and making the sign of the cross over the bread in the Eucharist (p. 416). It

¹ The Marcosians used oil in baptism in the first half of the second century (*Irenæus*, L. xxi. 4 and 5). But the practice was not at that early period in general vogue amongst the more orthodox sects.

could not have been earlier than the period I have assigned (for these sacerdotal practices, with the one exception, were unknown in the earlier greater portion of the second century), but I cannot say how much later it possibly may be; but hardly beyond the earlier part of the third century, as it implies considerable gullibility in its readers.

GOSPEL OF PETER.

Epiph., xxx. 13; *Pet.*, i. 137; Westcott's *Introduction*, App. D, Gospel of the Ebionites.

	GOSPEL OF MATTHEW, x. 2-5.	GOSPEL OF MARK, iv. 16-19.	GOSPEL OF LUKE, vi. 14-16.	ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, i. 13.	ACTS OF JUDAS THOMAS.
1. Simon Peter.	Simon Peter.	Simon Peter.	Simon Peter.	Peter.	Simon Peter.
2. John, } Sons of	John, } Sons of	John, } Sons of	John.	John.	John, } Sons of
3. James, } Zebedee.	James, } Zebedee.	James, } Zebedee	James.	James.	James, } Zebedee.
		Thunder.			
4. Andrew.	Andrew, Peter's brother.	Andrew.	Andrew, Peter's brother.	Andrew.	Andrew, Peter's brother.
5. Thaddæus.	Lebbæus Thad- dæus.	Thaddæus.	..	..	..
6. Simon Zelotes.	Simon, the Ca- naanite.	Simon, the Ca- naanite.	Simon Zelotes.	Simon Zelotes.	Simon, the Ca- naanite.
7. Judas Iscariot.	Judas Iscariot.	Judas Iscariot.	Judas Iscariot.	..	..
8. Matthew, at re- ceipt of custom.	Matthew, the pub- lican.	Matthew.	Matthew, also Levi, ii. 14.	Matthew.	Matthew, tax gatherer.
9. ..	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.
10. ..	Bartholomew.	Bartholomew.	Bartholomew.	Bartholomew.	Bartholomew.
11. ..	Thomas.	Thomas.	Thomas.	Thomas.	Judas, Thomas, the twins.
12. ..	James, son of Alphæus.	James, son of Alphæus.	James, son of Alphæus.	James, son of Alphæus.	James, son of Alphæus.
13. ..	..	..	Judas, son of James.	Judas, son of James.	Judas, son of James.

To the above the Gospel according to John adds Nathanael of Cana. Luke gives a grand total of 82 apostles, appointed by Christ (see first edition of the Gospel, vi. 13-16 and x. 1).

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHRISTIAN PROPHETS AND TEACHERS.

THE functions of the apostles of the second century appear to have included that of writing narratives of the biography of Christ, for the universal opinion, in ancient times, was that these narratives were the composition of apostles, though Eusebius is pleased to say that some of them were false apostles. There is no evidence that this was a function of apostles in the first century; in fact, no narratives dating from this period exist. The evangelist was a creation of the second century. He is not alluded to by Paul of the first century, but is by one of the Pauls of the second century (Eph. iv. 11), as also by another Paul in 2 Tim. iv. 5, who also was an apostle of the second century. There is, further, the testimony of Justin, who generalised the biographical writings of the apostles under the title of Memoirs of the Apostles. There exists another class of ancient writings, several of which have survived to our times, which are not narratives of Christ, but visions, dreams, revelations, and prophecies, sometimes put into a narrative form. These are the compositions of the prophets. In the case of the writings of the apostles, which were called in later times Gospels, I have pointed out that they were Jewish-Christian, such as the Protevangelium, Pseudo-Matthew, the Gospel of Peter, and others, and Pagan-Christian Gospels, such as those of Cerinthus, of Marcion and others. In the case of the writings of the prophets a similar demarcation is clearly perceptible, and proves that among the Pagan-Christians as well as amongst the Jewish-Christians there existed the class of prophets. The names of some of these prophets have survived to our times, but not their writings. Such names as Moses, Adam, Isaiah, David and Elias (*Apostolic Const.*, vi. 16) indicate Jewish-Christian prophets; but Barcabbas and Barcoph, and other prophets of Basilides (Euseb., *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 7) were Pagan-Christian prophets. The Marcosians, a Pagan-Christian sect, had prophets as well as prophetesses (*Iren.*, i.

xlii. 3 ff.) ; and the Montanists, a sect which arose in the middle of the second century, had both (Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, v. 18). Fragments of ancient prophetic writings are preserved as quotations in the writings of the Fathers, but who the prophets were cannot be ascertained. Some of these quotations are very curious. Irenæus quotes the following: "And the holy Lord remembered his dead Israel, who had slept in the land of sepulture ; and he descended to them to preach the salvation which is from him that he might save them" (*Iren.*, III. xx. 4). Irenæus' memory, however, failed him, and he could not accurately remember the name of the prophet. The above quotation he credited to Isaiah,¹ but quoting the same prophecy in another place, in iv. xxii. 1, he transferred it to Jeremiah. It is singular that Justin also quoted the same prophecy as said by Jeremiah (*Trypho*, lxxii.). But the prophecy is not to be found either in Isaiah or Jeremiah of the Old Testament. Lactantius quoted a prophecy: "The womb of a virgin was strengthened and conceived ; and a virgin was impregnated and became a mother in great pity" (*Divine Institutes*, iv. 12), which he ascribed to Solomon ; but it cannot be found in the writings of Solomon or any book in the Old Testament, nor in any other writing extant. In the Gospel according to Matthew, ii. 23, is the following prophecy: "He shall be called a Nazarene," which is not to be found in the Old Testament ; so that the conclusion is justifiable that it was the utterance of a nameless prophet of the second century. Matthew xiii. 35 contains another example of Christian prophecy, the author of which is unknown. The body of Christian prophets was a very ancient institution, and was derived from the Jews. The ancient pagans, however, also had prophets and prophetesses, as at Delphi. Paul speaks of prophets conjointly with apostles, assigning them the second place (1 Cor. xii. 28), and the third place to teachers. The functions of the prophets are not quite clear, but they appear to me to have comprised speaking in tongues, dreaming and seeing visions, declaring revelations, and prophesying. Some of the surviving writings of prophets are weird and mystical compositions that "no fellow can understand." The speaking in tongues appears to have been a function that was abandoned in very early times. Paul set his face against it, for a reason which may stand for the original of Lord Dundreary's famous saying, *Οὐδείς γὰρ ἀκούει*, "For no fellow understands" (1 Cor. xiv. 2). The functions of apostle, prophet and teacher were manifestly combined in the same individual, at any rate in many instances. Paul says that he himself spoke in tongues (1 Cor. xiv. 18), although he disapproved of it, and remarks

¹ Isaiah is the name of a second century prophet mentioned in the *Apostoli Const.*, vi. 16.

in the following verse that he preferred speaking five words intelligible to himself and others, than ten thousand words in a tongue. It was the practice of speaking in tongues that he probably alluded to when he wrote "we are fools for Christ's sake" (1 Cor. iv. 10). He very properly pointed out that the speaking in tongues would be interpreted by unbelievers to be a symptom of insanity or lunacy (1 Cor. xiv. 23), and it is pretty certain that it was actually attributed to the effects of spirituous liquor (Acts ii. 13). We hear no more of it after the days of Paul.¹ Ecclesiastical Christianity or Credonism took most of its

¹ We hear of it again in the early thirties of the nineteenth century, in the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, London, during the ministry of the Rev. Edward Irving, a friend of Carlyle, who thus speaks of it in his *Reminiscences* (vol. i. p. 318):—"In the course of the winter sad things had occurred in Irving's history. His enthusiastic studies and preachings were passing into the practically 'miraculous,' and to me the most doleful of all phenomena. The 'Gift of Tongues' had fairly broken out among the crazed and weakest of his wholly dim and weakly flock. I was never at all in his church during this visit, being grieved at once and angered at the course he had got into; but once or twice poor Eliza Miles came running home from some evening sermon there was, all in a tremor of tears over these same 'Tongues,' and a riot from the *dissenting* majority opposing them. 'All a tumult yonder, oh me!' This did not happen above twice or so; Irving (never himself a 'Tongue' performer) having taken some order with the thing and I think discouraged and nearly suppressed it as *unfit* during church service. We ourselves saw less and less of Irving, but one night in one of our walks we did make a call, and actually heard what they call the Tongues. It was in a neighbouring room, larger part of the drawing-room belike. Mrs Irving had retired thither with the devotees. Irving for our sakes had stayed, and was pacing about the floor, dandling his youngest child, and talking to us of this and that, probably about the tongues withal, when there burst forth a shriek hysterical 'Lah lall lall!' (little or nothing else but l's and a's continued for several minutes), to which Irving, with singular calmness, said only, 'There hear you, there are the Tongues!' And we two, except by our looks, which probably were eloquent, answered him nothing, but soon came away, full of distress, provocation, and a kind of shame. 'Why was there not a bucket of cold water to fling on that *lah lalling* hysterical mad woman?' thought we, or said to one another, 'Oh, heaven, that it should come to this.' The above is a prosaic account of the Tongues by a literary man. Mrs Oliphant, a literary woman, gives a poetical account in her *Life of Irving*. Mrs Mary Campbell, who was the first to exercise the Tongue, believed it to be in truth the language of the Pelew Islands, while the conjectures of others pointed to the Turkish and Chinese languages. "Since then opinion seems to have changed, even among devout believers in these wonderful phenomena; the hypothesis of actual languages conferred seems to have given way to that of a supernatural sign and attestation of the intelligible prophecy, which, indeed, the Pentecostal experience apart, might very well be argued from St Paul's remarks upon this primitive gift. The character of the sound itself has perhaps received as many different descriptions as there are persons who have heard it. To some, the ecstatic exclamations, with their rolling syllables and mighty voice, were imposing and awful; to others it was merely gibberish shouted from stentorian lungs; to others an uneasy wonder, which it was a relief to find passing into English, even though the height and strain of sound was undiminished. One witness speaks of it as 'bursting forth,' and from the lips of a woman, 'with an astonishing and terrible crash'; another (Mr Baxter [a practising barrister]), in his singular narrative, describes how, when 'the power' fell suddenly upon himself, then all alone at his devotions, 'the utterance was so loud that I put my handkerchief to my mouth to stop the sound, that I might not alarm the house!'" Mrs Oliphant prints Irving's own account of the tongues, written with "all his usual splendour of diction," which may be said to be a transcendental account by a theologian.

dogmas from the frenzied ravings, revelations, and visions of the prophets. The second advent, the ideas regarding heaven and hell, the general resurrection, the day of judgment, eternal bliss to the believer, mansions in heaven, eternal damnation to the unbeliever, the descent of Christ to hell, and many others, were the *deliramenta* (to use Bishop Ellicott's expression) and the frenzied hallucinations of the prophets. It is only historically just to point out that Christ cannot be held responsible for the ineptitudes and extravagances uttered by the Christian prophets after his retirement from public life, and long after his death. Several of these dogmas were initiated by Paul, in his capacity of prophet. The second advent was originated by Paul, or rather I should say he expected and believed it, for it may have originated amongst Christians before he joined them. He refers to it in several passages: 1 Cor. i. 7, "waiting for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ"; iv. 11, "judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come"; and again, xv. 23, "they that are Christ's at his coming." But there can be no doubt that the general resurrection was the frenzied conception of Paul, expressed in the mystic language and the all-knowing self-sufficiency of a Christian prophet: "Behold I show you a mystery ;

"The whole utterance from the beginning to the ending of it, is with a power, and strength, and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from that of the person's ordinary utterance in any mood ; and I would say, both in its form and its effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural. There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and everawe the spirit, after a manner which I have never felt. There is a march and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs Siddons and Miss O'Neil. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming or crying ; it is the most majestic and divine utterance which I have ever heard, some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed by the finest execution of genius and art exhibited at the oratorios in the concerts of ancient music. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likeliest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service, inasmuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive Church. Most frequently the silence is broken by utterance in a tongue, and this continues for a longer or a shorter period, sometimes occupying only a few words, as it were filling the first gust of sound ; sometimes extending to five minutes, or even more, of earnest and deeply-felt discourse, with which the heart and soul of the speaker is manifestly much moved to tears and sighs, and unutterable groanings, to joy and mirth, and exaltation, and even laughter of the heart. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said, it is a regularly-formed, well-proportioned, deeply-felt discourse, which evidently wanteth *only the ear of him whose native tongue it is*, to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech." Mrs Oliphant, who was very religious, appears to think that there was "a real *something* in the movement." That something was *insanity*, which may exist side by side with sanity in the same individual. Mr Maudsley relates that an eminent banker, while successfully conducting the most gigantic financial operations, was afflicted with an irresistible longing to go up the chimney. Some forms of insanity are catching. No sort of infectious disease is more instantaneously caught and spread than that form of abnormal mental condition called panic.

we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (1 Cor. xv. 51, 52). Paul did not trouble himself with showing reasons and grounds for the justification of this forecast of his imagination. I believe there is no proof of the validity of this belief, that is, however, regarded as an axiom by the civilised Christians of the present day, except the one considered by all intelligent Christians as sufficient—Paul said so! Paul possessed the prophet's gift of seeing visions, and he indulged in this mental endowment as an agreeable diversion and consolation after the experience of being let down by the wall through a window in a basket. After mentioning this adventure, which he naively observes it was doubtless not expedient to glory in, he recounts two of his "visions and revelations of the Lord." The language he uses in detailing the vision is singularly lucid and intelligible, unlike the ideal utterances of a veiled prophet. "I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago (whether in the body I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up to the third heaven. And I knew such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth); how that he was caught up to paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which is not lawful for a man to utter" (2 Cor. xii. 2 ff.). This was a sample of his visions, and he wisely says that he "shall not be a fool" to desire to glory in it. He had also an abundance of revelations. He had some defect, probably a moral failing, which he mysteriously describes as a "stake in the flesh, an angel of Satan that he may buffet me," usually rendered "a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me" (2 Cor. xii. 7). Against this moral, or more probably physiological 'thing,'¹ as it is translated in the A. V., he "besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart." And the Lord said unto him, "My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness." The latter clause is purely prophetic, for it is beyond the comprehen-

¹ I think the Roman clergy are the best judges of what Paul's *stake* or *thorn* was. I side with them on this point. There is a vulgar English expression which means the same thing. Perhaps King James' translators had the latter in mind when they selected the word 'thorn.' Paul was vulgar-minded in matters that are not alluded to in polite society (see Gal. v. 12). The A. V. and R. V. translations of the latter verse are both incorrect. The American Committee of revisers, whose readings are given at the end of the R. V., are nearer the mark. Mark Twain's ingenuity would have devised some quaint euphemism, if he had been applied to as an expert by the Revision Committee of 1881. Origen was offended by "the vulgarity of diction which belongs to the Apostle [Paul] who confesses that he was but common in speech, that is, in his phraseology" (Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.*, vi. 25.; Crusé's translation).

sion of the ordinary mortal. The 'thing,' however, remained; and Paul proceeds to say, in the prophetic spirit, that he now gloried in his infirmities, including the 'thing' aforesaid, and he adds justly in his sober spirit, "I am become a fool in glorying" (2 Cor. xi. 33, xii. 1-11). These are samples of the extraordinary beginnings of the diversion of the moral instruction imparted by Jesus into supernatural and religious channels; a diversion which Paul initiated, or at any rate strongly supported, as I have explained in my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 71 ff. Paul's revelation was communication with a dead man. It is impossible for the observant historian not to perceive that the moral system of Jesus was perverted and degraded by association with the emotions and fancies of superstition or religion and theology. Paul had the capacity possessed by the stoutest of later Christian prophets of employing mystic and unintelligible language, which has its counterpart in the lucubrations of some modern theologians, and is imitated by Dickens in his exquisite creation of Capt. Bunsby, the nautical prophet. I have pointed out in my former work, p. 199, that Paul unequivocally entertained the belief that Christ was immortal on earth. It is not possible to derive any other natural and reasonable view from his words in Rom. vi. 9, 10, "Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God." The investigation by Festus of the charge brought against Paul by the Jews, is said in Acts. xxv. 19 to have been "certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of one Jesus, which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive." Paul afterwards heard of the death of Jesus, and to avoid stultifying himself and to cover his error, he endeavoured to explain away the fact in the following manner:—"For we know that if our earthly house of *this* tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For we that are in *this* tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality be swallowed up of life," and with much more to the same unintelligible effect, but departing from the prophetic conception of using a house as an overcoat, preliminary to the statement, "Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we *him* no more" (2 Cor. v. 1-16).¹ It was thus by the use of mystified

¹ Paul appears to have had a sentimental dislike to employing the ordinary Greek word ἀποθνήσκειν, to die, for Christ and the saints; the former was "no

language that Paul succeeded in covering up the fact that Jesus had eventually paid the debt of humanity, while at the same time he announced the actual fact.¹ Later theologians were not slow to avail themselves of Paul's mystification; but they did so with the object of concealing the somatic death of Christ in the interests of the later doctrine of the ascension on a cloud. This was a deceitful reason that had no influence on Paul, in whose mind the ascension had no place, for there is no trace of it to be found in his writings; but he was desirous of covering his mistaken notion of the immortality of Christ on earth, which he had declared in the earlier epistle of Romans, and doubtless generally promulgated before he became aware of the actual occurrence of the death of Christ. The view of the immortality of men on earth was not limited to Paul, for the

more in the flesh," and the latter "fell asleep." He had no objection to use it with reference to the death on the Cross. Cicero would have announced the death of Christ thus: *Christus non est*, i.e. Christ is not. Londoners have been recently amused by the display of a similar dislike to the word by a country parson, of the name of Sylvester, Vicar of Wembly, who objected to its use on tombstones. He gave his parishioners the choice between 'departed this life,' 'passed away,' and 'entered into rest,' for the reason that he could not "allow a lie to be placed upon a tombstone, however much this fact may have been ignored in the past." He extended the alternatives even to the Pauline expression 'fell asleep,' "believing these terms to be more consistent with our Christian belief than the word 'died.'" His objection was actually referred to the Bishop of London, the late Dr Creighton, for adjudication. These, and other failings of the clergy, are collected and amusingly commented upon in the *Agnostic Journal*, by the editor, Mr Stewart Ross, commonly known as Saladin, a man of genius, whose journal is most entertaining, as well as full of information. An amusing account of Mr Sylvester's repudiation of death will be found in the *Agnostic Journal* for 15th September 1900. I remember an excellent anecdote told of a native doctor in India who was left in charge of the hospital during the absence of the civil surgeon. On the return of the latter he found the entries of the deaths of patients in the hospital register thus expressed with a charming variety: "Kicked the bucket," "hooked it," and "gave up the ghost." We have it on the authority of Ian Maclaren (Rev. John Watson): "When one was seriously ill, he was said to be 'gey and sober,' and no one died in Drumtochty—he slippit awa'" (*Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush*: Cunning speech of Drumtochty).

¹ I have a strong suspicion that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews believed that Christ was immortal on earth, and he was not aware of his death about the year A.D. 57 or 58. He compares Christ to Melchisedek: "Without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God" (ch. vii. 3). These words mean that nothing was known of the personal history of Melchisedek, that there was no knowledge of his parents, where he was born nor when he died. This, the writer says, was the case with Melchisedek just as it was with Christ. The natural inference is that nothing was known of the personal history of Christ, who his parents were, where he was born and when he died. What the writer meant by an "endless life" appears to be that nobody knew when Jesus died, as in the case of Melchisedek. The clause in the Epistle to the Hebrews i. 3, "sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high," was an interpolation, with the exception of the single word 'Majesty' (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, pp. 78, 79). The expression "passed into the heavens," iv. 14, hence comes under suspicion. Clement of Alexandria largely exploited this epistle. I have pointed out in my former work, p. 200 and footnote, that Ignatius and the writer of the Revelation also held the belief of Christ's immortality on earth.

early Christians attributed the same immunity from death to the apostle John (see John xxi. 23). The superstitious belief in the prolongation of men's lives prevailed even in the second century, as is apparent from the statement regarding Simeon in Luke ii. 26. Tertullian informs us that Menander, in the second century, promulgated that all who partook of his baptism became immortal and incorruptible, that death had nothing to do with his disciples and never reached them (*De anima*, l.). (See my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 199 ff.). Justin says the same of Menander (*First Apol.*, xxi.). The character of Paul is a difficult one to comprehend. I have not been able to satisfy my mind that he was guilty of falsehood, like Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen and others. The falsehood attributed to him in his own times, which he describes as "my lie unto his glory" (Rom. iii. 7), refers to his statements regarding the resurrection of Christ from the dead (1 Cor. xv. 15). But I am unable to satisfy myself that he did not honestly believe in the reality of this extraordinary phenomenon. The vindication of an untruth, honestly and sincerely believed to be a truth, carries with it no moral guilt. There are no other statements of fact made by Paul that I suspect after investigation to be false, or even mistaken, and I have hence accepted them as historical. Such statements have, however, been garbled by second century editors and been misinterpreted. The speaking in tongues, seeing of visions, and the reception of revelations from a dead man, are undoubtedly implements of deception; but it is to Paul's credit that amongst Christian communities, composed in his times in the main of ignorant, superstitious, and credulous people, imbued with all the preconceptions and false ideas of Judaism and paganism, amongst whom these practices prevailed and were regarded as meritorious, he discouraged and discountenanced them. The speaking in tongues he represented to be foolish and mad; visions and revelations from the dead were things not to be gloried in; his participation in these practices, he distinctly says, was folly. It is the part that he took in them that produced the confession that he was a fool for Christ's sake, and became a fool for glorying in them. Let him who can throw stones at Paul for participation in conventionalisms do so. I cannot, for, *mutatis mutandis*, I myself do the same. Though believing that the services of the Church of England, conducted by men paid for administering religion, which is their means of livelihood, clothed in garments which are a modern modification of garments anciently worn by the female sex¹ (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 124, footnote),

¹ I desire to say that this statement is made on historical grounds. The ancient dress of ordinary people was the *tunica talaris* used by both sexes, with the *toga*

reciting sacred scriptures which patient and laborious investigation, carried on for many years, has convinced me are forgeries of writings, composed, for the most part, by the rogue apostles and prophets of the second century, and doing many other things that are objectionable in my view,—though I believe their services to be folly, I yet attend and respectfully and deferentially follow them. The speaking in tongues, seeing of visions, and the reception of revelations from dead men, were conventionalisms that were already in vogue, or sprang up among the Jewish-Christian and Pagan-Christian communities amongst whom Paul laboured, and were regarded by them as righteous and meritorious; and Paul, though disapproving, felt constrained to recognise, to be complacent to, respect and take part in them. I attribute to Paul's animadversions, alluded to above, the great fact that these practices ceased among the Christians of the first century, for I can find no trace of them in the later Christian writings of this early epoch.¹ Paul was addicted to rhetorical sophistry and special pleading in support of his theological and religious innovations. Of these vices a glaring example is his rhetorical argument to support his doctrine of the resurrection from the dead (1 Cor. xv. 13): "If there be no resurrection from the dead, then is Christ not risen: and if Christ is not risen, then *is* our preaching vain, and your faith *is* also vain.

by men and the *stola* by women. When the *stola* was not drawn over the head it was worn round the neck. In no ancient illustration have I seen any garment worn round the neck by men. In Tertullian's treatise on *Idolatry* (ch. xviii.) he speaks of the dress proper to every one; and amongst other remarks occurs the following: *sic penes nos quoque fidei, si necesse fuerit, poterit et puerilis pretexta concedi, et puerilis stola, nativitatis insignia*. The Ante-Nicene Christian Library translates as follows: "So among us believers also, if need so be, the bordered toga will be able to be conceded to boys, and the stole to girls as ensigns of birth." In the treatise *De Pallio* (ch. iv.), Tertullian speaks of the decrees of the Senate prohibiting matrons appearing in public without the stole, *sine stola*. The surplice is the representative of the tunic, and acquired its new name because in a cold country like England it was worn over warmer garments made of skins or furs, *super pellices*, anglicised into surplice. Theologians explain away the female garment, known for ages as the stole, by demonstrating that it also means a *broomstick*, and doubtless has that signification in the passages of Tertullian, and of other ancient writers. Regarding the female *stola*, see p. 523.

¹ It is a remarkable fact that ancient superstitious practices are being revived in our times. They appear to my mind to be abnormal reactions artificially generated by the influential but mercenary clergy of all denominations, who perceive their profession of religion, *i.e.* their means of livelihood and wealth, being steadily undermined by the modern scientific spirit, which is hostile to their pretences. They hence work upon the weaker, but by no means uneducated and ignorant minds, chiefly feminine, to get up revivals, religious and ecclesiastical agitations, quasi-philanthropic and religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods, incense, confession, convents, monasteries, the sign of the cross, etc., in the futile hope of bringing back the ancient superstitious mental climate which the ecclesiasticism of ancient times found so productive. In this work they are joined, and even rivalled, by men and women who are not clergy, but who perceive the advantage of lucrative enterprises, such as spiritualists, Christian scientists, sacred minstrels, and others.

Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God ; because we have testified of God that he raised up Christ : whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not. For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised : and if Christ be not raised, your faith *is* vain ; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished." This is arguing in a circle. The resurrection of Christ proves the general resurrection, and the general resurrection proves the resurrection of Christ : neither of these contingencies having a necessary connection with the other, and one may conceivably occur without the other preceding or following. This false reasoning is supported by gratuitous and irrelevant allusions to the dead and to the practice of baptising the dead, or of living substitutes or representatives of the dead (v. 29). The resurrection of the dead is further illustrated by an unscientific fact, introduced in this elegant fashion, "*Thou* fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die" (v. 36). Then follows a fine outburst of rhetoric, ending with self-complacent thanks to God, "which giveth us the victory." Illicit logical processes, rhetorical sophistry, and special pleading, are the only human means by which religious conceptions or theology can be demonstrated, when falsehood is not employed. Paul's failing was inevitably bound up with his offence of associating morals with theology. On the subject of pure morals, Paul had recourse neither to sophistry nor other expedients of deceit. His exposition of charity is exquisite (1 Cor. xiii. 1-8) ; and it is gratifying to find that Paul ranked 'charity,' a moral virtue, above 'faith and hope,' which, in the sense in which he used these expressions, are religious or theological aptitudes. The modern churches are of a different opinion from Paul. The Roman Church ranks faith above morals, and the Church of England carefully excludes and banishes morals from its constitutional articles (see p. 427). "And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three ; but the greatest of these is charity" (verse 13). It is to be regretted that the stern necessity of faithful translation induced the Revision Committee to substitute the word 'love' for 'charity,' and thus a passage in the New Testament, which is a rare example of a translation which is superior in beauty and in the choice of words to the original, has been spoiled.

What I desire specially to point out is that Paul told no untruths which he knew to be untruths. He was wrong and foolish in various ways, but deliberate falsehood was foreign to him. And this I find was a characteristic of the Christians of the first century : falsehood was not uttered by them, or by their surviving writers. A statement of fact found in the first century writers, after being carefully examined

as to alteration or interpolation, may be accepted as historical. This broad fact has guided me in some obscure points of history. In the second century and later Christian writings, one is never quite certain that the truth is told, and very often the sad fact is ascertained that falsehood was solemnly uttered.

There are a few notices of Christian prophets in the scanty remains of first century literature. James (v. 10) has an allusion to "the prophets, who have spoken in the name of the Lord," but these were probably the ancient Jewish prophets. He refers to the second advent (v. 7), an expectation which originated from Paul or some other prophet of his time. Neither Paul nor James speaks of the second advent as foretold by Jesus. The writer of the First Epistle of John has a distinct reference to Christian prophets, but his allusion in this passage is only to false prophets (1 John v. 1). He implies the existence of true prophets, in the passage in which he says "ye have heard that antichrist¹ shall come" (iii. 18). He also had the expectation of the second advent (v. 28), and thought that it was very close, as "even now are there many antichrists" (v. 18), from which he inferred "that it is the last time." These antichrists were perverts from early Christianity (v. 19). I have ascertained the date of this writer, from internal evidence (ch. ii. 13 and 14) to be A.D. 75 or 85, or thereabouts. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews has no allusion to prophets, but only to the second advent, in the words "unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation" (ix. 18), possibly implying that he and some others did not share the expectation. In the first epistle of Clement of Rome, so called, there are no allusions to prophets, but to apostles (ch. lxxv.). It contains a quotation from some unknown source (ch. xxiii.), which Bishop Lightfoot hypothetically marks in the margin "Eldad and Modad," the Jewish prophets spoken of in Deuteronomy. The words in this quotation, "These things we did hear in the days of our fathers also, and behold we have grown old, and none of these things hath befallen us," do not refer to the second advent, but to the general favours or gifts of God, of which the author was discoursing. The *Didache* (ch. xvi.) expresses a strong expectation of the second coming, and contains several quotations on the subject from some unknown source, which Bishop Lightfoot complacently marks in the margin, Matthew, Luke, and Zechariah. But the whole tenor of

¹ I have a suspicion that 'antichrist' was a second century modification of the original word. The prophet referred to by the writer was perhaps the same quoted in the *Didache* (ch. xvi.), in which the prophecy is thus alluded to, "And then the world deceiver shall appear as a Son of God," before the final judgment and the coming of the Lord. 'World deceiver' may have been the original word changed into 'antichrist.'

the passage indicates the prophetic vision of some nameless Christian prophet; and this lost writing of a nameless prophet was the original source of the fragments from the full passages in the *Didache*, which have found admission into the Canonical Gospel. According to this nameless prophet, the resurrection of the dead was limited to the saints.

One writing of a prophet at the close of the first century has survived to our days. This is known as the Second Book of Esdras; but it was published without a title, and has had other titles given to it, such as *The Revelation of Esdras* and *The Prophecy of Esdras*. The writer was a Jewish-Christian prophet, and his name is known from the circumstance that he writes in the first person, and represents the angel addressing him as Esdras¹ (ch. vii. 2). The whole tenor of the book is Jewish. The subjects dealt with are entirely of a Christian character, and he mentions the names of Jesus and Christ (ch. vii. 28, 29), the crucifixion (ch. v. 5), and his general phraseology is Christian. He represents himself as the last of the prophets (ch. xii. 42). His date is given by himself: "In the thirtieth year after the ruin of the city I was in Babylon, and lay troubled upon my bed, and my thoughts came over my heart" (ch. iii. 1). Thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem would be A.D. 100; and I can detect no circumstance in the contents of the writing which throws doubt upon the chronology. The place of the writing was Babylon, which he represents to be wealthy, and I take it to be Babylon in Egypt, a country which was the source of many other Christian writings, and the residence of the apostle Peter, the author of the Epistle and Gospel of Peter. (See p. 411.) The visions of Esdras are free from the extreme absurdities and extravagances and the historical mendacities of the second century prophets. Clement of Alexandria quotes Esdras (*Strom.*, iii. 16), and his quotation is found in the original (ch. v. 35). Esdras was written in Greek, as there is no statement made by anyone that it was originally in any other language.

I now pass to the prophetic writings of the second century, the era in which Christian writers began the production of the most mendacious literature known to history. It is very difficult to fix the dates of these writings, and I am unable to follow a chronological order. I shall inaugurate my entry into the ecclesiastical Christian era of falsehood and deceit, *i.e.* the second century, by examining the writing of a prophet who made believe that he was the Esdras just spoken of. This writing is printed in the volume of Apocryphal

¹ I do not possess the editions of Fabricius or of Tischendorf. My references are to the Apocrypha in the Rev. John Henry Blunt's Annotated Bible, 1891.

Gospels, etc., in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, p. 468, under the title, "Revelation of Esdras, Word and Revelation of Esdras, the holy prophet and beloved of God." There is no reason to believe that this was a title prefixed by the author, who writes in the first person sometimes, and in the third person as Esdras, and "the prophet" at other times. He begins, very like the former Esdras, as follows: "It came to pass in the thirtieth year, on the twenty-second of the month, I was in my house": but he prophetically forgot to add, "after the ruin of the city," and to state the month—thus causing a prophetic ambiguity as to his date. He concludes the revelation by describing his own death and funeral ceremonies, all which actually took place "in the month of October, on the twenty-eighth!" In the course of his revelation, he remarks in a conversation with God: "Call to mind the scriptures, my Father, who has measured out Jerusalem, and set her up again" (p. 470). Here we ascertain the reason of the prophetic omission of the clause, "after the ruin of the city," for the prophet wrote his revelation in some undefined period, after the restoration of Jerusalem by Hadrian, who began his reign in A.D. 117. The writer gives me the impression of being very ancient. He gives no indication of acquaintance with the Canonical Gospels, and his knowledge is limited to such circumstances as were in the Apocryphal Gospels in his days, such as the conversion of stones into bread, and of water into wine by Christ, the giving of vinegar and gall, the day of judgment, the second advent, hell, and paradise. His account of the signs of the approach to the 'end' has a familiar ring, but it is not the same as any passage in our Canonical Gospels. "When you see that brother gives up brother to death, and that children shall rise up against their parents, and that a woman forsakes her own husband, and when nation shall rise up against nation in war, then will ye know that the end is near" (p. 471). The ring of the passage is very similar to Matt. xxiv. 6, 7, 10, but there is a great difference. The credentials of this writer for admission into the band of rogue and knave apostles and prophets of the first half of the second century are good. He was a Pagan-Christian prophet, as the tone of his writing is not Jewish. He is addicted to the use of the expressions Tartarus and Hades, which are not Jewish. The age I have assigned him is supported by his list of the personages whom he met in Paradise, viz., Enoch, Elias, Moses, and Peter, Paul, Luke and Matthias, which may be the same as Matthew—all the latter were eminent contemporaries who predeceased him, and perhaps also the former, who, under patriarchal names, which may have been their own also, were contemporary prophets.

In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vi. 16, is a statement that "among the ancients also, some have written apocryphal books of Moses, and Enoch, and Adam, and Isaiah, and David, and Elias, and of the three patriarchs, pernicious and repugnant to the truth" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Apost. Const.*, p. 160). Of these writings, the Revelations of Moses, the Book of Enoch, and the Ascension and Vision of Isaiah,¹ have survived. The former will be found in the Apocryphal Gospels, etc., of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, but I have not examined it. The Book of Enoch has been known to the Christians from the second century, not before. It is quoted in the Epistle of Jude, verses 14 and 15, and the quotation is found in the original, but not verbally exact (ch. ii. of Enoch). In verse 6 of Jude is a statement regarding "angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day." This information is also found in Enoch. These are not Jewish views, and nothing like them is to be found in the Old Testament. But they are remarkably akin to the Gnostic speculations that originated in the first half of the second century. This affords some ground for the suspicion that Jude's existence was in this period of history. But Jude also refers to another prehistorical incident, verse 9, viz., the contention of Michael the archangel with the devil for the possession of the body of Moses. This piece of prehistorical knowledge was not derived from the Old Testament, from any Jewish traditions, or from any publication now extant. Its source, Origen tells us, was the apocryphal writing called the Ascension of Moses, the work of a contemporary Christian prophet, of the quality of those who flourished in the first half of the second century (see Origen, *de Principiis*, iii. ii. 1). There is no trace of the existence and diffusion amongst the Christian communities of the first century of writings containing mendacious history of the outrageous absurdity of those which we find in currency amongst them in the second century. The story of the phoenix related by Clement of Rome was not of Christian origin, but was current amongst pagans, and derived from them. Jude describes himself in verse 1 as "the servant of Jesus

¹ The *Ascension and Vision of Isaiah* was first published by Archbishop Laurence in an Ethiopic version, and subsequently by Gieseler in a Latin version. It is curious that this publication of the *second* century was quoted by Paul in 1 Cor. ii. 9, and by Clement of Rome in ch. xxxiv. To an ordinary mind like mine, second century editing by Clement of Alexandria explains the miracle. But theologians cannot understand so simple an explication (see Lightfoot on 1 Cor. ii. 9, & ὁφθαλμοὺς, κ. τ. λ.). Epiphanius (xlii.; Eph., Ref. 3; *Pet.*, i. 372) says that Eph. v. 14 was quoted from Elias, the prophet referred to in the quotation from the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This is not a miraculous circumstance, for the apostle Paul, who wrote the Ephesians, was a contemporary of Elias in the second century. I can identify three apostle Pauls in the second century. (See p. 416, footnote.)

Christ and the brother of James.”¹ The word ‘servant’ may be understood to mean ‘apostle,’ as Jude may have been, and I think was an apostle, for apostles possessed the privilege of writing epistles, which were circulated amongst the churches, and some of them have been preserved. Describing himself as the brother of James was, however, a most unusual proceeding amongst Jews and Eastern people generally, even to the present day. The description was invariably son of somebody, and this description was necessary amongst peoples who had the custom of employing single names, which may be borne by many others. In India it is the only means of identifying individuals in the addresses of letters passing through the post. Jude’s object was manifestly the desire to have reflected upon him the reputation of his brother. That brother James was some eminent person, and I think it probable, in association with the suspicions of the date of Jude already expressed, that he was James the apostle of the second century, spoken of by Papias (see p. 436), who was the author of the Protevangelium. Without any reasonable grounds, theologians claim Jude to be the brother of James, the brother of Jesus according to an apocryphal gospel. They have even gone the length of designedly and deliberately falsifying the translation of Luke vi. 16, A. V., in order to make out Jude to be one of the twelve. This intentional falsification by theologians of high standing in their times has been since rectified in the R. V. For the above reasons, I regard it as historically more probable to assign the early half of the second century as the date of Jude’s Epistle; and for this and other reasons which influence my mind, I assign the first half of the second century as the date of the writing known as the Book of Enoch. In character it differs from any writing of the first century, even from the writing of Esdras the prophet. It is full of the grossest absurdities and of mendacious assertions, given as history, regarding God, heaven, hell, Enoch and his son and great-grandson, of horrible and inhuman conceptions, wrapped in sanctimonious and religious language, such as a Jew knows how to make grandiloquent. No one but a confirmed and inveterate theologian can possibly regard such a writing as a “message of faith and truth,” and say of it, “No apocryphal book is more remarkable for eloquence and poetic vigour; and the range of subjects which it includes is as noble as its style.” There is a radical difference between Bishop Westcott, the author of this panegyric (*Introduction to the Gospels*, ch. ii. pp. 100, 101), and myself in our estimates of ancient writings. I read the book of

¹ In Phil. i. 1 the apostle Paul of the second century describes himself as a servant of Jesus Christ.

Esdras with some interest, and other apocryphal writings with amusement, but I was compelled to force my wearied and disgusted mind through the pages of Enoch. Bishop Westcott has selected as samples only the grandiloquent passages, but he has wisely passed over the silly extravagances and outrageous absurdities of Enoch's 'poetic vigour.' Women producing giants, whose stature was 300 cubits, that is 450 feet¹ (ch. vii. 12), is one of numerous other historical facts of a similar nature. Enoch entered a building, which was simultaneously hot as fire and cold as ice² (ch. xiv. 12). "And then shall all the saints give thanks, and live until they have begotten a thousand children" (x. 23). Here is a choice passage from Bishop Westcott's "message of faith and truth": "In those days shall fathers be struck down with their children in the presence of each other; and brethren with their brethren shall fall dead; until a river shall flow from their blood. For a man shall not restrain his hand from his children, nor from his children's children; his mercy will be to kill them. Nor shall the sinner restrain his hand from his honoured brother. From the dawn of day to the setting sun shall the slaughter continue. The horse shall wade up to his breast, and the chariot shall sink to its axle in the blood of sinners" (ch. xcvi. 1-3). This is a passage which is in great favour in theological circles, as it foretells according to their heart's desire the fate of those who do not receive their special theology. It may be poetical, but it is very grim and bloody, and it is in the last section of the writing, which is the only readable part of the whole. Here is a sample from another section: "Then began wild beasts and birds to bring forth. Of all these the different kinds assembled together, lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, wild boars, foxes, rabbits, and the hanzar, the siset, the avest, kites, the phoukas, and ravens. Then a white cow was born in the midst of them. And they began to bite each other; when the white cow, which was born in the midst of them, brought forth a wild ass and a white cow at the same time, and *after that* many wild asses. Then the white cow which was born, brought forth a black wild sow and a white sheep. That wild sow also brought forth many swine; and that sheep brought forth twelve sheep" (ch. lxxxviii. 14 ff.); and this silly tale goes on in the same 'noble style' for a

¹ My references are to Archbishop Laurence's translation of the Book of Enoch.

² This is of a piece with the history of St Patrick, who sailed across the ocean upon a millstone and contrived to heat an oven red-hot with nothing but ice, as recorded in the *Life of the Glorious Bishop St Patrick*, by Fr. B. B., St Omers, 1625, by licence of the Censors of Louvaine, of the Bishop of St Omers, and of the Commissary and Definitor-general of the Seraphic Order. Quoted by Taylor in his *Diegesis*, p. 185, 2nd ed.

couple of pages more, preceded and followed by similar reckless expenditure of the 'poetic vigour' of Bishop Westcott. I regret that I am totally unable to comprehend how Bishop Westcott and other theologians can have persuaded themselves to hold up the Book of Enoch to the admiration and reverence of their readers, without having recourse to the explanation afforded by mental and moral aberration. After perusing the book, it was a matter of surprise to me that modern theological scholars, of undoubted erudition, talent, and of personal honour in all secular matters, have come to the conclusion that this writing is pre-Christian. Such a conclusion is against all the ordinary rules of common-sense and reason that guide critics in the investigation of the chronology of ancient writings. The book is full of Christian ideas and phraseology, and of nothing else outside the absurdities and nonsense, dressed up in the sanctimonious draperies of religion, peculiar to the writer. The following conventional expressions in general use amongst Christians in the first and second centuries abound in this book: The elect who suffer, etc. (i. 7); saints (xxiv. 11); remission of sins (xii. 7); day of judgment (xxii. 4); splendour of the Godhead (i. 8); by his name they may be saved (xlix. 3); light of nations (xlvi. 3); light of the righteous (xxviii. 2); congregation of the righteous (xxxviii. 1); habitations of the elect and habitations of the holy (xli. 1); he shall be the hope of those whose hearts are troubled (xlvi. 4); paradise, meaning the heavenly retreat of the elect (xli. 1); blood of the righteous (xlvi. 1); congregation of the righteous (xxxviii. 1); glorified (l. 3); day of salvation has approached (l. 2); Holy one (xc. 11); Son of God (cv. 2); Lord of glory (lxxiv. 7); and some others, and these are repeated over and over again. The writer borrowed from Daniel some of his epithets, such as Son of man and Ancient of days, which latter expression is hardly reverential, but has a comic aspect, as it is equivalent to 'old fellow.' This phraseology limits the date of the writing in which it is found to Christian times:¹ and is plain proof that the prophet prophesied after he was quite sure. A further proof that he prophesied upon accurate and definite knowledge of the Son of man is his statement, "they shall behold this Son of woman sitting upon the throne of his glory" (lxi. 9). Daniel did not possess this fore-knowledge of a female parent! Again, "the Elect and the Concealed one existed in his

¹ The names of the archangels Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Suryal, Phanuel, Rakael, Raguel, Sarakiel, Uriel, and others, mentioned by Enoch, are probably, with the exception of the two first, of Christian origin, and may have been invented by Esdras and Enoch. But I have no accurate information on this subject. These names first appear in Christian literature in Esdras and Enoch, assuming the latter to be prior to John of the Apocalypse. Uriel alone is mentioned by Esdras.

presence, before the world was created and for ever," which also was information not possessed by Daniel; and it points to Gnostic views. There are other indications of Gnosticism, such as the expression Lord of Spirits (lxi. 2 and elsewhere); "the holy, holy, Lord of Spirits, fills the whole world of spirits"; "*these are the leaders of the chiefs of thousands, those which preside over all creation, and over all the stars*" (lxxiv. 1). These statements give grounds for the suspicion that the writer of Enoch was contemporary with the rise of Gnosticism in the early part of the second century. The point in Enoch which, in my judgment, constitutes his best claim to admission into the ranks of the knave apostles and prophets of the second century is his attribution of divinity to Jesus in the passage just quoted; the Elect and Concealed one, he says, existed in the presence of God before the world was created; and he repeats this statement in connection with the Son of woman in v. 10, "from the beginning the Son of man existed in secret, whom the Most High preserved in the presence of his power, and revealed to the elect"; and again in vv. 12 and 13, he adds, "All the kings, etc., shall fall down on their faces before him, and shall worship him. They shall fix their hopes on this Son of man, shall pray to him, and petition him for mercy." As demonstrated in my previous work (pp. 72-83), there is no evidence that Jesus was deified by the Christians of the first century. The prophet Esdras, on the verge of the first century, in his extensive writing, has no remark or expression attributing divinity to Jesus; nor is any to be found in the *Didache*, which is of the same date as Esdras. The doctrine of the divinity of Jesus hence indicates the date of this writing to be the second century. There are no traces in Enoch of any of the knowledge regarding the history of Jesus found in the Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels; and hence a rational inference may be made that he wrote his book very early in the second century, before the knowledge aforesaid began to abound. I can find no attempt made by Bishop Westcott to ascertain the date of Enoch: but he arbitrarily assigns a date, B.C. 107, in the margin of his account of the writing in his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, because, I conclude, "the evidence is insufficient for conclusive reasoning," as he remarks in his article in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. From this article I ascertain that there have been theologians who placed the composition of the writing after the Christian era: Hoffman, because he thought Jude could not have quoted an apocryphal book, and Weisse, because he sought to detach Christianity from a Jewish foundation; both these reasons appear to me inadequate. Stuart, an American theologian, 1840, however, was on the right road, since he regarded the

Christology of the book as a clear sign of its post-Christian origin. I can find no trace in the notices of Enoch by Christian writers of the first half of the second century of a belief that he was not a Christian writer, but exclusively Jewish and pre-Christian. They quote him as they quote other Christian writers, without any distinctive remarks. The impression left on my mind is that Enoch's influence, which I infer was considerable in his own times, from the abundance of allusions to him, was due to his personality only, that peculiar power which some men of strong minds, but without moral principle, exercise over their fellows, and not to the antiquity and quality of his writings. The earliest quotations and references to Enoch, in addition to those made by Jude, are in the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs, which are translated in vol. xxii. of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library (Lactantius, etc.). I do not possess the Greek, and am hence dependent on this translation, which in some passages employs, I suspect, conventional ecclesiastical expressions, and not the original words, such as the words 'ascended' and 'ascension.' This writing dates, I think, somewhere about A.D. 135, as the translator states. The watchers are spoken of in Reuben, 5, and in other passages. Enoch is referred to by name in Simeon, 5: "I have seen it inscribed in the writing of Enoch." Again in Levi, 10: "For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous." This statement is not found in our copies, but it was doubtless contained in some lost work of Enoch. In Levi, again, 14: "I have learnt from the writing of Enoch"; and in 16: "I have learnt from the book of Enoch." In Judah, 18: "I have read also in the books of Enoch the righteous, what evils ye shall do in the last days." Enoch styles himself "the scribe of righteousness" (ch. xii. 5). In Zebulun, 3: "Therefore is it written in the writing of the law of Enoch, that whosoever will not raise up seed to his brother, his sandal shall be unloosed," etc. This treatise on the law has been lost. Dan, 5: "For I have read in the book of Enoch the righteous, that your prince is Satan," etc. Benjamin, 9: "Now I suppose from the words of the righteous Enoch, that there will be also evil-doings among you," etc. In these numerous references there is not a word said of the alleged remote antiquity of Enoch. The impression given me is that the writer was quoting from a contemporary author of repute and eminence. In the writing called the Epistle of Barnabas, which was contemporary also, is a quotation from a lost work of Enoch. "The last offence is near, concerning which was written, as Enoch says, For unto this has the Lord cut short the seasons and the days, that his

beloved might hasten and come to his inheritance. And the prophet also says thus: Ten reigns," etc. (ch. iv.), quoting from a lost work. Justin Martyr, I think, uses the astronomical and historical information to be found in Enoch regarding the rotation of the seasons, the functions of angels, the cohabitation of fallen angels with women, and the begetting of demon children; but he does not mention his source (*Second Apol.*, v.). These numerous quotations made from Enoch in the first half of the second century, contrasted with the utter silence regarding him throughout the first century, strongly support the conclusion that his place in history is the first half of the second century. The influence of Enoch passed into the second half of the second century. Papius used and amplified the prophetic foreknowledge of Enoch. The prophet's vision was prospective to the extent of thousands of years, as well as retrospective to the same or greater lengths of time. He foresaw the happy future when the saints shall beget a thousand children, and the prolific earth shall yield a thousandfold. "In it shall vines be planted; and the vine which shall be planted in it shall yield fruit to satisfy; every seed which shall be sown in it shall produce for one measure a thousand; and one measure of olives shall produce ten presses of oil" (Laurence's Enoch, x. 23, 24): This passage was the source of the jubilant fancy of Papias, quoted as a choice selection from his writings by Irenæus (v. xxxii. 3). "The days shall come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand boughs, and in each bough ten thousand branches, and in each true bough ten thousand shoots, and in each one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and in each one cluster ten thousand grapes, and each one grape squeezed shall give twenty measures of wine.¹ And when any of the saints shall take hold of a cluster of them, another shall cry out, I am a better cluster, take me, bless the Lord through me. And similarly that a grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand ears, and that each one ear shall produce ten thousand grains, and each one grain five *seers*² of clear pure flour," and so on.³ Papias' sense of literary honour was weak, and he unfortunately attributed the frenzied prophecy of Enoch to the Lord, in his work known as Exegesis of the Logia of the Lord in five books; and he even had the episcopal audacity, for he was actually a bishop, to assert "now these things are credible to believers." In a more advanced period of ecclesiastical immorality,

¹ A measure or *metreta* of wine was nine gallons.

² The Indian *seer* is two pounds, which I have substituted for *bilibres*, an adjective which means of two pounds.

³ This sample of the 'poetic vigour' of Enoch, amplified by the poetic vigour of Papias, was also used by a later prophet who wrote the Revelation of John. (Sec Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Apocryphal Gospels*, etc., p. 494.)

Irenæus made the plump declaration that the elders at Ephesus who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, related that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach in regard to these times (same reference). It can readily be believed that the Lord foresaw from rational grounds the benefits to mankind that would spring from the practice of morality; but his views on this subject had been manifestly perverted and exaggerated into supernaturalism by the Ephesian elders. Irenæus himself quotes Enoch by name as an historical authority on the subject of the fallen angels, and he represents him to be the fabled individual in the Old Testament mythology who was translated to heaven (iv. 16, 2). Enoch had become an "ancient of days" to Irenæus, and his personal history had fallen into oblivion, and a greater antiquity was assigned to him than was justifiable. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*. Clement of Alexandria was acquainted with Enoch, but he made no use of him, beyond a remark in one of his surviving fragments that a saying of Daniel was agreed in by Enoch (Klotz's edit., *Eclog. Prophet.*, sect. 2); marginal numbers 344 and 989). Tertullian's credulity or faculty of deceit was extreme. He declared that the writing of Enoch was published before the deluge, and that it was either possessed in the ark by Noah, or was reproduced by this fabulous personage under the inspiration of the Spirit! He evidently knew less about the writing than we do, as he refers only to the testimony of the apostle Jude. Enoch's merit, in his eyes, was that he preached concerning the Lord. He informs us that the writing was rejected by some, and was not admitted into the Jewish canon (*De cultu fem.*, i. 2). Tertullian again quotes Enoch in his treatise *On Idolatry* (ch. iv.). The reputation of Enoch waned in the third century, though he was still read and quoted. Origen, in the early part of the century, quoted him (*de Principiis*, iv. i. 35), and refers to him in Celsus v. 54, where he says "the books which bear the name of Enoch do not at all circulate in the churches as divine." The passage from the *Apostolic Constitutions* which I have already quoted, p. 498, indicates that they were considered "pernicious and repugnant to the truth." Anatolius, Bishop of Laodiceæ, referred to him as an authority in astronomy rather than theology! (Euseb., *Ecc. Hist.*, vii. 42). In the fourth century he was hardly known; and that learned and indefatigable searcher after the truth, Epiphanius, does not even mention his name. His memory died out in the Western Churches; but Bishop Westcott says it still lingered in the Eastern Churches for some centuries later. Some large fragments and the quotations of the early Christian writers, Westcott says, "constituted the sole remains of the book known in Europe till the close of the last century" (Smith's *Dictionary of the*

Bible). There is no statement made by any writer that Enoch was originally in Hebrew: and the fact that it was generally read and quoted for a century and longer indicates that it was written in Greek, a language universally known in those days. The writings of Enoch were published without a title, and they were called after the author, who wrote in the first person and stated his name. The book which was lost in Europe was eventually found in Abyssinia by the traveller Bruce in 1773 in an Ethiopic translation. I conclude from a remark of Archbishop Laurence in his *Preliminary Dissertation*, p. xix, that it is a canonical book in the Abyssinian Church. This fact raises some reflections. This country has a salubrious climate, a fertile soil, abundance of domestic animals, and a virile population (see *Encyclopædia Brit.*). It has had the rare distinction and advantage of having enjoyed the benefit of the Gospel from the fourth century, uncontaminated by the intermixture of those secular forces which are variously styled Rationalism, Science, and Civilisation. Says Gibbon: "Encompassed by the enemies of their religion, the Ethiopians slept for near a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom they were forgotten." The Gospel and the Church have operated upon the Abyssinians for nigh two thousand years, without interference from the disturbing forces of secular thought and activity. The Abyssinians are still a nation of barbarians—Christians indeed, but void of moral virtues. The Western nations, who have not had the benefit of unmixed evangelisation and ecclesiastical guidance, were shocked, a few years ago, by the accounts of the cruelty legally perpetrated by the Abyssinians upon thousands of helpless prisoners of war: their feet were chopped off, and they were left to shift for themselves.¹ In the march of the world, this is the only Christian people who have lived for ages under the influence of the Gospel and the Church, and nothing else, that regard the Book of Enoch as a "message of faith and truth," the elegant words of Bishop Westcott.² The Abyssinians of the present day are in the same stage of civilisation reached by the English and Continental nations in the days of the Crusades. The same influence which, as historians tell us, vivified the Western nations after the Crusades is likely to have a similar beneficial effect upon the Abyssinians. The physical or moral conquest of Abyssinia by a Mahomedan power will be the salvation

¹ There was a fearful amount of judicial cruelty even in our own country before rationalism had spread to an appreciable extent. The Gospel and the Church did not prevent the horrible burning alive, by judicial sentence, of a starving woman nursing a child, for stealing a piece of cloth of the value of five shillings, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The amelioration of cruel judicial sentences was not due to our episcopal legislators.

² I might add for the edification of the reader that the Abyssinian Church canonised Pontius Pilate. The latter is a saint in Abyssinia.

of that country. According to Gibbon, it was by a mere historical accident, which probably he regretted, that the dons of our great seats of learning in Europe are not now teaching that there is one God and Mahomed is his prophet, instead of a triple God, the virgin conception, the resurrection from the dead and ascension in a cloud. The glory of Spain in the past was due to her previous conquest by the Mahomedans. The unadulterated operation of the Gospel and the Church is the deep cause of her present degradation.

The canonical writing called "the Revelation of St John the Divine" in our Bibles, I deeply regret to say, is also a composition of the first half of the second century, by a Pagan-Christian prophet and apostle, for he styles himself "a servant of Jesus Christ" (Rev. i. 1), the same expression used by Jude, and the Paul who wrote the Philippians. The composition is in the form of an epistle, the mode in which apostles made their communications to churches (Rev. i. 4). The name of the author is known from the circumstance that he wrote in the first person and in his own name, like Esdras, James, Enoch, and other apocryphal and canonical writers. His first appearance in history is in a reference made to him by Justin Martyr, in the middle of the second century. This writer, in discoursing of the millennium or the thousand years of the Lord, which, he asserted, was predicted by the prophet Isaiah,¹ says, in continued proof of the millennium: "And further, even amongst us a certain man, to whom *is* the name John, one of the apostles of Christ, prophesied in a revelation made to him, that those who believed in our Christ will make a thousand years in Jerusalem, and after these that there will be the catholic (or general) and, to speak shortly, everlasting resurrection of all unanimously at the same time, and judgment" (*Trypho*, lxxxi.). The source of this statement is found in the Revelation, in which it is said the "souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. . . . This is the first resurrection." The "beloved city" is alluded to, and this perhaps has a connection with the "holy city, New Jerusalem," mentioned shortly after. "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works" (Rev. xx. 3-15; xxi. 1, 2). There is a sufficiently close correspondence between the two passages to justify the conclusion that Justin's reference was to this writing. As to the author of the latter, Justin supplies no more information than his name and office, and his expression "even amongst us" gives me the impression that he was a contempo-

¹ This was probably one of the second century prophets referred to in the *Apostolic Constitutions* already quoted.

rary. This impression is corroborated by the fact that the writing is utterly alien in character to any composition that we know of that was published in the first century. The prophetic frenzy of the writer passed into the incoherency of insanity. In the full passage which I have partially quoted above, the incoherency and the confusion of mind of a mad man are apparent. In xx. 4 and 5, the souls of the saints lived a thousand years, but the rest of the dead, which I take to mean the souls of unbelievers, lived not until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection. Resurrection of whom or what—of the living souls of the saints, or of the dead souls of unbelievers? As the souls of the saints were living, they needed no resurrection, and the resurrection would apply to the souls of unbelievers, which had been dead for a thousand years. But the benediction in v. 6, on the soul that partook of the first resurrection, indicates that the living souls of the saints resurrected. Here one wonders what is meant by resurrection. The dead souls of the unbelievers by living again after the completion of a thousand years were equalised with the living souls of the saints. Yet the latter were resurrected, and the former apparently not. The mention of a first resurrection naturally induces the expectation of a second resurrection; but this expectation is not gratified. After some apparently irrelevant statements about Satan, comes an incoherent statement that the dead stood before God; who these dead are is not stated, and one is puzzled to ascertain whether they are the souls of unbelievers, and whether they had again become dead after they had ceased to be so on the completion of the thousand years. These dead were judged by God. "And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire" (xx. 14). My mind is not strong enough to comprehend this statement. I naturally expected that all this was perhaps the second resurrection; but to my utter disappointment and amazement, I find it is the "second death" (xx. 14). My natural expectation was disappointed that there is no mention of a second resurrection made by the prophet; but to my surprise I find that Dean Alford, a distinguished commentator and textual critic, states that "two resurrections are mentioned in the passage." His words are: "If in a passage where *two resurrections* are mentioned, . . . the first resurrection may be understood to mean *spiritual* rising with Christ, while the second means *literal* rising from the grave;—then there is an end of all significance in language; and scripture is wiped out as a definite testimony to anything. If the first resurrection is spiritual, then so is the second, which I suppose none will be hardy enough to maintain" (quoted in the *Speaker's Commentary*, in the note to Rev. xx. 5). Dean Alford's faith in the defective *hardihood* of theologians was mistaken.

Although I am quite certain that I have read the passage right, as it is printed in the A. V., I am so conscious of an incapability of comprehending the account of the prophet, that I am willing to yield to the deeper insight of the superior mind of Dean Alford. The belief in two resurrections, and in two deaths, is not and never has been a part of the orthodox faith; and this *soi-disant* prophecy is hence an indication that the prophet was not of the orthodox party, but an official of one of the numerous sects of the second century. Incoherency is the most salient feature in the writing; and a writing of this nature would be an efficient proof to the Commissioners of Lunacy of the insanity of its author. There is an incident recorded in history in which a Greek writing was brought forward in proof of the condition of mind of its author. Æschylus or Euripides, I forget which, in his old age, was charged by his ungrateful sons with mental incapacity to conduct his affairs. The aged poet's answer to the charge was the reciting in court of the tragedy he had just written. The judges decided that the writing was efficient proof of the sound mental condition of its author, and dismissed the charge. No sane man during the last eighteen centuries, since the writing has been published, has been capable of understanding the Revelation of John: and it is a fact that many sane men and women have been rendered insane by a too close and constant study of it. Constant association with the insane is, I believe, recognised by some alienists as a cause of insanity. Incoherency is a symptom of insanity.¹ Mere absurdity and extravagance of statement is no proof of insanity, when associated with coherency. The absurdities and sillinesses in the Book of Enoch are those of a sane man, for they are coherent, and the sane mind can follow and comprehend them. *Alice in Wonderland*, and the other amusing writings of its gifted author, are exceedingly absurd, and their attractiveness lies in their absurdity; but the absurdity is coherent and intelligible, and is the offspring of a sane mind. The genius of the author was displayed in the skill with which he rendered absurdities coherent and intelligible. If coherency and intelligibility were wanting in them as in the Revelation of John, these charming tales would be sheer worthless nonsense, and would cease to be amusing. The introduction of the quizzical metaphor Lamb's wife (Rev. xix. 7 and xxi. 9) into a serious composition is an indication of an unbalanced mind. The metaphor of Lamb for

¹ John is the only one of the Christian prophets in whom I detect insanity. The pagan prophets of the period were less free from insanity, as is seen from the following passage from Minutius Felix, ch. xxvi. The demons were supposed to inspire the prophets at the shrines, and of these some became mad. "These also are they whom you see running about frenzied in public; prophets indeed and without a temple: so they rave, so they declaim wildly (*bacchantur*), so they are whirled about."

Christ is not a happy one, as it does not go well with the crucifixion ; but the Lamb's wife is simply ludicrous, if not irreverent. As well may God be likened to a grasshopper, and the Church represented as the grasshopper's granddaughter. The sane mind is consistent, and keeps within reasonable bounds. The Revelation has probably undergone more change and revision than any other writing in the New Testament. To this constant revision may be attributed the fact that some passages are lucid and intelligible. Amongst these is the prophecy regarding the fall of the city of Rome (Rev. xiv. 8). There can be no doubt that the Babylon in the revised Revelation is Rome, as the prophet is made to explain his own revelation in ch. xvii. 9, "the seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth." As I have not yet examined the text, I am unable to guarantee its authenticity and purity, *i.e.* whether our present text is the same as the original as it proceeded from the pen of the author. This is the only instance that I can detect in which any prophecy in the Revelation is clearly defined and made intelligible. Victorinus, Bishop of Petau, towards the close of the third century, wrote a Commentary on the Apocalypse, which will be found in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, *Tertullian*, vol. iii. There are serious discrepancies between Victorinus' text and our own ; and the continuity of the text was greatly divergent. He says that "he remembers" the scarlet woman is called Babylon in the Apocalypse, "on account of confusion" ; she is also so called in Isaiah, but in Ezekiel, Sodom.¹ "In fine, if you compare what is said against Sodom, and what Isaiah says against Babylon, and what the Apocalypse says, you will find that they are all one" (*op. cit.*, p. 429). Sodom in the Apocalypse is supposed to mean Jerusalem, otherwise Egypt (Rev. xi. 8), and possibly the Transvaal or Kamskatka. The prophecy about Rome, assuming it to have had a place in the writing of John, attracted no attention in the early centuries, but it has since come right. There has probably been no nation, or no prominent man, during historic times, whose downfall has not been predicted by some person or other, who had been subjected to injustice. Many of these prophecies have doubtless come right, without reflecting credit on the prophet. John's prophecy has hardly yet come right, as the city of Rome still stands, as the capital of a kingdom, of which the future is most promising, and it certainly has the general goodwill. The Roman empire is, however, a thing of the past, but the prophecy was regarding the city. There is an amusing diversity of opinion amongst theologians as to the application of this prophecy : and the latter has even been made the means of giving vent to

¹ These prophets are Christian namesakes of the second century of the ancient Hebrew prophets.

sectarian strife and spite. Bossuet bitterly resented the explication of the Protestant ministers, that Babylon meant not the city, nor the empire, but the Church of Rome. It might be taken to mean Paganism or Ecclesiastical Christianity or Credonism, or anything else to which one has an antipathy. I have a suspicion that the original prophecy of John was, after all, something which no fellow could understand; and its present form was due to the dexterous manipulation of the original text by some ingenious interpolator.¹ The writer of the Revelation was not a Jew, for this writing has not Jewish characteristics. The Jew can be instinctively recognised in ancient religious writings by his phraseology and ideas, as readily and as certainly as he can be singled out in general society by his physical characteristics. A comparison made between the Revelation and the book of Enoch or the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs, all three contemporary writings, will result in the spontaneous conviction that the writer of the former was a Greek or pagan, and of either of the latter a Jew. The Jewish conception of God was anthropomorphic; he had a face, hands, and hinder parts like a man, but the conception was a glorified one. The conception of God in the minds of Cerinthus, Marcion, and Valentinus was lofty, ideal, and metaphysical; but in the mind of the common Greek or pagan, it was a degraded material conception. No Jew would allow a description of God like that found in the Revelation to pass his lips. I place side by side the conception of God by a Jewish-Christian and a Pagan-Christian prophet of the second century.

BOOK OF ENOCH, xiv. 19-23.

From underneath this mighty throne rivers of flaming fire issued. To look upon it was impossible. One great in glory sat upon it, whose robe was brighter than the sun, and whiter than snow. No angel was capable of penetrating to view the face of Him, the Glorious and the Effulgent; nor could any mortal behold Him. A fire was flaming around Him.

REVELATION OF JOHN, iv. 2, 3.

And immediately I was in the Spirit; and behold a throne was set in heaven, and *one* sat on the throne. And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone; and *there was* a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.

¹ I may remark in a footnote that Tertullian refers to the Babylon of John as a figure of the city of Rome, great and powerful and triumphant over the saints; but without a word about its downfall (*Answer to the Jews*, ch. ix., Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. iii. p. 229). Irenæus speaks of Babylon being laid waste and burned, and the Church put to flight by the ten kings, for the benefit of the beast. And the ten kings, of whom three have been previously killed off, shall be destroyed by the coming of the Lord (v. xxvi. 1). This is not in accord with Rev. xiv. 8 and xviii. 1-10.

Enoch's conception of God is the true Jewish conception held by Jews of all ages; it was impossible to look upon or see God for his glory. John's conception was that of the common Greek or pagan, who was accustomed to look upon his god in the temples and saw him to be made up of precious stones. John, though a Christian apostle and prophet, retained his pagan religious ideas. The association of incense with the prayers of the saints was inconsistent with the views of the orthodox Church in the second century (Rev. viii. 3, 4). Justin Martyr's account of the simple worship of Christians is without incense: it consisted of the reading of the Memoirs of the Apostles and of the writings of the prophets, exhortation by the president, prayer and the Eucharist (*First Apol.*, lxvii.). Incense was an abomination to the orthodox Church in the second century (see p. 37, footnote). It was doubtless used by the Pagan-Christian sect to which the prophet John belonged. I do not think the name John declares the bearer of it to be a Jew. John is not an exclusively Jewish name, and it is conspicuous by its absence in the Old Testament. It is not a Jewish name in the present day. It is borne by individuals of many nationalities; by Christians in all ages, who have always had some aversion to Jewish names,¹ and even by Mahomedans (as Jan or Jehan Mahomed). It may have been a Samaritan, Syrian, or Egyptian name originally. Jannes and Jambres were the names attributed to the Egyptian magicians who contended against Moses. These sound very like John and James. It is probable that John of the Revelation was a Samaritan, Syrian, or Egyptian. Egypt and Syria were the sources of many of the early Christian writings; and Samaria furnished some famous Christian sects, the Simonites and Menandrians. There are some statements, besides those already mentioned, which induce me to think that John was a prophet and apostle of an unorthodox sect of the second century. The name marked on the Lord's, or Word-of-God's thigh (Rev. xix. 16), and on the foreheads of the hundred and forty-four thousand in ch. xiv. 1, is very curious. Surely this was not a Christian or even Jewish practice; but it was prevalent amongst the heathen, who stamped themselves with the names or symbols of their gods, such as Zeus, Ares, Dionysus, or the ivy-leaf of the latter (Bacchus). It is a general practice amongst Hindoos in the present day, and dates from remote antiquity. John further has a predilection for the number seven: he has seven churches, seven spirits, seven candlesticks, seven stars, seven lamps, seven seals, seven thunders, seven horns, seven eyes; and also for the

¹ The partiality of some dissenting sects of modern times for Jewish names was due not to these names being Jewish, but scriptural, *i.e.* contained in the Bible.

number four and its multiples, four beasts, four angels, four and twenty elders, hundred and forty-four thousand of Jews who were sealed (*i.e.* 12 by 12), or twelve thousand (*i.e.* 4 by 3) of each tribe, the array of horsemen (ch. ix. 16), two hundred thousand (*i.e.* 4 by 50), and some others, such as twelve gates. Further, the beast had a number, 666 (ch. xiii. 17). The orthodox Christians did not deal in mysterious and preferential numbers; but this practice was a marked peculiarity of the Marcosians, a sect of the first half of the second century (*Irenæus*, I. xiv.). *Irenæus* devotes many sections of his great work to the elucidation of the religious virtue of letters and numbers as inculcated by the Marcosians. The number seven and its multiples also had some sacred significance amongst obscure sects, such as the Naasseni or Ophites, the Christian sect of snake worshippers. *Clement of Alexandria* has a chapter on the subject (*Strom.*, vi. 11). I do not remember any Christian writing prior to *Justin Martyr*, apart from *John's Revelation*, in which Christ is likened to a lamb. *John* introduced this metaphor and symbol into Christian literature and thought.¹ He further represents Christ to have met his death in the form in which he had seen lambs perish in sacrifice and in the shambles, by cutting of the throat (ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, and ὅτι ἐσφάγῃς (Rev. v. 6, 9), from σφάζω, *égorger*, or to cut the throat). The Greek word has been changed in translation, a form of literary immorality prevalent amongst modern theologians in passages which retain the original Greek text.² This attribution of a peculiar form of death to Jesus was in no way required by literary necessity, for the type cannot be expected to resemble the symbol or metaphor in every physical and historical detail. I think it indicates the tenet held by some unknown obscure religious sect of those early days. The ancient theologians, or apostles and prophets, had no scruple in changing historical or physical facts to meet the ideas of their followers or to form a foundation for their own systems. The theologians who could deliberately change the natural locust into the artificial pancake (see pp. 457), would not hesitate to change the historical

¹ The Fourth Canonical Gospel was subsequent in date to *John's Revelation*: in it the Lamb metaphor and doctrine have been dexterously interwoven through the text, from first to last. I have stated in my former work the historical grounds for doubting that the 'lamb' existed in the text of the original Fourth Gospel. *Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria*, third century, distinctly states that the two writings were utterly dissimilar, without even a syllable in common between them (*Euseb.*, *Ecc. Hist.*, vii. 25).

² The translation of Rev. v. 6, 9, and other passages, of the "Lamb as it had been slain" in the A. V. and "as though it had been slain" in the R. V., is an evasion of the real meaning, which is, "as cut in the throat" or "incised in the neck."

crucifixion into the fictitious mode of sacrifice. Justin, I think, gives support to the inference that this was actually done. I have no doubt that Justin had John's Revelation before him and was acquainted with it. In another passage (*First Apol.*, xxviii.) he informs the Roman emperors that "you can learn by looking into our writings" that the prince of the wicked spirits is called the Serpent, Satan, and the Devil; information which he found in Rev. xx. 2. Again, in another passage (*Trypho.*, xl.) he refers not to the metaphor or symbol, but "to the mystery of the lamb" sacrificed in the passover as a type of Christ. The sacrifice of the lamb was no mystery, but was made into a mystery or a speculative belief by some obscure sect of which John was the prophet. Justin, I think, did not accept John's mystery, and he supplied the fact which John's mystery was defective in, or suppressed and changed, viz., the cross, which in the mystery was changed into the knife. It is only from the time of Justin that we begin to hear of a parallelism between the crucifixion and the passover, that the latter was a type of the former. Clement of Alexandria, later on, draws a lame parallel between Isaac and Christ, and gets over the point where the parallelism ceases, by the remark that Christ rose again after his burial and suffered no real harm, just like Isaac released from sacrifice (*Pæd.*, i. v., sect. 23). Clement in this passage markedly avoids mentioning the crucifixion, and the absence of parallelism between the cross and the knife: and, in fact, so far as I can trust my memory, Clement is reticent throughout his works on the subject of the crucifixion. With the exception of the mysteries of the general resurrection, the second advent, and such like, in which Paul indulged, we hear no more of mysteries till we come to the beginning of the second century. A recrudescence of mysteries began in the second century, as we learn from the *Didache* that the prophets made worldly things into mysteries (ch. xi.). One mystery we know of, the conversion of bread and wine into human flesh and blood, and now we get a glimpse of another mystery, a most mysterious mystery, which it is difficult to get information about. The glimpse of the mystery gives me the assurance that there was a mystery, but I am unable to get precise information regarding it. The mystery is also one of conversion, namely, the substitution of the knife for the cross. The fact that in the Revelation, Christ, typified by, or likened to a lamb, is represented as not crucified, but as cut in the throat, is the glimpse of the mystery. In my work on the Fourth Gospel (pp. 204 and 205), I pointed out that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews did not accept the resurrection of Christ, but that this article of belief was inserted into

the epistle in a parenthetical clause in ch. xiii. 20. I have now to point out a similar device to introduce the crucifixion into the Revelation of John, in spite of its suppression by the prophet. The crucifixion was introduced by a parenthetical clause tacked on to an incoherent verse, "And their dead bodies *shall lie* in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified" (Rev. xi. 8).

I find it difficult to get information in history regarding this suppressed mystery. But there is a certain explanation of the silence of history. For centuries during the dark ages literature was absolutely in the hands of monks, who added or erased passages which made for or were against the interests of the orthodox faith. The mystery of the conversion of the cross into the knife had been abandoned by the Church, while it retained the mystery of the conversion of bread and wine into flesh and blood. Hence it became an object to the monks to destroy all Christian writings elucidating the abandoned mystery of the conversion of the cross into the knife, and to erase from Christian writings all references to it. It is also likely that classical literature and pagan writings were sifted, and objectionable information removed from them. The passages that have escaped the scrutiny and destruction of the monks are sparse and scanty, and they are all the means now available for the recovery of the lost mystery.

I have remarked above that John introduced the Lamb into Christian symbolism and thought. It is worth the while of the reader to refer to *Cruden's Concordance* on the subject. He will find there the extraordinary fact that Christ is never called the Lamb or Lamb of God in the New Testament writings, except in the Revelation of John and in the Fourth Gospel, which latter is falsely attributed to John, and in which the Lamb of God was a later interpolation. This is substantial proof that the symbol of the Lamb was unknown and not recognised by the early Christians till the writing of John was published. Not only is the Lamb of God absent from the Canonical writings, with the exception of those composed by John or falsely attributed to him, but it is also absent from all apocryphal writings, the Protevangelium, Pseudo-Matthew, *Acta Pilati*, and others of the first half of the second century. The Lamb of God thus becomes a criterion of the age of an ancient Christian manuscript. Any writing that contains the metaphor, provided it is not an interpolation, can be safely dated subsequent to the middle of the second century.

But the Lamb was a religious symbol and object of worship to pagans from remote antiquity. History is remarkably silent on this form of pagan symbolism and adoration; but it had probably been

well weeded in the interests of the orthodox faith. Mr Lundy has figured in his work on *Monumental Christianity* two Phœnician medals, on both of which are representations of the "Pagan Lamb and Cross," and regarding which he makes the remark, "I believe these old Phœnician medals or coins retain the pure primitive ideas of the lamb and the cross, which Christianity restored" (*op. cit.*, ch. ix. p. 249, fig. 107, 1876); Mr Godfrey Higgins figures a third Phœnician coin on p. 117 of his book on *The Celtic Druids*, in which the Lamb and the Cross are clearly delineated. Ram-headed deities existed amongst the Egyptians, but I can find no account of them. In the dearth of historical information, I can do no more than attribute the Lamb symbol either to the invention of John, or to some pagan form of religion, probably Egyptian, from which he derived it. By its introduction John offended no Christian feeling or prejudice. He, however, rejected the cross, which Justin sought to justify and introduce into the passover similitude. Justin's attempt is very extraordinary, and sufficiently amusing. "And that sheep (or lamb)," he says, "ordered to be roasted whole, was a symbol of the suffering of the cross, from which Christ was to suffer. For the roasted sheep is roasted arranged like to the form of a cross; for one straight spit passes from the lower parts to the head, and one again along the broad of the back, and to which are fastened the hands (or forefeet) of the sheep" (*Trypho*, xl.). Clement of Alexandria found no plea, and did not want to find one, for introducing the cross into the Isaac similitude, as already said. Strange as it may appear to Christians of the nineteenth century, their predecessors of the second century had no partiality for the cross, and would have resented its introduction into John's symbol of the Lamb. Some passages of the Fathers which have escaped obliteration by the monks clearly display the feeling of Christians of the second century on the subject of the cross. Paul's ingenuity had soothed and reconciled the Christian mind to the humiliating fact of the crucifixion by converting it into a noble sacrifice to God for the expiation and redemption of sin, according to Jewish and pagan ideas on the subject (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 71). Justin, also, who clung to the cross, endeavoured to palliate the heathen feeling regarding the madness of elevating a crucified man to the second place after God (*First Apol.*, xiii.), by pointing out to the Roman emperors that the 'mystery' was misunderstood, that the cross was a universal symbol of benevolence, dominion, and triumph; it was visible in ships, ploughs, in the tools of mechanics, in the human form, in the Roman banners and trophies; and he adds that images of the Roman emperors were consecrated with this form when they died, a statement that I am

unable to comprehend (*ibid.*, lv.). He devotes a quaint chapter (*ibid.*, lx.) to show the high estimate in which the cross was held by Plato. But these theoretic and religious blandishments did not relieve the Christians from the taunts and ridicule of the heathen and Jews. Minutius Felix, a writer of the second century, represents his Christian interlocutor, who is defending Christianity against a heathen opponent, as contemptuously and indignantly repudiating the cross. "For as to your ascribing a criminal man and cross to our religion, you are straying far from the neighbourhood of the truth, who think that a criminal had, or an earthly *thing* could have merited to be believed God. . . . Crosses, moreover, we neither worship nor desire. You clearly consecrate wooden gods; you perhaps adore wooden crosses as parts of your gods. For your very standards and banners, and the flags of your camp, what else than gilded and adorned crosses are they? Your victorious trophies not only imitate the appearance of a simple cross but also of a man affixed" (ch. xxix.)¹ Indeed at this early period of history crosses were not in fashion amongst Christians; but strange as the fact may appear to many, crosses as well as crucifixes were in religious use amongst pagans. The *crux ansata* is found in ancient Assyrian and Ægyptian illustrations of worship; the cross is found in ancient coins as well as on the standards of the ancient Persians and Romans. The ecclesiastical historian Socrates, who wrote in the fifth century, relates that when the ancient temple of Serapis in Alexandria was torn down by the Christians in the fourth century, "there were found in it, engraven on stones, certain characters which they call Hieroglyphics, having the forms of crosses. Both the Christians and Pagans on seeing them thought they had reference to their respective religions: for the Christians who affirm that the cross is the sign of Christ's saving passion, claimed this character as peculiarly theirs; but the Pagans alleged that it might appertain to Christ and Serapis in common; 'for,' said they, 'it symbolizes one thing to Christians and another to Heathens'" (v. 17, Bagster's translation, p. 390). However the extraordinary fact may be accounted for, it is nevertheless certain that crosses and crucifixes were in universal use in worship amongst pagans from the earliest ages, and were even found amongst the aboriginal tribes of America

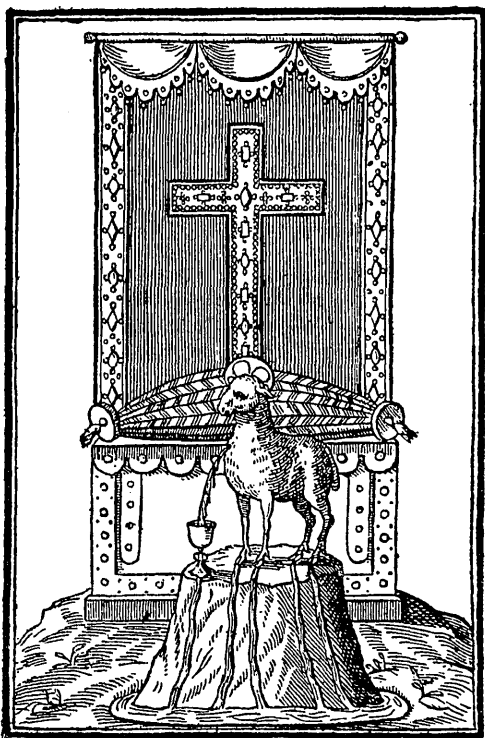
¹ I infer from the decided and firm tone of Minutius Felix on the subject of crosses, that he wrote in a period in which crosses were not at all in use amongst Christians, and hence that he was an earlier writer than Tertullian. The latter also speaks of crosses in much the same strain as Minutius, but in an apologetic tone, since in his time crosses were in use amongst Christians, though not adored, and the sign of the cross was in full swing. (See *Apologeticus*, ch. xvi.; *Ad Nationes*, 12; *Scorpiace*, 1; *Ad uxorem*, 5, etc.)

by the Spaniards.¹ I cannot avoid thinking that all the information about ceremonial crosses and crucifixes amongst pagans had been expunged from literature by the monks, in the interests of the orthodox faith. The metaphor or symbol of the Lamb with the throat cut found favour amongst Christians, and was the cause of the name and writing of the obscure apostle and prophet John being preserved. The Lamb probably displaced the Fish, which I think was the ancient symbol employed by the Christians, derived from Oannes, Dag or Dagon, the Fish-God, as the Messiah was called in the Talmud (see Lundy's *Monumental Christianity*, ch. vi. p. 132). Later on in the second century we find Irenæus quoting John as the Lord's disciple, and it was not long before he was magnified into John, one of the twelve, the alleged beloved disciple, who lay in the bosom of the Lord.

The further history of the Lamb with the throat cut is involved in obscurity, but a fact stated by Mr Lundy throws some light upon it. The crucifixion was not a spectacle which the early Christians delighted in, and its pictorial representation was hence avoided: and it was, in fact, replaced or displaced by the incised lamb, which was substituted for it. Says Mr Lundy: "Why should a fact so well known to the heathen as the crucifixion be concealed? And yet its actual realistic representation never once occurs in the monuments of Christianity for more than six or seven centuries. The lamb was the ever-recurring symbol of the crucified" (ch. ix. p. 246). By a process of theological reasoning similar to that by which Christians have persuaded themselves that bread and wine represent flesh and blood, and are in fact converted into them, the Christians subsequently to the second century had convinced themselves of the mystery that the Lamb with a cervical incision represented the crucifixion, and in fact was one and the same thing. Mrs Jameson, in her work *History of our Lord in Art*, says: "The crucifixion is *not* one of the subjects of early Christianity. The death of our Lord was represented by various *types*, but *never in its actual form*" (p. 317). She proceeds to say that the earliest instances of the crucifixion are found in illustrated manuscripts of various countries, and in ivory and enamelled forms; these have been ascertained, by historical or by internal evidence, to have been executed in the ninth century, and one only in the eighth century. "At all events, there seems to be no just grounds for assigning an earlier date." The earliest representation of the Incised Lamb, the ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον, the Lamb as incised in the neck, or cut in the throat, rendered "as it

¹ Very curious information on this subject will be found in *Bible Myths*, by T. W. Doane, as well as in Lundy's *Monumental Christianity*.

had been slain," in the A. V., and, "as though it had been slain," in the R. V., of Rev. v. 6, is figured in the Rev. John P. Lundy's work, called *Monumental Christianity*, ch. ix. p. 251, fig. 110—"The Life-giving Lamb. Mosaic. Fourth century." The Lamb is represented in an upstanding position on a pedestal, with a nimbus on its head, and a stream of blood flowing from a puncture or small incision in the base of the neck into a chalice placed on the pedestal. In the



THE LIFE-GIVING LAMB. Mosaic. Fourth century.
(From Lundy's *Monumental Christianity*, fig. 110, p. 251.)

background is a great altar on which is a large cross (without a man affixed), which, as well as the margins of the altar, is ornamented with geometrical figures, of a uniform shape, which have some hidden symbolical meaning. Across the foot of the cross is an elongated rounded cushion of many sides, the significance of which is not apparent. The above mosaic of the fourth century is a positive proof that John's metaphor, emblem, or type, or symbol had taken concrete form and had been put up in the churches, either as ornamental

illustrations on the walls, or as pictures, or, what is more probable if not certain, as figures, or images, or statues erected before the altars, to be objects of adoration. Mr Lundy states that the above mosaic was found as a decoration in the first Vatican Basilica erected by Constantine during the bishopric of Sylvester, A.D. 315-336. He gives us two other illustrations of the Incised Lamb of God, without a stream of blood, but the shading or position of the head conceals from view the cervical incision: (fig. 108, of the fifth century, and fig. 109, of the sixth century, both of these also mosaics). "Down to the year 692 or thereabouts," continues Mr Lundy, "the Lamb, as shown in the above examples, was exclusively used to symbolise Christ as the Saviour, slain for the sins of men, and triumphant over sin, Satan and death. At that time, we are told that the Church was uneasy lest the reality and history of our Lord might eventually be lost or swallowed up in mere symbol and allegory. And so, with a good intention, but with a most painful realism, never ventured upon before, the Council of Trullo, otherwise known as the *Quinquiesimum*, in the reign of Justinian II., ordained that henceforth the actual historic figure of the man Christ Jesus should be substituted in all church paintings and mosaics for the symbolical lamb. Thus runs the decree: "In certain venerable pictures and images, the Precursor, St John, is represented pointing with his hand towards the Lamb of God. We adopted this representation as a symbol of grace; to our apprehension, it was the shadow of that Lamb Christ, our God, whom the Law exhibited to us. Having, then, in the first instance, accepted these figures and shadows as signs and emblems, we now prefer to them grace and truth, *i.e.* the fulfilment of the Law. Therefore, in order to expose to all regards perfection even in paintings, we determine that for the future in images of Christ our God, He shall be represented in His human form, instead of the Lamb, as in former times. We must contemplate all the sublimity of the Word through the veil of His humility. The painter must, as it were, lead us by the hand to the remembrance of Jesus, living in the flesh, suffering and dying for our salvation, and thus obtaining the redemption of the world." This action of the Eastern Church was adopted by the Western, when Adrian I., Bishop of Rome, in the eighth century, ordained thus: "Because John the Baptist pointed to Christ, saying, Behold the Lamb of God; therefore some represented Christ under the form of a Lamb; but forasmuch as the shadow hath passed away, therefore He ought to be represented in the form of a man. And it was by such a process of reasoning," Mr Lundy adds in concluding his interesting narrative of the Incised Lamb of God, "that the venerable and sacred symbol of the Lord's Supper at

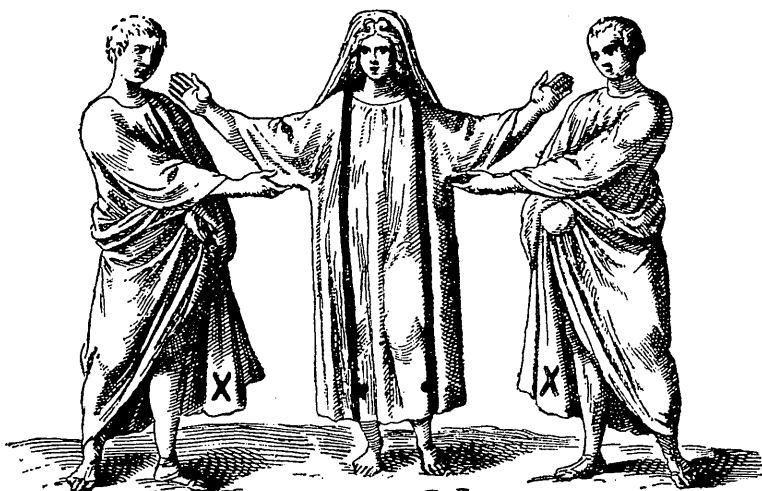
length became the real Body and Blood of Christ" (pp. 251, 252). While Christendom offers to Japanese and other enlightened non-Christian yellow nationalities, the humiliating spectacle of civilised white men and women rendering reverence and adoration to bread and wine, it has been mercifully spared the degradation of exhibiting itself as worshipping lamb also.

It would be interesting to note the attitude of the early Fathers of the Church towards the concrete application by the Christians of their day of John's mystery of the Incised Lamb of God. The mystery had probably not made much advance in the days of Irenæus. Clement of Alexandria gave his mind and exertions more to the inculcation of morality, and occupied himself little with the doctrines or mysteries of the Church. I do not think the mystery made much progress in the African Church. I regret that I was unaware of the mystery when I perused the writings of these Fathers; for a reader is apt to overlook the import of passages unless his mind has been previously prepared by general knowledge of subjects. The following passage in Origen on Matthew xii. 19 struck me as strange, and I now regard it as bearing directly upon the growing suppression of the crucifixion by the mystery of the Incised Lamb. "It is necessary, therefore, to the proclamation of Jesus as Christ, that He should be proclaimed as crucified, and the proclamation that Jesus was the Christ does not seem to me so defective when any of His other miracles is passed over in silence, as when the fact of His crucifixion is passed over" (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, additional volume, p. 461). It appeared to me a gratuitous remark, and an odd one, as I was unaware that any Christian writer, orthodox or sectary, had ever shown a disposition to pass over the crucifixion. I only knew the mistranslation of the words in Rev. v. 6, and other passages,¹ in the New Testaments of the principal Christian nations of Europe, but I was unaware of the full significance of Origen's words, which I have now ascertained in my investigation of the writings of the apostles and prophets of the second century.

John's funny conception of the Lamb's wife did not fall into desuetude, but it also took root in a refined and reasonable form, divested of ludicrous associations. There are no pictorial illustrations of a ewe-lamb as a symbol or emblem of the Church. But there are sur-

¹ In my work on the Fourth Gospel (p. 123), I have unwittingly rendered an injustice to Luther, for which I desire to make the *amende honorable*. Luther translated *erwürgel*, which I understood to mean strangled or throttled. I have since ascertained that some dictionaries (Hilpert's, for instance) give the meaning "to kill by cutting the throat." Luther's translation of the various forms of the Greek verb σφάζω in the Revelation, is the only faithful and accurate rendering of the Greek in the New Testament of the chief languages of Europe. The other readings are evasions of the real meaning.

viving figurative representations of the Church as a buxom young woman usually accompanied by two priests, who are sometimes specially named Peter and Paul. The Lamb's wife was remoulded into the Spouse or Bride of Christ. Mr Lundy gives some excellent illustrations of this final embodiment of John's idea. Fig. 155 on p. 319, "The Bride of Christ and two priests," is the best in the collection, and the most ancient, regarded to be of the second or third century, and the simplicity of the drawing supports this ancient date. Fig. 132 on p. 292 is also a good illustration. I desire especially to draw attention to the costume of the bride and of her supporting priests in these pictures. Mr Lundy describes the bride as "crowned, veiled and stoled." The crown is



THE BRIDE OF CHRIST AND TWO PRIESTS. Second or third century.
(From Lundy's *Monumental Christianity*, fig. 155, p. 319.)

apparent, but it was probably only a mode of dressing the hair. But the two separate garments, the veil and stole, which Mr Lundy speaks of, are not distinguishable, but only one garment is perceived, the stole, which is also the veil. The stole by simple adjustment was used as a veil; and when not drawn over the head it was worn round the neck. The bride has only two garments, the *tunica talaris* and the stole, the former ornamented with two vertical bands, called *clavi*, which were of a purple colour.¹ The priests also have two garments,

¹ The ancient costume of the common Roman woman is seen in perfection in the present day, in the dress of the boat-women on the Jhelum in Cashmere. Besides the *tunica talaris*, or long frock or gown, made of coarse cotton cloth, some of them use a *stola*, which they call *chudder*, which is a yard or two of thin

the tunic and the *toga*. This corresponds with the description of the Roman dress of the two sexes given by Tertullian, at the beginning of the third century, in the passage already quoted (p. 493). In the fourth or perhaps fifth century, when the worship of Mary was introduced into the Christian religion, as the Christian counterpart of Isis, the Egyptian goddess, the female costume of the mutilated priests of the goddess was adopted by the Christian clergy. The Romish Christian priests naturally followed the Roman female costume, and not the Greek, which was different: they adopted the female cut or style of the *tunica talaris* with the *stola*, but discarded the male *toga* which they had hitherto worn. The *stola* obtained the ecclesiastical name of *orarium*; it was worn by the priests around the neck, and was generally used as a handkerchief, for wiping the face and similar purposes (see Rock's *Hierurgia*, ch. xii. 29, p. 430). The sleeves of their tunics were, however, the ordinary handkerchiefs of the ancients. The original name was afterwards reverted to, and the garment has since undergone modifications in the ecclesiastic department of millinery, and has settled down as the many coloured and ornamented stole of the present day. The fringes at the ends of the stole, which were used by the Roman women, have been retained. In the outside region of fashion, the *stola* underwent a different development, and it can be recognised in the ample garment represented in Mr Lundy's figure 154, "The Bride of Christ: Peter and Paul," in which the apostles still retain the *toga*. In the modern fashionable world, the *stola* or stole of the ancient Roman female costume can be identified in the *bermuse* or opera cloak, and in various other feminine garments provided with a hood for throwing

cotton cloth. This is their entire dress, as it was of the ancient pictorial representative of the bride of Christ. They wear neither shoes nor stockings, just as the bride of Christ does not in Mr Lundy's picture. The women of the Punjab and North-Western Provinces of India use the stole or *chudder*, made of thin white cotton cloth, some two or three yards in length. The garment is ornamented with a *clavus angustus*, an inch in width, on the margin, called *kinara*. The *clavus* or *kinara* is of coloured cloth sewn on, purple or red, and I have seen green sometimes. The stole or *chudder* is further sometimes adorned with spangles worked with tinsel thread. In Lower Bengal, the loose end of the *sari*, or long cloth, ten or twenty yards in length, with which the women envelop their bodies, is used as the stole or *chudder* for covering their heads. My observations on the stole or *chudder* were made chiefly on the dress of the *ayahs*, or native ladies' maids and nurses employed in European families. Their dress otherwise is Grecian. The men do not use the stole or *chudder*. I have seen, however, native gentlemen in Madras wear a robe consisting of a long piece of white cloth, rolled up or folded longitudinally around their necks, and hanging down the front to below the knees. But they never unfold it to cover their heads, which bear the turban. It appears to be used simply as an indication of social rank. The Roman *stola* was also ornamented with a *clavus angustus*, or narrow *kinara* like the Indian *chudder*. *Clavi*, narrow or broad, were used by the Romans to ornament the *tunica talaris* of both sexes, as well as the male *toga*. The width of the *clavus* sewn on the *toga* indicated rank: the *clavus latus*, or broad *kinara*, was worn by patricians and magistrates.

over the head. The female *tunica talaris* has received the name of *alb* in the Roman Church, from its colour, which is always white; and of *surplice* in the Anglican Church. The changed nomenclature has not removed its remarkable resemblance to the female undergarment known as a shift or chemise, the modern analogue of the ancient *tunica talaris*. The latter may be substituted in an emergency for the ecclesiastical vestment, and will safely pass the inspection of the congregation. At the Reformation, many, if not all the Protestant ministers objected to wear the surplice and stole.¹ The objection to the surplice was overcome; but the stole was discarded for nearly three centuries in the Anglican Church, till it was introduced by the ritualistic clergy within the memory of man. The dissenting clergy in England show no disposition to wear ancient female raiment. The surplice and stole are of pagan religious origin. The feminine dress of the Anglican bishops has not, I think, this origin; but it appears to me to have been the result of the concrete application of the feminine conception of the Church as the Lamb's wife or the spouse or bride of Christ. As there are thirty-three Anglican bishops and an indefinite number of suffragan and colonial bishops, the Church of England appears somewhat in the character of an ideal religious polygamic institution, pervaded by the mystery that males appear like females.²

The writing of John was published in Greek, and it has been known from the second century as the Apocalypse of John. Irenæus refers to it frequently by this name. But there is no evidence that the writing had the title by which it was known: on the contrary, the evidence indicates that the title was given to it as a means of identi-

¹ Dr Rock, a Roman theologian, in his account of the stole had to face the historical fact that it was a Roman female garment. He gets over it by confounding together the Greek and Roman costume, and by the use of the *suggestio falsi*, implements of deceit in which theologians are remarkably dexterous. The stole or *orarium*, he says in a footnote, was a robe which the "primitive Christians invariably wore during the time of public prayer, and with which the female portion could veil their heads." The *suggestio falsi* is in the use of language which implies that the male portion also wore the stole or orarium. Dr Rock knew very well that the male Christians who were not priests never wore the stole. Mr Marriott, in his work *Vestiarium Christianum*, is equally dexterous in concealing the historical fact, and in suggesting that the *orarium* was used by males also.

² Queen Elizabeth refused to confer the dignity of titles on the wives of English bishops: "*she* was not going to make leddies of them." Her refusal is supposed to be due to the fact that owing to a prejudice amongst English ladies to marrying priests, after the long régime of a celibate clergy, the Protestant clerical dignitaries were obliged to be content with wives from an inferior class of society, or with the illegitimate daughters of royalty, the nobility and gentry. The queen, who had a strain of humour in her constitution, perhaps thought a class of female ecclesiastical nobility superfluous, as the spiritual barons had an epicene character, Lords by patent and nature, and Leddies by costume and theological mystery. A political reason may have been the desire to exempt the families of bishops from participation in the penalties of the statute *Præmunire facias*.

fication. The various manuscripts had different titles, viz., Revelation of St John the Divine, as in the New Testament, or without the adjective, for which was substituted "the Evangelist and Apostle" in some copies, and "of the blessed John" in others. This variety of titles is proof that the manuscript of the author had no title, as was the practice of writers in early times: Tertullian once calls it The Apocalypse of the Lord (*Against all Heresies*, i.). Irenæus had no doubt in his mind, if we may judge from his repeated declarations, that John, who wrote the Apocalypse, was one of the twelve, and the beloved disciple: but he gives no proof of his belief, and makes no attempt to furnish proof, as in the case of Luke. His belief is no proof of a fact which, on the belief, took place a century before the belief was expressed. Clement of Alexandria makes no pretension that John was any more than John the prophet who wrote the Apocalypse, which he quotes, by name sometimes, in several passages. He expressed no belief that John was one of the twelve. His memory is clear from that falsehood. Tertullian often cites passages and phrases from the Apocalypse, but I have not found any statement made by him regarding the writer of it beyond the fact that he was an apostle, of which there is no doubt or question. The drift of opinion in the third and subsequent centuries was in favour of John being one of the twelve. But such opinion, prevalent late in the second and third centuries, is not historical proof of the fact. I do not think Eusebius believed it, nor did he consider that theological complacency required him to express belief in it, but he kept within propriety by not expressing disbelief. But he had no hesitation in giving prominence and saliency to the opinion of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, a very competent critic, who strongly expressed his opinion that John was not one of the twelve. Dionysius says that some theologians before him set aside the whole book, pronouncing it without sense and without reason, and further that it had a false title, for it was not of John. Nay, that it is not even a revelation, but is so covered with a dense veil of ignorance, that not one of the apostles, nor even a holy man nor a churchman, could be its author. Cerinthus was said to have prefixed the title; for the great subject in the Revelation, viz., the millennium of sensual gratification, eating, drinking and procreating thousands of children, was erroneously attributed to him, instead of to Enoch, its real historical generator. Dionysius declared bluntly and honestly that he could not understand the Revelation, but he was too polite, in consideration of the opinions of others, to say that there was not some deep sense in them, but he wondered that he did not see it, *θαυμάζω δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ καὶ εἶδον*, and I rather wonder that I also do

not see *it*. He proceeds to say that it is impossible that the writing could be understood by common sense. The author calls himself John, and Dionysius would not deny that that was his name, and will even admit that he was a holy man: but he would not lightly admit that he was the John the apostle, the son of Zebedee and brother of James, who wrote the Gospel and the Epistle. He concluded from the tenor, the character, and the execution of this writing, that he was not John, one of the twelve. Dionysius finally remarks that there were many men of the name of John, just as there are many of the names of Peter and Paul, which were names much favoured and adopted by believers. Dionysius' critical remarks on the Apocalypse are very just, and have been already quoted. He was a bishop of Alexandria, in the third century. His diocese comprised the cream of the learned Christians of the age, and was probably more influential than the supreme diocese of Rome. Eusebius would never have quoted the opinion of Dionysius at such great length, if the views of the latter were not shared by him; and further, if the credit of the Apocalypse was bound up with the honour of the Church in the third century, as it is now in the nineteenth (Euseb., *Eccl. Hist.*, vii. 25). I find it not easy to ascertain from Eusebius whether John's writing of the Revelation was admitted into the Canon in his days, the beginning of the fourth century. After mentioning the four Gospels, the epistles of Paul, the first epistle of John, and the first epistle of Peter, he remarks: "After these, if at least it may appear (εἴγε φανείη, Professor Crusé translates 'if proper'), the Apocalypse of John, concerning which we shall offer the conventionalisms, or things that seemed good (δόξαντα, Crusé translates 'the different opinions'), in due time. And these then are among the acknowledged *writings*, ὁμολογουμένους" (*Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 25). A few lines further on in the same chapter, after naming the writings that were disputed and those that were spurious, he adds: "Besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it may appear (εἰ φανείη, Crusé translates, 'if it should appear right'), which some, as I said, set aside or reject, but others reckon among the acknowledged *writings*, ὁμολογουμένους." One fact, however, is certain, that whatever may have been the dubious estimation in which the Apocalypse was held in the Roman Church, represented by Eusebius, the Syrian Church rejected the Apocalypse in the fourth century and ever since, for this writing is excluded from the Peshito. Another fact is that the millennium predicted by John was rejected in the fourth century, and earlier, by the parent Church.

The historical conclusions derived from the facts of history are the following: John, the writer of the Apocalypse, was an apostle and

prophet of some unknown Pagan-Christian sect of the first half of the second century. He predicted the millennium, which was accepted by Justin Martyr and Irenæus, and probably by the Church in the second century, but rejected by the Church in the third and fourth centuries and ever since. He introduced the metaphors, or symbols, or emblems, or types of the Lamb of God, and the Lamb's wife into Christian literature and thought. The former took deep root in the Christian mind, and for some six or seven centuries practically superseded the historical fact of the crucifixion of Christ, by the fictitious mystery of the Incised Lamb, or Lamb with its throat cut. The latter metaphor or symbol was changed in conception from the ridiculous associations of the original, from a ewe-lamb into a woman, the bride or spouse of Christ. That John was insane when he wrote the Apocalypse is proved beyond moral doubt by the incoherency of his writing, which no sane intellect has been able in the past, nor in the present, nor possibly can in the future, comprehend; and further, by the unimpeachable fact that many sane men and women have been rendered insane by the too close and absorbed study of his writing.

The conclusions to which the perusal of the surviving historical records have conducted me are not, however, those which the Church has adopted. The Church teaches that the writer of the Apocalypse is John, one of the twelve, and that his writing dates from the first century. The historical evidence of these orthodox conclusions is displayed to the greatest advantage in the Introduction to the Revelation of St John in the *Speaker's Commentary*, written by William Lee, D.D., Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin, and Archdeacon of Dublin. The position and qualifications of the writer, and his selection as a collaborateur by the influential committee that floated the *Speaker's Commentary*, are proofs that he is regarded as a competent exponent of the orthodox views. Dr Lee begins with the evidence afforded by Papias, who, he says, had a personal acquaintance with John, one of the twelve. This fact he founds on the testimony of Irenæus and Eusebius, both of them late writers, whose testimony to a circumstance alleged to have taken place in the first century, long before they were born, cannot be accepted as historical; and they do not refer to any testimony contemporary with John or even with Papias. Eusebius records in the Paschal Chronicle that Papias suffered in the same persecution as Polycarp, in the year 155 or 156. But Eusebius forgot to say what the age of Papias was. Bishop Lightfoot, however, who had a wonderful insight into the interior of mill-stones (see p. 409, footnote), assigns A.D. 60-70 as the probable

date of the birth of Papias, making him out to have attained the age of 85-95 at his death, a reverend age which conveniently brings Papias within the sphere of John's acquaintance in early manhood. Dr Lee, however, has no evidence, even of the whimsical nature of that by which he has established the acquaintanceship with John the first, to show that Papias had an acquaintance with the Apocalypse. But Dr Lee is a man of resource. Papias, he says, discoursed of the millennium, and so did John; and he leaves the reader to infer that hence Papias knew the Revelation. But he himself asserts the doubt whether Papias' source was really the Revelation. In the latter, the millennium is a scene of souls, dead or living, resurrection from death or life—I find it impossible to say which—judgment, damnation, brimstone, and a lake of fire (Rev. xx.). Dr Lee's doubt is just, for Papias' episcopal knowledge was limited to and his predilection was for Enoch's millennium of terrestrial and female fertility, for the delectation of the saints (see p. 504). There is no historical evidence to show that Papias had an acquaintance with the celebrated writing of his personal friend, John, the first of that name; and the historical presumption is that he had not, although he was a contemporary of John, the apostle and prophet of a Pagan-Christian sect of the second century. His millennium is different from John's; and Dr Lee's critical ingenuity has not succeeded in discovering the least trace of a knowledge of the Revelation of John in the few surviving fragments of Papias. Our learned commentator, however, continues desperately to cling to Papias. The latter mentions two Johns in the '*locus classicus*,' Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, iii. 39 (see pp. 439, 409, note 2). On this passage Dr Lee remarks: "Papias seems to indicate that it was his custom to enquire of the disciples of the Apostles, just as it had been his custom to enquire of the Apostles themselves." This is drawing more from the '*locus classicus*' than can be squeezed out of it by hydraulic pressure. Dr Lee, in winding up his demonstration from Papias, complacently and triumphantly remarks: "Accordingly, the first direct evidence which we possess for the authenticity of the Apocalypse is given by one who was a contemporary of the Apostle John; who had seen and heard him; and who was Bishop of Hierapolis, a city but a few miles distant from Laodicea (Rev. iii. 14), which was one of the Seven Churches." As Dr Lee has not shown that Papias had even an acquaintance with the Apocalypse, let alone its writer, I might supplement his proofs, by adding that Papias probably wrote with writing materials similar to those which John used, had two eyes, a mouth, and other bodily members like those which John had, besides the same name, and hence without doubt

the latter must have been one of the twelve. Papias makes no statement relevant to John of the Revelation. I have found nothing in the fragments of Papias which could help in establishing the date of John's writing, or any particular regarding this sectarian apostle and prophet of the second century ; in fact, Papias makes no reference at all to John of the Revelation, and I can find no grounds for attributing to him a knowledge of the person or writing, or of the mystery of the Incised Lamb and its wife, of John, or even of the brimstone millennium of this prophet.

Having thus to his own satisfaction disposed of Papias, by inconsequential inductions from irrelevant statements, Dr Lee proceeds to set forth other evidence (*op. cit.*, p. 409) for the "authenticity of the Apocalypse," by which words he means that John, one of the twelve, was its author. But this "other evidence," he says, "may not, perhaps, be deemed equally conclusive." Amongst other evidence which may be passed over as the ultra-desperate expedients of advocates, he refers to the appearance, or as he prefers to state it, "the reappearance" of the symbolism of the Apocalypse in the Shepherd of Hermas. The date of the latter writer is given as *circa* A.D. 140, and the Apocalypse is of course, as the theologians allege, of the first century, and hence the selected expression 'reappears.' There are means of ascertaining the relative dates of Hermas and of John of the Revelation, who were both writers of the advanced second century. Hence it is practicable to determine which has the priority of date. It does not appear to me that the symbolism of the Revelation is the same as that of the Shepherd. John's symbol of the Church was the Lamb's wife. As the husband of the Lamb's wife was the Lamb, the reasonable conclusion is that the Lamb's wife was a Ewe-lamb. I make out that the Lamb's wife is the holy city, New Jerusalem, prepared as a bride, the tabernacle of God with men, which the angel displayed to John as the "bride, the Lamb's wife" (Rev. xxi. 2, 3, 9, 10). This latter I take to mean the Church, under correction. The symbol of the Church, then, according to John, is either a ewe-lamb or a city or both. There is not a hint or insinuation that the Lamb's wife is a woman. In the Shepherd of Hermas, the Church is symbolised as an aged woman in Vision II., ch. 4, and as a nicely-dressed blooming virgin in Vision IV., ch. 2, appropriate reasons being assigned by the prophet for the difference in age in the two visions of the Church ; but he introduced a compromise by unnaturally representing the young woman to have 'white,' or as we would say, grey hair. I do not see the least appearance of the symbolism of John in the Shepherd of Hermas. I do not

think that there is an equality or similarity between a ewe-lamb or a city on the one side, and an old woman or a young woman with grey hair, on the other side. But I have been reckoning without my host. I find that Dr Lee's symbolism of John is not that stated in Rev. xxi. but in xii. 2, where the frenzied prophet beholds a woman clothed with the sun. This woman in sunny array is not represented by John as the "bride of Christ," or the Lamb's wife, *i.e.* the Church; but as I make no pretension to understand or explain the hallucinations of a madman, I am unable to say who she is, or whether she symbolises anything in particular. But that "hardy" theologian, Bishop Westcott, who is the source in this case of Dr Lee's information, as the latter refers to the footnote in the bishop's account of Hermas in the *Canon of the New Testament*, p. 201, 6th edition, compares the woman church-symbol of Hermas to the sun-clothed woman of Rev. xii. 2. John incoherently speaks in this passage of a woman bringing forth a child, who is snatched up to heaven and is thus rescued from a dragon, while the woman herself flies into the wilderness (Rev. xii. 5-6). This in theological judgment is the source of Hermas' symbols of the Church as an old woman and a young woman with grey hair. The dragon may, with as much justice, be taken as the prophetic symbol for Bishop Westcott himself, and the woman—the sex being changed by a mystery—for his obsequious follower, Dr Lee, who, having given birth to this evidence of authenticity, roams in a wilderness of false assertions and irrelevant statements. It is well that the learned commentator has foreseen and foresaid that this evidence is not conclusive.

Dr Lee then comes to the testimony of Justin Martyr, which I have already quoted (p. 507). Here at least he ought to be on sure and stable ground; but he proceeds to water Justin Martyr's testimony with such profusion that instead of being stable ground he converts it into a deceitful quagmire. Justin's expression, "a certain man named John," it appears need cause no surprise as applied to the apostle John, one of the twelve, since Justin was hypothetically conversing with the Jew Tryphon. Is this the mode in which mankind in any age and under any circumstances would refer to a distinguished and pre-eminent man? Is there any example of such a mode in ancient or modern history? Did Plato and Xenophon so refer to Socrates, or would a modern Frenchman refer to 'a certain man named Napoleon Buonaparte,' or an Englishman to 'a certain man named Pitt,' when conversing with Jew, Gentile, or individual of a different nationality? The natural meaning of Justin's mode of speech is that the certain man was one of no special consequence.

Justin's statement "among us" is also watered with dubious, or rather false history, and made to signify the "residence of St John at Ephesus"; the natural meaning "being one of ourselves," "among us Christians," and implies contemporary existence. Justin's expression, "one of the apostles of Christ," is made to mean one of the twelve; Melito, Apollonius, Theophilus, Irenæus and others say so. There can be no doubt that Jerome and Irenæus say so, but there is very considerable doubt about the others' views, who only refer to the Apocalypse of John. Apollonius, for instance, our learned commentator adduces as having testified that "St John wrote the Apocalypse" (p. 411), the Saint being prefixed by Dr Lee to call up the first century apostle to the mind of the reader; but Eusebius does not say that Apollonius employed the prefix, but simply that Apollonius quotes "testimonies from the Apocalypse of John" (*Ecl. Hist.*, v. 18). One can hardly imagine that Dr Lee is so innocent and ignorant as to think that the name John was borne by only a single individual in the first and second centuries; but there is no doubt that he implies, and reasons upon, this ignorant and false assumption. The opinions of Jerome and Irenæus, expressed at the close of the second and fourth centuries, are not proofs of a historical fact, and are of no more value than the opinions of Bishop Westcott and Dr Lee, and there can be no doubt that they were expressed, not in the interests of historical truth, but of the orthodox faith. I regret to find that Dr Lee impresses Clement of Alexandria into giving testimony and the weight of his name to this historical falsehood. The statements of Eusebius regarding Clement on this subject are not to be trusted. I can find no passage in Clement's surviving writings in which he states directly or indirectly that John of the Apocalypse was one of the twelve. The passage on which Dr Lee mainly relies is the following from Clement's Treatise *Quis dives salvetur*, sect. 42, quoted by Eusebius (*Ecl. Hist.*, iii. 23): "Listen to a story that is no fiction, but a real history, handed down and carefully preserved, respecting the apostle John. For after the tyrant was dead, coming from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus, he went also, when called, to the neighbouring regions of the Gentiles," etc. (Crusé's translation). This passage, read without preconceptions, contains no implication that John, the apostle spoken of, was one of the twelve. There were many Johns and many apostles of the name in the second century. It is merely a statement regarding the migration of the apostle from the Isle of Patmos to Ephesus, after the death of the tyrant, according to the current story. Who the tyrant was is not stated, and there is no evidence that he was identified, or that any one troubled about him, in the times of

Irenæus and Clement. Dr Lee supplies no information that either Irenæus or Clement or any other writer of the second century specifies the tyrant. The chronology depends upon who the tyrant was; but the early writers were loose on chronology, and paid no attention to it. Dr Lee, perhaps from discretion but more probably from want of thought,¹ gives no information, nor have I any recollection of any writer who mentions Domitian as the tyrant till we come to Eusebius,² that great fabricator and falsifier of ecclesiastical history, the first of his order of falsifiers of history, who abounded in considerable numbers in the early and Middle Ages, and are not yet extinct in the department of ecclesiastical history. The neglect of chronology by the early Christian writers led them to commit many serious and some amusing chronological blunders. The Book of Enoch was attributed to the antediluvian patriarch of that name by two great Fathers, Irenæus and Tertullian; and now we find the date of the writer of the Apocalypse, from the accident of his name, thrown back nearly a century, the John of the Revelation being confounded with John, one of the twelve. The

¹ I am perhaps too charitable in this remark. Dr Lee appears to have given thought to this subject. Referring to the statement of Tertullian, strictly historical of course, of the boiling of John the apostle in oil, and his subsequent banishment to Patmos, he adds: "And further, having spoken of the persecution under Nero, he tells us how the persecution of Domitian came to an end; on which, as other writers state, St John returned to Ephesus" (*op. cit.*, p. 422).

² The disingenuous way in which Eusebius and Dr Lee make out that Clement named Domitian will be seen from the following remarks by Dr Lee, p. 415: "Clement had thus every opportunity of learning the facts bearing upon the life of St John; and what he relates is full of interest. He expressly states that 'after the death of the tyrant'—who could be no other than Domitian—St John changed his abode from Patmos to Ephesus. Eusebius quotes this passage (in which Clement tells the story of the aged St John and the young robber), introducing it by saying that 'the Apostle and Evangelist organised the churches that were in Asia when he returned from his exile in the island after the death of Domitian'; and it is in proof of this fact—namely, that the banishment to Patmos was under Domitian—that he cites Clement and Irenæus." I have quoted the statement of Clement, and it will be seen that not Clement, but Eusebius and Dr Lee name Domitian. Irenæus says that John saw the Revelation at the close of the reign of Domitian (V., xxx. 3); he antedated John as he antedated Enoch. Clement does not mention Domitian. It is not fair to Clement to impose the falsehood of Irenæus upon him.

The stories about John are utterly incredible and unhistorical. Tertullian gravely relates that he was boiled in oil, and instead of coming out of the pot as cooked bacon, he emerged fresh and clean and blooming! The eunuch Dorotheus, Bishop of Syrus, in his *Lives of the Apostles*, A.D. 366, says that John was banished to Patmos by Trajan, though some write by Domitian. He further gravely relates that John lived 120 years, and digged his own grave and buried himself alive at Ephesus. St Augustine, the great Bishop of Hippo, gravely writes that after John had been buried alive, "the earth of the grave bubbleth and boileth up to this day after the manner of a well by reason of John resting therein and *breathing*—a sign that he only slumbereth there, but is not really dead! And till Christ shall come again there he remains, plainly showing that he is alive, by the heaving up of the earth, which is caused by his breathing." Quoted from Taylor's *Diegesis*, who quoted from the *Codex Apocr.* of Fabricius, tom. ii. p. 590, *in notis*.

morbus Bunsbii, or the faculty of blindness within an area of ten miles and of acute vision beyond, first appeared in history amongst the theologians of the second century : its causes were dual, ignorance and appreciation of the commercial value of deceit. The former cause has departed and ceased among the learned theologians of the present day, but the latter maintains its hold. Eusebius availed himself of the neglect of chronology by the early Christian writers to arrange it by supplementary fictions and falsehood in the channels which he deemed best suited to advance the honour and credit of the Church !

On the question of the reception of the Revelation of John into the Canon, there can be no doubt that this writing of a madman has been admitted into the Canon, and that the balance of opinion was throughout the centuries in its favour ; with the exception of the Syrian Church, and the rejection of the millennium of John. There was no need of misrepresentation or suppression of facts in dealing with this question. But such is the force of ingrained habit and of acquired mental constitution, that Dr Lee was unable altogether to resist their influence. His own conscience deterred him from making the direct statement himself that the opinion of antiquity was unanimous, but he had no qualms in practically suppressing the testimony of Dionysius and Eusebius, which I have quoted above, and in giving prominence to the statement of Hengstenberg, a German theologian of some repute, who *had* the grit to make the false statement. Hengstenberg "clearly and distinctly recognises the fact that the Book had the unanimous approval of antiquity" (p. 419). Dr Lee makes a few observations rather in favour of Hengstenberg's falsehood, but I must give him the small merit of quoting the corrective remarks, which he adds are "perfectly just," of Dean Alford. This honest theologian mildly speaks of Hengstenberg's hardihood as "describing Eusebius as studiously leaving the question open." "For what else is it," says Dean Alford, "when he numbers the Book on one side among the undoubted Scriptures with an *εἰ φανείη* ['if it should seem so'], and then on the other among the spurious writings with an *εἰ φανείη* also : while at the very moment of endorsing Dionysius's conjecture that the second John saw his Visions he interposes *εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον* ['unless one should prefer the first']" (p. 420).

My reflections, after the perusal of Dr Lee's Introduction, were of much the same character as those that arose in my mind after the perusal of the historical disquisitions of many other theologians. A feeling of pity and regret that learned, amiable, and honourable men, of the strictest probity in all secular matters, should prostitute their

erudition, their talents and literary abilities, in maintaining self-evident theological and historical fiction and falsehood. Dr Lee's efforts in this essay are unswervingly devoted to proving that the false is true. To this task he has brought considerable learning, literary facility of expression, sophistry, special pleading, suppression and fabrication of facts of history, and skill in the judicious use of sanctimonious language and in the practice of watering historical records. Moral aberration, I deeply regret to remark, is widely prevalent in the Ecclesiastical Profession, prominently in its highest ranks.

The Shepherd of Hermas is the writing of a Pagan-Christian prophet of the second century. He deals in Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes. His writing is free from Jewish phraseology and ideas, and also, I may add, from evangelical phraseology. The only evangelical expression that I have remarked is, "It is difficult to enter into the kingdom of God" (S. IX. 20). The name of Jesus Christ is never mentioned, nor any other name familiar in evangelical story. The tone of the writing is, however, decidedly Christian: the belief in the unity of God is solemnly expressed (M. I.). The Son of God is invested with divinity: he is older than all the creation, and became the Father's adviser at the creation (S. IX. 12). The Holy Spirit is the Son of God and speaks in the form of the Church (S. IX. 1). He has a peculiar theory of the incarnation (but he never uses this word), which I have not seen elsewhere (S. V. 6). There is not a word about virgin conception, resurrection or ascension on a cloud, nor any other of the dogmas of the Church. Hermas deals with morality, not with religious beliefs, of which he had a remarkably small selection, which I have given above. He had a curious notion of the future life of apostles and teachers: these, after they fell asleep "in the power and faith of the Son of God," continued to preach to those who had fallen asleep before them, and to give them "the seal of the preaching," which was the conventional expression of his times for baptism (S. IX. 16). His conception of the purport of baptism was Pauline and Mithraic (see my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 177).

There are distinct clues to the date of Hermas, but not to the precise date. He is first heard of in the second century, in a quotation, *verbatim* with the exception of one word, by Irenæus, regarding the unity of God, of the beginning of the first mandate (*Iren.*, iv. xx. 2); but the name of the writer or of the book is not stated, but the indefinite expression "the writing" is used. Clement quotes Hermas, but without mentioning the name of the book, thus: "And the shepherd, the angel of repentance, says to Hermas," etc. (*Strom.*, i. 17, sect. 85); "Divinely, therefore, the power which spoke to Hermas by revelation,"

etc. (*Strom.*, i. 29, sect. 29) ; "For the power that appeared in the vision to Hermas said," etc. (*Strom.*, ii. 1, sect. 3). In the later books of the *Stromateis* he refers to the writing as the Shepherd (ii. 12, sect. 55 ; iv. 9, sect. 67 ; vi. 6, sect. 46). I infer from this manner of reference that the writing had no name of its own, but as it consisted of communications made by the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, to the writer, who writes in the first person in his own name, the title of the Shepherd or The Shepherd of Hermas was given to it for the purpose of identification. Tertullian says that the writing of Hermas was generally inscribed with the title of The Shepherd (*On Prayer*, 16). If I am right in this inference, the date of Hermas would be the first half of the second century, at which period writings were published without titles. In the Muratorian fragment, Hermas is said to be the brother of Pius, and wrote his book at Rome during the episcopacy of the latter, whose date is given by Milman A.D. 143-157. Hermas represents himself as resident in Rome, a slave and making a journey to Cumæ (V. I.). There are a few clues to the date of Hermas that I can find in the contents of the writing, and these incline me to advance the date beyond the middle to the early part of the second half of the second century. Justin Martyr, A.D. 150, only speaks of standing as the attitude of prayer, and not kneeling. Hermas in Vision II. 2 says : "I fell upon my knees and began to pray," and the Greek words he uses are *τῶν τὰ γόνατα*, which is the expression for the new Christian attitude of prayer and not of the Jewish or pagan attitude (see p. 31 ff.). There is a very curious and amusing statement in Minutius Felix, ix., that some say that the Christians adore the genitals of the bishop or high priest (*antistis*) and of the priest. The learned brains of critics explain this strange statement to refer to the new attitude of prayer started by the Christians, for which the pagans, utterly at a loss to comprehend it, could find no better explication. Minutius Felix was a writer of the second half of the second century. In the days of Hermas, the orders of apostles and prophets were still in existence, as he repeatedly speaks of them. He appears to have had a poor opinion of the prophets, though he was one himself : because they took money (M. XI.). "Can a divine spirit receive money and prophecy ?" he asks. *Tempora mutantur*. In our degenerate days the successors of the apostles and prophets will neither preach nor prophesy nor pray without a salary, and no astonished enquirer asks questions. Hermas wrote at a period before the services of religion became commercial. For the above reasons, slight as they are, I think the Shepherd of Hermas may be assigned to the early part of the second half of the second century.

The Shepherd was written in Greek, as there appears to have been

no difficulty to its being generally read. It was highly esteemed, and Clement, as we have seen, regarded it as inspired. It was read in the churches, and a copy of it was found bound up with the Codex Sinaiticus. It was not admitted into the Canon, and the reason, in my opinion, was that it was too recent, and its date and author were too well known. It was deficient in the flavour of antiquity. Origen, however, made an attempt to antedate it to the first century, and to give it a distinguished author. He positively declared or thought that the author was the Hermas, the friend or acquaintance of Paul, named in Romans xvi. 14, and further thought that the writing was "divinely inspired" (*On Romans*, x. 31). This attempt, unlike that successfully made by Irenæus on John's behalf, missed fire. Tertullian did not approve of Hermas, and called him, very unjustly, the shepherd of adultery. The Muratorian writer objected to the book being read in the churches. The reason of its want of success appears to me to have been its deficiency in religious beliefs; it contains nothing of virgin conception, miracles, eternal damnation, and similar subjects of religious appreciation. Bishop Westcott declares, however, that Hermas "assigned to Faith its true position in the Christian Economy; Hermas regarded Faith as the first of the seven virgins by which the Church is supported," and thus recognised "the great truth which is commonly regarded as the characteristic centre of St Paul's teaching" (*Canon of New Testament*, Pt. i. 2, Hermas). Paul speaks of three virtues, faith, hope, and charity, but he expressly says, "the greatest of these is charity" (1 Cor. xiii. 13), not faith. Hermas' articles of faith were on a very limited scale, and I have already enumerated them. He makes no mention of the articles of belief contained in the four Gospels of which we have no account in his days, nor in the Apocryphal Gospels, which we know were in circulation in his age. Hermas is said to have been the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome, and as there can be no doubt that he was a sincere Christian, declared by the great masters of Christian learning at Alexandria to have been inspired, he may reasonably be regarded as an approximately accurate representative of his alleged brother's theology, coloured perhaps by his personal views. The theology of Rome was, I think, in the middle of the second century much as Hermas represents it. The belief in the evangelical stories contained in the Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels formed no part of it, as Hermas is silent and makes no allusion to them. Bishop Westcott, however, says: "The numerous paraphrases of our Lord's words prove that Hermas was familiar with some records of His teaching. That these were no other than our Gospels is at least

rendered probable by the fact that he makes no reference to any apocryphal narrative; and the opinion is confirmed by probable allusions to St Mark, St John, and the Acts. In several places also St John's teaching on 'the Truth' lies at the ground of Hermas' words; and the parallels with the First Epistle of St Peter are well worthy of notice" (*ibid.*, p. 201). I may exclaim with Dionysius of Alexandria, I wonder that I also do not see it! Few statements in his writings approach to the hardihood displayed by the veteran theologian in the above vivid misrepresentation of fact. Bishop Lightfoot, in the dissertation prefixed to his text of Hermas, is silent on this subject. He notes in the margin of the text a few coincidences with passages in the Gospels; but these are ideas and words which were common to all Christians of the period, and he does not claim them as derived from the Gospels. The following quotation, taken from Bishop Lightfoot's excellent translation, will give the reader a good idea of the best part of the Shepherd of Hermas. The Mandates: "Again he saith to me: 'Love truth, and let nothing but truth proceed out of thy mouth, that the Spirit which God made to dwell in this flesh may be found true in the sight of all men; and thus shall the Lord, who dwelleth in thee, be glorified; for the Lord is true in every word, and with Him there is no falsehood. They therefore that speak lies, set the Lord at nought, and become robbers of the Lord, for they do not deliver up to Him the deposit which they received. For they received of Him a spirit free from lies. This if they shall return a lying spirit, they have defiled the commandment of the Lord, and have become robbers.' When then I heard these things, I wept bitterly. But seeing me weep, he saith, 'Why weepest thou?' 'Because, sir,' say I, 'I know not if I can be saved?' 'Why so?' saith he. 'Because, sir,' I say, 'never in my life spake I a true word, but I always lived deceitfully with all men and dressed up my falsehood as truth before all men, but no man ever contradicted me, but confidence was placed in my word'" (M. III.).

In Paul's writings (1 Cor. xii. 23), the *Didache*, ch. xi. and xii., and in writings of the second century, three classes of officials or ministers are spoken of as serving the *ecclesia* or association of Christians, viz., apostles, prophets, and teachers. The precise limitations of the functions of these three classes of officials cannot be ascertained, but it is clear that, at least in the second century, they were sometimes combined with each other, and even with the secondary classes of officials whom the needs of larger communities called forth, namely, bishops or presbyters and deacons (*Didache*, ch. xv.). In the surviving literature of the early centuries, the writings of apostles and

prophets can be identified from the fact that the writers declare themselves as filling these positions. There is a class of writings in which the authors do not claim for themselves the distinction of apostles or prophets, and these may perhaps be regarded as the writings of teachers. There are several of them in existence both of the first and second centuries. Some of them have been deceitfully called epistles, to give them the appearance of being apostolic compositions, and even additions have been surreptitiously made to them to support the deception. Such writings of the first century are those called erroneously the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of John: these are not epistles, but dissertations or treatises. In the second century such writings which are called erroneously the Second Epistle of Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistle to Diognetus, may be regarded as proceeding from teachers. These were written in Greek, had no titles or authors' names, and date from the first half of the second century. Justin Martyr may be regarded as a teacher, as he does not claim for himself the style and dignity of apostle or prophet. His writings were published without titles or author's name: the former were assigned by editors, and the latter was ascertained by historical enquiry, and critics even now are not unanimous. Athenagoras and Minutius Felix may also be similarly regarded as teachers. Both these wrote in the second half of the second century: their writings were also without titles, or author's name,¹ and the work of the latter is still without a title, at least the edition that I possess (Holden's) has none. The former wrote in Greek, and the latter in Latin, being in this respect unique amongst Christian writers of the period, outside Africa. Theophilus' work *Ad Autolyicum* was written in Greek in the second half of the second century: it also was without title or author's name. Theophilus was a bishop, and no doubt preferred that assured dignity to the fading honours of apostles and prophets who were approaching extinction in his days. I have no reason for thinking that Irenæus' great work was published either with a title or with its author's name appended, thus making it no exception to the rule that prevailed in the second century. The first literary works of the second century that were published with titles and assumed authors' names were the four Canonical Gospels: because writers contemporary or nearly contemporary with their publication, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement,

¹ The *Apology* of Athenagoras, in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, is inscribed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Commodus. Philip of Sida, who is the only source of information regarding Athenagoras, and who flourished at the beginning of the fifth century, says the *Apology* was addressed to Hadrian and Antoninus (*Encyclopædia Brit.*). It is plain that the present inscription was unknown to Philip, and is an after-editorial accretion.

quote these Gospels by title and name. The Gospel of Truth was published by the Valentinians in the second century with its title, but without author's name: and so was the Gospel of Judas (*Iren.*, III. xi. 9 and I. xxxi. 1). The titleless and nameless apocryphal gospels published in the first half of the second century received the titles of gospels of real or fictitious writers, subsequently to the publication of the Canonical Gospels, which gave the cue. Some of the apocryphal gospels were titleless and nameless in the fourth century when Epiphanius wrote, and one at least, if not more, had several titles at that late period.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST EDITION OF THE THIRD GOSPEL USED BY TERTULLIAN.

IN the previous pages the reader has had laid before him the historical facts that I have been able to gather from the existing historical sources to which I have had access, bearing upon the Canonical Gospel of Luke. He is thus placed in as good a position as myself, and possessed with the same amount of historical knowledge, to enable him to judge of the justice of the impression which has steadily grown upon my mind in the course of my investigation, and has finally resulted in the conviction that the Canonical Gospel used by Tertullian, which I have restored in accordance with his indications, was the first edition of that Gospel. I shall collect the facts already stated, adding to them a few others, in corroboration and support, which I have since collected.

I. The name of the Gospel. Throughout the writings of Tertullian, which are very numerous and considerable in extent, the Third Gospel is called The Gospel of Luke, *Evangelium Lucae*, and never The Gospel according to Luke, *Evangelium secundum Lucam*. In the very chapter and paragraph of the great treatise against Marcion, in which Tertullian draws a contrast between the titled and named Canonical Gospel and the titleless and nameless Marcionite Gospel, Tertullian calls the former the Gospel of Luke, not "according to Luke." This is the very passage, if anywhere, one would naturally expect that Tertullian would be precise and accurate in stating the full official title and name of the Third Gospel. Here the fact that in this important passage Tertullian calls the Gospel, The Gospel of Luke, is an assurance that that was the full official title of the Gospel in Tertullian's hands. In the writings of Irenæus and other Christian writers of the period, the Third Gospel is also called the Gospel of Luke; but this was for shortness, the same reason that operates even in our days in theological writings. But the name The Gospel according to Luke, is also found in use by them, and as this is the title which has descended to us, we may

rationally infer that it was also the full title in their days. We cannot reasonably make this inference in respect of the Gospel in Tertullian's hands. Although Tertullian was a later writer than Irenæus, it must be remembered that he was only a few years later; hence it is not unreasonable to conclude that the copy of the Gospel used by Tertullian was a prior edition to that used by Irenæus. Tertullian wrote in Carthage in Africa, which was separated from the mainland by sea, and outside the regular routes of communication: hence it is not unreasonable to think that the second edition of the Gospel had not reached him when he wrote, and he did not possess it. I myself, in the nineteenth century, residing in the heart of England, with railway communication to all parts, do not possess the latest editions of many important works. Irenæus wrote at Lyons in Gaul, with which country the communications with Italy and Rome were good and permanent. Irenæus was practically the Chief of Christendom, and the second edition was perhaps of his making and was early received by him. The editions of the Gospel of Luke used by Irenæus and Tertullian are the earliest known in history, and the edition used by Tertullian was an earlier one than that quoted by Irenæus. Prior to the time of Irenæus, history has no knowledge of the Canonical Gospels.

II. The passages in the early chapters of Luke regarding the visit of the magi, the cruel proceedings of Herod, etc., existed in the first edition in Tertullian's hands, but not in any subsequent known edition. The proof that these passages existed in the original Third Gospel has already been given. Tertullian states in his treatise *De carne Christi*, ch. ii., that Marcion removed these passages from the Gospel of Luke. Epiphanius confirms the testimony of Tertullian by affording evidence that Celsus objected to these passages and pointed out that they rendered the chronology of the narrative of Luke impossible (*Epiph.*, li. 8; *Pet.*, i. p. 429; see p. 114 ff.). This was an efficient reason for the removal from the Gospel of these passages, of whose existence in any subsequent edition we have no knowledge.

III. Besides the above erased passages Tertullian informs us that there were other passages in the Third Gospel of whose existence in subsequent editions there is no trace. He states that Marcion expunged from the Gospel of Luke the following passages which existed in the Canonical Gospel, viz.: "I came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them" (*Anti-Marcion*, iv. 7 and 9); "I am not sent, but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel"; and "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to give it to dogs" (*ibid.*, iv. 7). Theologians contend that as Ter-

tullian says that Marcion removed these passages "from the Gospel," and not from the Gospel of Luke, it cannot be contended that the latter special Gospel was meant but the general Gospel, or the Gospel of Matthew, where these passages are now found; but no proof has been produced that these passages existed in the latter Gospel in the second century. Even if they did, the meaning of Tertullian would not be changed, for he was speaking of the Gospel of Luke as manipulated by Marcion, and not of Matthew; which further had no existence in the first half of the second century, when the Marcionite Gospel was written. This baseless objection cannot possibly be made to the omission of a clause in Luke vi. 35, which Tertullian applauds Marcion for having cleverly accomplished, thus withdrawing from God the gifts of showers and sunshine. This clearly was a clause in the Gospel of Luke, which Tertullian accused Marcion of erasing (*ibid.*, iv. 17 and ii. 17). It is now found in Matt. v. 45, but in a different context. (See p. 81.)

IV. There are many passages quoted by Tertullian from the Gospel of Luke which on comparison with the same quotations made by Irenæus are found defective in certain words and clauses. These variations, taken by themselves, afford no clue to priority of date. But in connection with other facts, such as those already stated, and the further circumstance that the variations found in Irenæus are repeated in later writers and found in our present received text, the conclusion is inevitable that the quotations of Tertullian were the ancient original text, which has become extinct. Of these passages I shall note two salient examples. Tertullian states (*ibid.*, iv. 24) that Jesus elected seventy other apostles besides the twelve (Luke x. 1). He begins his chapter with this statement, and as it was his custom to begin chapters with a quotation from the Marcionite Gospel, I conclude that this was a quotation from that Gospel, and as he does not say that there was a disagreement, that the reading in the Canonical Gospel was the same. (See p. 158.) Irenæus refers to this passage of the Gospel in these words: *post enim duodecim apostolos lxx. alios Dominus noster ante se misisse invenitur* (*Ad. Her.*, ii. xxi. 1), for after the twelve apostles our Lord is found to have sent seventy others before himself. This expression, "seventy others," I think, was in Irenæus' Gospel, for we find the expression repeated in quotations of Luke x. 1 by later writers, and it is the reading in our received Greek text. The reading of the original Gospel in the hands of Tertullian, "seventy other apostles" ¹ has become extinct, not being found in any codex extant.

¹ It will amuse my readers to learn that the translator of *Anti-Marcion* in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library has rendered this ancient extinct reading in

In quoting Luke xvi. 9, Tertullian has simply the following: "And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," and no more. This was the text of the Marcionite Gospel, which was also the Canonical text, as Tertullian does not say the latter differed. I have already pointed out that in the Marcionite text the little word *μή*, or 'not,' was omitted by the scribe. This omission necessarily changed the meaning of the precept to the very contrary of the intention of the Marcionite writer. The omission, however, was repeated in the Canonical Gospel, and the perverse meaning retained, as is very evident from the quotation of the same verse made by Irenæus, with an additional clause corroborative of the perverted meaning. Irenæus thus quotes the verse: "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity (or unrighteousness), that these, when ye shall be discomfited, may receive you in everlasting tabernacles" (*Ad. Her.*, iv. xxx. 3). This form of the text has been preserved to the present day, with a slight verbal alteration, viz., "that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations," A. V., further modified in the R. V. thus: "Make to yourselves friends by means of [in margin Gr. out of] the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles." (See p. 185.)

There are a score or more of other passages in which the original readings of Tertullian's Gospel, which were the same in the Marcionite Gospel, had been modified in the edition quoted by Irenæus and in subsequent editions. Amongst these I may mention Luke xii. 51, which Tertullian tells us was in the Marcionite Gospel: "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division"; but the word '*division*' was absent in the Canonical Gospel in his hands, for which '*sword*' was substituted. (See p. 178.) Since Tertullian's time, the latter word has disappeared from the Canonical text, and is not found in any quotation or codex known to us.

V. I have pointed out that the order of passages in the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels in the hands of Tertullian was the same: but this order was modified, and the passages shuffled in the edition of the Canonical Gospel in the hands of Irenæus. (See p. 368.) The latter was, however, remodified and the original order almost reverted to in the course of the third and fourth centuries. In the Canonical Gospel in the hands of Epiphanius at the close of the fourth century there still remained a trace of the change in the order. (See p. 368.) In our present received text the original

Tertullian's Gospel of Luke, "seventy other missionaries" (*op. cit.*, iv. 24, p. 277). The Vulgate has "seventy-two others."

order has been reverted to; but a change of sequence of one passage (Luke iv. 16-30), which was not in Tertullian's or Epiphanius' copies of the Canonical Gospel, was introduced in the third century by Origen (see p. 128), and still exists in the received Greek text.

From the above facts and considerations, the conclusion is clear that the edition of the Canonical Gospel in the hands of Tertullian was the original or first edition of the Gospel, and the oldest edition of it known to history. I find it difficult to think that this fact was not ascertained by the learned theologians of all Western nations, who have been investigating the Gospels and their textual history during the past three centuries. I cannot think that this fact could have eluded their diligent and laborious researches; and I regret to say that I have deliberately formed the conclusion that the fact was ascertained by them to be a genuine and dreadful reality; but being adverse to the interests of the orthodox faith, they 'piously' suppressed the historical fact, and invented a way of obliterating it. The device adopted I have already spoken of (p. 312 ff.), viz., by misrepresentation of facts, by hypotheses, by fabrication of facts, and by falsifying the translation of certain passages of Tertullian, they have invented a very ancient Latin translation, unknown to history, which they state was corrupt and inaccurate, and was the source of Tertullian's quotations. In further support of this product of moral aberration, they have devised a false and unscientific system of textual criticism founded on the genealogical grouping of documents, such as Western, Alexandrian, Syrian, and Neutral, which they deceitfully put forth as equivalent to and the very same as the historical method of textual criticism followed by editors of ancient writings. They employ their learned ingenuity in vilifying, disparaging, and condemning as corrupt and unreliable, the family group which they designate Western, *i.e.* the quotations from the ancient copies of the Gospels made at first hand by the most eminent Fathers of the Church in the second and third centuries. They have thus poisoned the sources of history, in order to obliterate the significance of the historical fact that the most ancient copies of the Gospels in use by the earliest and most eminent Fathers of the Church were at variance with the authorised text at present in use; and further, to wipe out of history the important historical fact, unfortunately adverse to the interests of the orthodox faith, that the Gospel of Luke used by Tertullian was the first edition of that Gospel known to history. (Read ch. vii.)

It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of ecclesiastical

Christianity that the most important literary fact connected with it, viz., the date of publication of the four Gospels, was shrouded in mystery. Ecclesiastical history gives no contemporary and authentic information on the subject. This fact, which ought to have been proclaimed in ecclesiastical history with the precision and accuracy of corresponding facts in secular history, had been designedly concealed and suppressed; and all the resources of deceit, untruthfulness, and guileful ingenuity had been employed to falsify the date and to throw it back for a century or more. These immoral efforts succeeded for sixteen centuries in absolutely deluding Christendom: it was towards the close of the eighteenth century, *i.e.* sixteen hundred years after the publication of the Gospels, that suspicion was first raised by learned German theologians that the Gospels were published in the second half of the second century. That suspicion has culminated in certainty; and the certainty now ascertained carries with it the conviction that the whole body of theologians, with a few exceptions, have for seventeen centuries maintained, and are still maintaining, a historical falsehood, in the financial and commercial interests of ecclesiastical Christianity. The concealment and falsification of the date of publication of the Gospels do not constitute the only moral aberration committed by the Church and its supporters in this connection, but it was combined with the concealment of the authors of the individual Gospels. The Fourth Gospel was based upon, and for the most part consisted of, the writing of Cerinthus. This author, however, did not append his name to his writing in accordance with the practice that prevailed amongst Christian writers in that early age. He probably wrote in the first person under the assumed name of John (see John i. 32, 34, and xix. 35, and my remarks on the verses in my work on the Fourth Gospel, p. 129). The Fourth Gospel was falsely issued as the writing of John the Apostle, one of the twelve. The Third Gospel was the writing of Luke, otherwise called Lucanus and Lucianus the Marcionite, but was published without a title or its author's name. This writing was appropriated and falsely issued as the writing of a hypothetical Luke, represented to be a companion of Paul the apostle of the first century. The historical presumption and probability are that Pantænus, the first Master of the Christian school at Alexandria, was the compiler of the three Synoptic Gospels which were issued under false names. (See p. 412.) The same immoral concealment was practised of the place of publication of the Synoptic Gospels; but from the historical presumption and probability, Alexandria may be assigned as the scene of publication. But the subject is involved in obscurity. The same obscurity

exists regarding the special and particular authority or agency which issued the four Gospels, gave them prestige or force, and had charge of the literary preservation of their text. Christendom has a right to demand who were the custodians of the Gospels; but it has no answer to the question till, towards the close of the fourth century, Jerome informs us that the Pope or Bishop of Rome of his day undertook the duty. (See p. 326.) The historian is left to ascertain who were the custodians of the Gospels in the second and third centuries from general considerations and indications floating in the writings issued during these centuries. These indices, sometimes fairly clear, and at other times obscure and inferential, point to the School of Alexandria, not only as the compilers of the Synoptic Gospels, but as their custodians, equally with the Fourth Gospel, which was compiled by the apostles and presbyters of the School of Ephesus. These Gospels have hence no more authority than works on mathematics, philosophy, and other subjects; their prestige was derived from the estimation in which the learned men in the schools was held by Christian society. Their influence and prestige may be compared to that enjoyed by the A. V. of 1611, issued under Royal and Parliamentary sanction, but more accurately to that enjoyed by the R. V. of 1881, derived from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Gospels compiled by the Schools of Alexandria and Ephesus were taken under the protection of the Catholic Church, and disseminated amongst the various dioceses that existed in those times. They were represented to the *alumni* in the schools and to the congregations of the various churches, as sacred writings of antiquity, from which no deviation was permissible, and in which no alterations were to be made. There is no historical information regarding the mode of dissemination of copies; this is a subject of conjecture. It is probable that a certain number of copies were made at Alexandria and Ephesus and distributed to the dioceses, and further copies multiplied by local scribes. So far as I can make out, the scribes adhered to the original copies, and no change was made beyond what was inevitable from clerical errors, and the incompetency of individual scribes or copyists. The reverence for the Gospels which we find inculcated in all the writings of the period, and further enforced in the schools and churches, must have had a powerful influence in preventing intentional alterations, capricious changes of the text, omission of passages, or the addition of fresh material. I do not find recriminations made by ancient authors against each other, of falsifying or altering the Gospels, though appeals are made to old and correct copies, and, as in the

case of Tertullian (p. 315), to authentic copies. But though alterations in the text of the Gospels were deprecated and discouraged, and doubtless regarded by the Christian communities as impious and sacrilegious, there can be no doubt that the Alexandrian Masters did not regard the Gospels as sacro-sanct and immutable. These custodians of the Gospels did not so regard their sacred charges, but on the contrary they dealt with them as writings to be corrected, improved, and beautified in a literary point of view, and accordingly we find the Gospels to have been modified from time to time. Historical and chronological errors and defects were amended, the sequence of passages changed, doctrinal statements introduced, as well as beautiful parables and interesting anecdotes, and numerous other changes were made for the literary and theological improvement of the Gospels. Such changes and amendments appear in general to have been made at the discretion of the Masters. But sometimes there are indications of outside influence, of the interference and insistence of persons of eminence or of ecclesiastical authority. For instance, it appears to me that Irenæus may possibly have suggested to the Alexandrian Masters the advisability of shuffling the passages in the first edition of the Gospel of Luke, so as to obliterate to some extent the remarkable correspondence between it and the Marcionite Gospel. Such shuffling was accordingly effected in the second edition; but after the death of Irenæus the original order was reverted to in subsequent editions. The singular and extraordinary corollary attached to the immoral precept in Luke xvi. 9, "Make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, for that is the way to obtain a place in heaven," appears to my mind to have been insisted upon by Irenæus; for both Clement and Origen, who were early Alexandrian Masters, show a disapproval of both precept and corollary. (See p. 186.) Again, in my work on the Fourth Gospel (pp. 306-327), I have shown that the important passage, John xx. 21-23, on which the Church of Rome bases the claim of her clergy to the power of remitting sins, was introduced for an immoral purpose into the Gospel by the Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus, apparently in spite of the disapproval of Origen, the Alexandrian Master. I believe the passage in Matthew xvi. 18-19, conferring the power of the keys on the Bishop of Rome, was introduced by Irenæus to conciliate Victor, Bishop of Rome, and to restore peace after the Paschal controversy, and, as a matter of good policy, to establish the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. (See p. 208.) I have no means of learning the opinion of the Alexandrian Master of the day, Pantænus, on the subject: but it is unlikely that the passage

was the offspring of his own brain. It bears the impress, not of the mind of a literary theologian, but of a statesman and theological politician, of Irenæus, the Bismarck of ecclesiastical Christianity, the creator and organiser of the Catholic Church in the second half of the second century. There is no indication of any formal revision of the Gospel in the third century and later, until Jerome undertook the task by command of Pope Damasus in the year A.D. 383. The amendments, changes, and additions were obviously made by the Alexandrian Masters intermittently from time to time as successive editions were put forth. I have not been able to discover any trace of alterations having been made indiscriminately by individuals; as the various writers of the second and third centuries, in spite of some controversial heat that existed amongst them, do not accuse each other of altering the Gospels: but they limit such accusations to unorthodox sectarians alone. I infer from the absence of personal recriminations, that the authors of the changes and additions introduced into the Gospels after their first publication, in the second and third centuries, were the Alexandrian Masters. Such changes introduced into the Gospels by the Masters were accepted by the churches and the faithful as authoritative and official; and we find the altered or added passages quoted by all Christian writers of the period with respect. There are indications, however, that these changes and additions, though not rejected or resented, were sometimes not liked, or approved, and were accepted with a certain reservation. For instance, the Song of Mary (Luke i. 46 ff.) is quoted by Irenæus in the second century in the form in which he found it in the Gospel of his time, *i.e.* the first two stanzas and the two last. The song had been added to in the third century by the Alexandrian Master; but the stanzas added do not appear to have pleased Gregory Thaumaturgus; for in quoting the song he repeats the first two stanzas, adds a *so forth*, and then repeats the two final stanzas; the two initial and the two final stanzas being the original song, but the intermediate stanzas were added by the Alexandrian Master Origen, and Gregory passed them over with a *so forth*. (See p. 108.) The Alexandrian Masters, themselves, sometimes disapproved, as already pointed out, the additions that they were forced to make to the Gospels. Clement and Origen disapproved of the addition of the mode of making the way to heaven smooth by the mammon of unrighteousness, which they were forced to make to Luke xvi. 9; and Origen disapproved of the insertion of John xx. 21-23, which he apparently was compelled to introduce by Zephyrinus and Callistus, Bishops of Rome. The new editions of the Gospel, when published, did not supersede the earlier editions, which

were not suppressed, recalled, or destroyed, but were retained and used in the churches and by private individuals until they were worn out. Manuscript volumes were in general too valuable to be thrown aside on the issue of new editions. The new and the older editions were simultaneously current amongst the Christian churches and communities. Thus differences in the quotations by various writers, even contemporaries, may be reasonably accounted for. Tertullian continued to use the first edition of the Third Gospel, while Irenæus used the second; and he apparently possessed the first edition of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians issued from Alexandria, while a later edition had got into currency, in which latter he found a change had been introduced. (See p. 315.) The Alexandrian Masters of whom we have knowledge were Pantænus, Clement, and Origen; the latter died in A.D. 151. Heracles succeeded Origen in the charge of the School, but he left it on appointment to the bishopric of Alexandria (Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, vi. 26). We have no knowledge of subsequent Masters, nor of the further history of the School; and hence the authors of many changes in the Gospels made subsequent to the death or perhaps retirement of Origen are unknown. The School was still in existence at the beginning of the fourth century, when Eusebius wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* (v. 10).

I have the impression that the four Canonical Gospels were the first Christian writings that were published with titles and the names of authors. The titles given by Eusebius to other writings published in the second half of the second century were in all probability assigned subsequently in the third century to identify these writings in public and private libraries. There is no contemporary testimony; and such writings are not referred to by contemporary writers by the titles that Eusebius ascribed to them. Irenæus, a contemporary writer, refers to the Gospels by their titles and alleged authors' names. That is an unimpeachable fact, and there can be no doubt about it. The first editions were, however, issued under superscriptions differing from those named by Irenæus, which were the superscriptions of the second edition. The first editions of the Gospels in Tertullian's hands were superscribed respectively the Gospels of Matthew, of Mark, of Luke, and of John: these superscriptions were changed in the second editions quoted by Irenæus to the Gospels according to Matthew, according to Mark, according to Luke, and according to John. This change gives rise to reflection. There must have been a reason for the change. Probably objection was made to the authorship assigned, which even in the broadest view could not be regarded as accurate. The Gospels were known to be composite, and component parts of the individual Gospels were known to be written

by diverse persons. To meet this objection and fact, the phrase 'according to' was adopted, which did not assign exclusive authorship to the hypothetical individuals named. This phrase 'according to' was altogether unusual, and not employed as a superscription for any writing, Christian or classical, before or after the publication of the Gospels; but it must be admitted that it was a happy compromise between the actual and hypothetical facts.

The four Canonical Gospels, at their first appearance, were the only writings of those times which bore the superscription Gospel; and hence arose the use of the plural word 'Gospels,' of which there is no example in Christian writings prior to this period. (See p. 429.) The word was always previously used in the singular number, a plurality of Gospels being unknown. Hence also probably arose the boast of Irenæus, that it is not possible that the Gospels can be either more or fewer in number than they are, because there are four zones and four principal winds, and it was fitting that the fabric or constitution of the Church should have four pillars (*Ad. Her.*, III. xi. 8). Gospels, however, very soon multiplied. Even before Irenæus had penned his boast, the Valentinians had put forth "the Gospel of Truth" (*Ad. Her.*, III. xi. 9), and the Cainites "the Gospel of Judas" (*ibid.*, I. xxxi. 1). The Catholic Church had given the cue, and all writings hitherto issued on the subject of the biography of Jesus now began to be also called Gospels. The thousand and one treatises of the apostles of the first half of the second century, which Justin generalised under the name of Memoirs of the Apostles, were now called Gospels of the Apostles, and under this name Irenæus himself refers to them (*ibid.*, III. xi. 9). Every biographical scrap was henceforth called a Gospel; and a large assortment of them has come down to our times, which theologians by way of distinction call Apocryphal Gospels, after the four Canonical Gospels, and the two heretical Gospels, which, however, had no authors' names. The work of Clement of Alexandria with the strange name of *Stromateis*, which may be translated counterpane or covering, comes next as a work that appeared with both title and author's name. Eusebius tells us that Clement thought worthy to give his book this name, which he sets forth in full, "The Stromateis of gnostic reminiscences regarding true philosophy of Titus Flavius Clement" (Euseb., *Ecl. Hist.*, vi. 13). I think the claim of Clement's other writings to title and name is doubtful. The practice of prefixing titles and author's name to Christian writings was established in the third century. The astute lawyer Tertullian took advantage of the fact to disparage the Marcionite Gospel, which was destitute of title and name; but this attempt of his has supplied a strong detail of

circumstantial evidence in favour of the priority and originality of the Marcionite Gospel. All the writings of Origen appear to have been published with titles and his name; and he also adopted the title *Stromateis* for one of his publications. The ancient practice of Christian writers of not affixing titles and names to their writings is one that has been overlooked by theologians, and I shall be curiously watching to see how they will explain away that fact in order to extirpate the strong proof that it affords of the great antiquity of the Marcionite Gospel. I hardly expect, however, that theologians will venture to dispute the accuracy of the historical facts I have brought forward in my two works, now published: they will prefer to maintain silence, which is the most prudential course for them to pursue.

CHAPTER XIII.

VOLCKMAR'S *DAS EVANGELIUM MARCIONIS*.

HAVING now completed my investigation of the text and history of the Marcionite Gospel by a diligent personal examination of the surviving historical records, I was desirous of comparing the results of my labours, which are the independent conclusions of my own mind from the facts that I have ascertained in history, with the results obtained by other investigators in the same field. I was aware that no investigations, worthy of the name, had been hitherto made in England; and hence I was compelled to resort to Germany, several ecclesiastical scholars of which great country have gone over the same ground which I have traversed. Being ignorant of the theological literature of Germany, I was unable to select any special investigator for the purpose of comparison, from my own knowledge of his work. I was compelled to rely upon the recommendations of English theologians, and most of these scholars seem to be of opinion that the best work on the subject is *Das Evangelium Marcions*, by Dr Gustav Volckmar. It is well that I should mention some of the recommendations upon which I have made my selection. Archbishop William Thomson, D.D., of York, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, Introduction to Luke, p. xlv., remarks: "The conclusive reasoning of Volkmar has re-established the account given by the Fathers. Marcion has used and has altered for his purpose the Gospel of St Luke. 'The old opinion,' says Dr Davidson, 'will not be seriously disturbed again, as long as the treatise of Volkmar exists.'" The learned archbishop, however, appends in a footnote a statement that somewhat discounts Dr Davidson's high eulogium; he says: "Dr Davidson did not know how powerless the logic of Volkmar would be against the indurated integument of the 'unprejudiced person,' that ideal creation of the author of *Supernatural Religion*." Professor Sanday of Oxford likewise expresses approbation of Dr Volckmar's work, though in less extravagant terms than Archbishop Thom-

son and Dr Davidson. Of Volckmar's chapter dealing with the evidence of Tertullian and Epiphanius, he says, it "is an admirable specimen of the closeness and thoroughness of German research" (*The Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 209). He considers that the earlier researches of Hahn and Ritschl ought to be corrected by those of Hilgenfeld and Volckmar, and the difference between these two later critics, he says, is quite insignificant (*op. cit.*, p. 212). Notwithstanding this high estimate of Volckmar's work, I observe that Professor Sanday takes the restoration of the Marcionite Gospel outlined by the author of *Supernatural Religion*, instead of the restoration made by Volckmar. This appears to me to be an inconsistent proceeding: highly praising one work and yet following another which is condemned; and the only explication, which does not give me a clear idea, rendered by the learned Professor why this conduct is followed, is, "in order to avoid any suspicion" (*op. cit.*, p. 213). I do not remember meeting any observations made by an English theologian that Volckmar's work is faulty in any respect; and the conclusion I formed was that Volckmar's work was generally approved by theologians, and hence may fittingly be taken as a subject for comparison with my own.

After the treatises of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, in the second, third, and fourth centuries, and of numerous other contemporary writers mentioned by Eusebius, the subject of the Marcionite Gospel enjoyed an uninterrupted sleep to the close of the eighteenth century. No one questioned the originality of the Canonical Gospel of Luke till 1783, when Semler, Professor of Theology at the University of Halle, announced the view which my own investigations carried on independently, without any knowledge of Semler's researches, have convinced me is the true historical one, that the Third Gospel "was one of the numerous Gospels from amongst which the Canonical had been selected by the Church."¹ Semler is an interesting figure in theology. He is sometimes called the father of German rationalism, of which he is said to have been the first systematic exponent. He appears to me to have drawn legitimate conclusions from the facts of history, and not to have pruned his conclusions or to have explained away the facts of history according to what is understood to be the interests of orthodoxy. Semler was not of the opinion that the Marcionite Gospel was a mutilated and falsified version of the Canonical Gospel, but he is said to have "concluded that Marcion's Gospel and Luke's were different versions

¹ The information here detailed has been derived chiefly from the chapter on Marcion in the work called *Supernatural Religion* and from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

of an earlier work." This may have been the fact ; but I have not been able to find evidence of the special earlier work. The Marcionite Gospel being in the form of history, necessarily derived its historical information from a previous writing or writings. A reasonable conjecture may indicate the Gospel of Peter as the earlier work ; but I have not been able to find evidence of the relative chronology of the Marcionite and Petrine Gospels, nor have I yet found the means of comparing these two Gospels. The relative chronology of the Marcionite and Canonical Gospel of Luke is clearly perceptible in history, and the considerable textual exactitude between these two Gospels renders certain that the later Gospel was a copy of the earlier. Contemporary theologians supported Semler. Griesbach, about 1786, Löffler in 1788, Corrodi in 1792, and J. E. C. Schmidt in 1796, combated the view that had prevailed for fifteen centuries that Marcion was a falsifier of Luke: the last named theologian went further, "and asserted that Marcion's Gospel was the genuine Luke, and our actual Gospel a later version of it with alterations and additions": an opinion which my present work absolutely supports, although I had not before heard of Schmidt and his opinion. Eichhorn, an eminent theologian, who is said to have originated biblical criticism, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, published in 1820, adopted similar views, after examination. It is remarkable that this eminent critic "repudiated the statements of Tertullian regarding Marcion's Gospel as utterly untrustworthy, asserting that he had not that work itself before him at all, and he maintained that Marcion's Gospel was the more original text and one of the sources of Luke." It is possible that here the author of *Supernatural Religion*, from whom I have quoted, erroneously substituted the Marcionite Gospel for the Antitheses of Marcion, which latter work was perhaps not in Tertullian's hands, as he never quotes from it, and there is a strong probability that he misrepresented it. Bolten in 1796, Bertholdt in 1813, Schleiermacher in 1845, Dr Schultz in 1829, and Gieseler in 1818, likewise maintained that Marcion's Gospel was by no means a mutilated version of Luke, but, on the contrary, an independent original Gospel. Gieseler, however, in 1823, abandoned his opinion, and adopted the view, which Hahn supported, that Marcion's Gospel was constructed out of Luke.

A host of theologians, on the other hand, maintained the traditional view, viz., Storr in 1786, Arneth in 1809, Hug in 1847, Neander in 1843, Gratz in 1818, it is said, "with little originality of investigation or argument"; and Michaelis, in 1788, Becker in 1837, Bleek, Bunsen, Anger, Cellérier in 1823, Davidson, Ebrard, Ewald in 1853-54, Guericke, Gfrörer, Harting, in 1849, Kirchhofer, Meyer in

1867, Neudecker in 1840, Nicolas in 1866, Schott in 1830, Rhode in 1834, Reuss in 1857, Rumpf in 1867, Schotten, Tischendorf, Westcott, Wilcke, Zeller, and Sanday in 1876, "have maintained the dependence, in one shape or another, of Marcion's Gospel on Luke." In addition to the above, other theologians of greater or less mark discussed the subject from opposite points of view. Paulus, it appears, in 1822, "sought to reconcile both views by admitting that Marcion had before him the Gospel of Luke, but denying that he mutilated it, arguing that Tertullian did not base his arguments on the actual Gospel of Marcion, but upon his work, the 'Antithesis.'" Hahn in 1823 restored the text of Marcion's Gospel, from the statements of Tertullian and Epiphanius, and came to the conclusion that the work was a mere version of the Third Gospel, with alterations and omissions made in the interest of Marcion's system. Olshausen in 1823, Credner and De Wette in 1860, expressed similar opinions.

The theological Professors of the University of Tübingen took a prominent part in the Marcionite controversy. Ritschl in 1846, after a thorough investigation of Marcion's Gospel, came to the conclusion that the Canonical Gospel was constructed out of it by the introduction of interpolations and additions which were of anti-Marcionite tendency. Ferdinand Christian Baur, the founder of the modern Tübingen school, famous for theological doctrines and views regarding the authenticity of various writings in the Old and New Testaments opposed to the traditional orthodox notions, and Schweigler in 1846-47 enunciated similar views, and the latter declared the Marcionite Gospel to be probably the source of the Canonical Gospel. Köstlin in 1853 considered the priority of Marcion's Gospel and the theory that it was the basis of the Canonical Gospel as improbable; but he regarded both Gospels as versions of the same original, that the text of the Marcionite Gospel was more original, and that of the Canonical Gospel later and more corrupt.

The latest investigators were Volckmar and Hilgenfeld, who appear to have been allies. Volckmar's work appeared in 1852. Volckmar's name, says Professor Sanday, is associated with "some daring theories," of which I am ignorant, and the same learned authority speaks of Hilgenfeld as a "more sober-minded, laborious investigator." Both came to practically similar results, especially on points which were contested: a success which Volckmar says is not only joyous but honourable to criticism, as the latter can scarcely fail, upon good grounds, to reach essential unanimity upon the most difficult and doubtful subjects (*op. cit.*, p. 6). These investigations of Volckmar as well as of Hilgenfeld had the effect of inducing Baur

and Ritschl partly to withdraw and partly to modify their opinions. The opinion that the Marcionite Gospel was an independent work was withdrawn. Ritschl, however, still maintained the originality of some of Marcion's readings, and defended Marcion on the ground that he did no more than the Synoptic writers themselves, who borrowed from each other. And Baur, while admitting that Marcion had altered the original of his Gospel frequently for dogmatic reasons, maintained that there was an older form of the Gospel without the earlier chapters, from which both Marcion and Luke directly constructed their Gospels: both altered the common original, one abbreviated and the other extended it. With regard to Schwegler, Professor Sanday remarks: "So far as I am aware, Schwegler is the only writer whose opinion still stands as it was at first expressed; but for some years before his death, which occurred in 1857, he had left the theological field" (*Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 208).

A rough analysis of the foregoing general facts shows that the first investigators of the Marcionite Gospel in modern times, viz., Semler in 1783, and J. E. C. Schmidt in 1796, between them arrived at similar conclusions to those to which I, the last investigator, have come, viz., that the Third Gospel was selected from the writings, or 'Gospels,' as they were afterwards called, current in the second century, and that Marcion's Gospel was the genuine Luke, and our Canonical Gospel a later version of it, with alterations and additions. Another point to be noticed is that the discussion was entirely in the hands of ecclesiastics, and that no layman had any voice in the decision. The only secular opinion on the subject is that of the author of the very able and remarkable work called *Supernatural Religion* (1870?).¹ It is, however, not an absolute certainty that this anonymous author was a layman. Various conjectures have been made regarding his personality, always given as distinguished, and amongst other names mentioned has been that of an eminent Anglican bishop.² The opinion of the author of *Supernatural Religion* was that the Marcionite Gospel was an independent and original work. The fortunes of the investigators are remarkable. Of Semler, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* has the remark: "He died at Halle on 14th March 1791, worn out by his prodigious labours, embittered by his desertion, and disappointment at the issue of his work." I can gather no information regarding the other investigators who opposed

¹ It is to be regretted that English authors and publishers do not date their books. I am unable to ascertain when *Supernatural Religion* was published. My copy is the third edition, dated 1874; but it gives no information regarding the date of its first issue.

² Bishop Thirlwall. See Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament*, sixth edition. Preface to fourth edition, p. xxii., footnote.

the traditional view; except of Schwegler, who, Professor Sanday informs us, was the one Tübingen professor who did not recant his opinions, "and left the theological field." The author of *Supernatural Religion* has thought it advisable to preserve his anonymity to the present day. He probably holds a position from which he may be dismissed by ecclesiastical power. Regarding the maintainers of the traditional view, there is little information to be found, but the names of many of them will be recognised as eminent in the theological field. Volckmar, who was a teacher of ancient languages when he published his great work, has been elevated to a Professorship of Theology in Zürich, as Professor Sanday informs us (*The Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 208). The latter scholar, who, when he published his formidable lucubrations on Marcion's Gospel in *The Fortnightly Review*, 1874, was a simple Warwickshire incumbent, has been transferred to a chair of theology at Oxford. Dr Westcott was raised to a peerage on obtaining the lucrative position of Bishop of Durham (£7000 per annum). The fortunes of the supporters of the traditional view were manifestly prosperous; the non-supporters fared like evil birds that fouled their own nests. The traditional view pays better, and hence continues to be the orthodox view.

In comparing Volckmar's restoration of the Marcionite Gospel with my own, I find there is much coincidence, but also considerable divergence. Volckmar does not tell us of the method he followed; but I have ascertained from the perusal of his work that he has not restricted himself to a uniform method, but has varied his method according to the needs of his primary object. That object was not the restoration of the Marcionite Gospel, which however was not neglected, but was subordinated and made secondary to the chief and primary object, which was the conservation of the present text of the Canonical Gospel of Luke. In the first part of his work Volckmar makes no allusion to his primary object, and the text of the Canonical Gospel is only casually spoken of, but always in a tone of complacent certainty, as if in no way connected with that of the Marcionite Gospel. In the title-page of his work, however, Volckmar fully declares his primary object. His work is represented to be a revision of recent investigations for the determination of the text and the interpretation of Luke's Gospel.¹ The

¹ Das Evangelium Marcions. Text und Kritik mit Rücksicht auf die Evangelien des Märtyrers Justin, der Clementinen und der apostolischen Väter. Eine Revision der neuern Untersuchungen nach den Quellen selbst zur Textbestimmung und Erklärung des Lucas-Evangeliums. Von Dr Gustav Volckmar, ordentlichen Hauptlehrer der alten Sprachen am Gymnasium zu Fulda. The Gospel of Marcion. Text and criticism, with reference to the Gospels of Justin Martyr, of the Clementines and Apostolic Fathers. A revision of the recent in-

second part of the work is mainly devoted to the determination of the text of the original Gospel of Luke. I have formed the conclusion that Volckmar deemed the falsification of the Marcionite text and the depreciation and misrepresentation of the Marcionite Gospel necessary for maintaining the stability of the present text of the Canonical Gospel of Luke. The methods he has pursued cannot be considered as likely to lead to a reliable restoration of the Marcionite text. It is impossible to think that a scholar possessed of the learning and talent which Volckmar undoubtedly displays was ignorant of the right method of textual investigation. The scholar who deliberately adopts a wrong or inferior method of restoration of an ancient text, does so with the consciousness that his labours will not result in finding the true text. He may reasonably and justly be suspected of and charged with the design of intentionally pursuing wrong and inferior methods in order to obtain a false result which he may set forth as accurate and represent as the true text. It is impossible to think that a scholar like Volckmar was ignorant of the right and only trustworthy method of restoring an ancient text, viz., by investigating the history of each portion of the text. The quotations and representations of the text by contemporary writers, wherever these are available, are the only sure guarantees of an ancient text: where they are not available, other methods are mere make-shifts and lead to uncertain and conjectural results. It is seldom the lot of a textual critic to find so great an abundance of historical data as is available for the restoration of the text of the Marcionite Gospel and of the Canonical Gospel of Luke. Under the circumstances it was utterly unjustifiable for Volckmar not to follow the only true method, viz., the historical method; and his deliberate resort to other methods legitimately lays him open to the suspicion and charge of doing so for the attainment of some special object. That object is the one set forth in his title-page, the determination, or rather, I should say, the conservation of the text of the present Canonical Gospel of Luke, which is a wide departure from the text of its first edition.

Volckmar has introduced into the textual criticism of the Marcionite Gospel subjects which are alien to it. The quotations and representations of the text of this Gospel made by Tertullian and Epiphanius are germane to the subject; but their representations of the tenets, opinions, and conduct of Marcion are alien, and are not connected with the critical history of the text. Volckmar

vestigations according to the sources themselves for the determination of the text and interpretation of the Gospel of Luke. By Dr Gustavus Volckmar, ordinary head teacher of the ancient languages in the Gymnasium at Fulda.

has thus introduced into the textual criticism of the Gospel a large quantity of extraneous matter, which he deals with as working data, with the result that the text has been falsified. He has drawn into his net everything that he found stated in Tertullian. He has accepted the two Gods which Tertullian attributed to Marcion, though he candidly admits that there is nothing to be found in the Marcionite Gospel about two Gods. Here are his remarks on this subject:

“Es kommt nirgends eine directe Entgegensetzung zweier Götter darin vor, nirgends der Name ‘Demiurg,’ nirgends der ‘des guten Gottes,’ noch die Unterscheidung eines doppleten Himmels (*cf. Tert.*, iv. 7), und wenn XX., 34 f. ein *θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου* im Unterschied vom Lucas - Evangelium eingeführt ist, so hat doch auch *Paulus* schon von einem *θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* (2 Cor. iv., 4) geredet, und die Bemühungen der Kirchenlehrer, durcheineandere Construction der Worte dies zu beseitigen, sind gewaltsam genug” (p. 122).

There never occurs in it a direct contrast of two Gods, never the name “Demiurge,” never that “of the good God,” nor the distinction of a double heaven, and if in xx. 34 ff. a God of that age or world is introduced, in difference from the Gospel of Luke, so has Paul also already spoken of a God of this world (2 Cor. iv. 4), and the exertions of theologians to set this aside by another construction are sufficiently forced.

From this passage, which is by no means the only one of its kind, a fair conception can be formed of the quality of Volckmar as a textual critic. He says that the Marcionite Gospel had no direct mention of two Gods, and yet gives an example which is plainly contradictory of the remark. The remark, however, is accurate, but the example is false and inaccurate. If the reader will refer to the present Canonical Gospel at the passage indicated (xx. 34 and 35), he will find no mention of God, and in verse 36 God is neutral. In my restoration of this passage (see p. 200), he will find a neutral God spoken of in both Gospels in exactly the same words. This is a passage which Volckmar has falsified, in the hope possibly of finding some verification of Tertullian's falsehoods. The latter correctly quotes the Marcionite text, which he does not say differed from the Canonical text, which he also quotes as follows: “They whom God has accounted worthy of the possession of that world,” etc. (see Bk. iv. 38). This is all that the historical method requires, and the textual critic is satisfied with the text of both Gospels as here stated by Tertullian. Epiphanius gives his corroboration by making no remark on this passage, thus

showing that there was no variation in the two Gospels (see *ante*, p. 201). Tertullian, however, was not a textual critic, but a hostile and unscrupulous critic of the Marcionite theology, and he proceeds to say how the Marcionites (not Marcion, but the later Marcionites of Tertullian's day) read or interpreted this passage; it appears they made it out to be "God of this world." But with this perverted reading or interpretation the textual critic is not concerned. Now Volckmar poses as a textual critic; but I regret to say that in this passage he exposes his utter incompetency for that function. Incredible to believe, he takes the alleged misreading or interpretation of the Canonical text to be the text of the Marcionite Gospel! This is certainly not the historical method of textual criticism. It may be called the advocate's method: a comprehensive method, which includes not merely abuse of your opponent, but the employment of every means, plausible or illegitimate, illogical argument, sophistry, misinterpretation, evasion and suppression of facts, and anything else deemed necessary to attain your object. Volckmar, while he puts into the Marcionite Gospel words that neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius says that it contained, abstains from bringing to notice that the present Canonical text differs in this passage from its own original! Here, therefore, is a clear evasion or suppression of fact.

The extraordinary ingenuity of Volckmar in inventing facts is well worthy of notice. There is no statement on the subject of two Gods that I could make out in the Marcionite Gospel, and Volckmar admits that the two Gods are never brought into contrast directly. This, of course, implies that there is an indirect contrast; and Volckmar indicates such indirect contrasts. It is difficult for me to recall passages from memory, and Volckmar's arrangement of his matter is not conducive to easy reference, and he has no index: further, I am embarrassed by the dilapidated condition into which the flimsily bound German edition has fallen. For these reasons it is possible I may have overlooked the best illustrations; but the following examples will suffice to display Volckmar's ingenuity. In Luke iv. 22 occurs the following passage, which is found in exactly the same words in both the rival Gospels: "And all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words [or words of grace] which proceeded out of his mouth." There are possibly other minds as ingenious as Volckmar's, that may perceive a meaning beyond that conveyed by these simple words; but humbly speaking for myself, I confess that I am unable, using my utmost ingenuity, to spy out in this passage an indirect contrast between the Good God of Marcion's heresy, and the Just God or

Demiurge of Jewish and Christian orthodoxy of the second century. But such contrast in the passage appears to Volckmar as a matter of course, and he does not spend a single word specially to point it out. He remarks offhand in the course of his exposition:—

“Wie in ganz Galiläa, so predigt Christus auch in Nazareth die neue Kunde vom unbekannten Gott der Gnade (τῆς χάριτος, v. 22), worüber als etwas völlig Neues die Leute ebenso staunen als in Capernaum; auch können sie nicht umhin, laut die unwiderstehliche Kraft des Wortes von der Gnade zu bezeugen; aber sie bleiben beim Verwundern stehn, und da sie schon den Ruf von seinen Wunderthaten in Capernaum vernommen haben, so verlangen sie, dass er seine Wunderkraft auch bei ihnen bethätige, wenn er solche habe und das sein wolle, was er in seiner Verkündigung sagte (denn dies liess sich leicht aus dem so allgemein gehaltenen ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν αὐτοῖς hinzudenken). Jesus erkennt ihre Gedanken und spricht sie so schon verwerfend aus, um dann aufs nachdrücklichste zu erklären, dass diesen ihm jetzt Nächsten in ihrer Anmassung dass diesen sinnlichen Dienern des Demiurgen kein Wunder des Heils zu Theil werden solle, wie sie dieser Gott einst schon selbst verstossen habe, sondern das Heil nur für die von ihnen Verachteten, den Nicht-Juden bestimmt sei” (page 144).

As in all Galilee, so also in Nazareth, Christ preached the new knowledge of the unknown God of grace (τῆς χάριτος, v. 22),¹ by which as something completely new the people were as much astonished as in Capernaum; also they could not help bearing loud testimony to the irresistible force of his words; but they continued in their astonishment, and as they had already heard the report of his wonderful deeds in Capernaum, so they desired that he should display his wonderful power amongst them also, if he had such, or wished to be that which he said in his announcement (for this readily comes to the mind from the *words* so generally retained, ‘he began to preach unto them’). Jesus knows their thoughts, and addresses them so reproachfully in order to declare in the most impressive manner, that to these now his kin in their arrogance, that to these sinful servants of the Demiurge there shall be no share in the miracle of healing, as this God has in the past himself rejected them, but that salvation is destined for those despised by them, for those who are not Jews.

In the incident at Nazareth detailed in Luke iv. 22–30, there is no allusion to two Gods, the Good God, and the Just God or Demiurge, but Volckmar has pumped in the two Gods, not indeed into the text, but into his interpretation of the passage. The

¹ The reader will observe that in Luke iv. 22 the text is “gracious words” or “words of grace,” not *God of grace*. Tertullian, in commenting on the passage, says that there was nothing new in the discourse of Jesus (*Anti-Marcion*, iv. 8).

curious thing is that though the passage is identical in both Gospels, Volckmar pumps the two Gods into the Marcionite Gospel alone. To be fair and impartial he ought to have pumped them equally into both Gospels. In addition to the two Gods, Volckmar has further injected into this passage (in the Marcionite Gospel only) the strange view that Tertullian had attributed to Marcion that the Good God was opposed to the Jews, the worshippers of the Demiurge, and desired their annihilation, and that the salvation that Christ promised was destined for those who were not Jews. Nothing of this is perceptible to the ordinary reader of the Marcionite Gospel, but Volckmar has inoculated it, not into the text, but into the interpretation.

Again, in Luke xii. 5, 8, and 9, Volckmar introduces the two Gods into the interpretation of the Marcionite Gospel, but not of the Canonical Gospel. These verses are the following: "5. But I will show you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, who after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him. 8. Also I say unto you, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I also confess before God. 9. But every one that denieth me before men shall be denied before God." This was the consecutive text of both Gospels, according to the information derived from Tertullian and Epiphanius. (See p. 176.) But it differs from our present Canonical Gospel, in which two verses, 6 and 7, were interpolated as well as the words "angels of Gods" in verses 8 and 9, and "Son of Man" in verse 8. With that wonderful insight which I find altogether wanting to me, Volckmar asserts that the God to be feared in verse 5 is the Demiurge, but the God in verses 8 and 9 is the highest God, *i.e.* the Good God of Marcion (*op. cit.*, p. 108). This was not the opinion of Tertullian, who says the God to be feared and to be confessed is the same God (*Ad. Marc.*, iv. 28). Again the idea of two Gods is unceremoniously thrust into the Marcionite passage corresponding to Luke xvi. 13: "No servant can serve two masters. . . . Ye cannot serve God and mammon." The words of the passage are exactly the same in the two Gospels, and yet the Marcionite Gospel is valiantly said to refer to two Gods while the Canonical does not! Volckmar remarks:—

"Im Gleichniss vom unger-
echten Haushalter war nach M.
in [ch. xvi.] v. 13, 'Niemand
kann zwei Herren dienen' klar
ein zweites göttliches Wesen
gelehrt; der Mammon war ihm
der Demiurg, wie T. und auch

In the parable of the unjust
steward a second god-like being
was taught, according to Marcion,
in v. 13, "No man can serve
two masters." Mammon was to
him the Demiurge, as Tertullian
and also the Dialogue report,

Dialog berichten, obwol er v. 11 in dem *Mammona in justo* doch nur das Geld selbst finden konnte, nicht den *creator, quem et Marcion justum facit* (T.)" (p. 162.)

although he, v. 11, in the unjust mammon could only find money, not the Creator whom Marcion also makes just.

In the remarks following the parable in the Gospel (Luke xvi. 9-15) there is no reference to two Gods: but if the idea of two Gods must be pumped into them, it appears to me that the introduction can be more appropriately made in the Canonical Gospel, in which the text of the present Gospel lends itself, in a manner, to the thought that Mammon was the Demiurge, whose friendship was to be sought for as the means of going to heaven. This pumping process is, however, preposterous, and it is singular that it did not appear in that light to Volckmar and his supporters. Epiphanius had not the remotest suspicion or knowledge of the two Gods that Tertullian attributed to Marcion, and that Volckmar has introduced into his interpretation of the Marcionite Gospel. I can only repeat that I am unable to find the least reference, direct or indirect, to two Gods in either the Marcionite or Canonical Gospel. It is further my decided opinion that the view of two Gods in the Marcionite Gospel, and not in the Canonical Gospel, is due not to mental but to moral obliquity of vision.

The manner in which Volckmar has welded the hypothetical two Gods into the Marcionite Gospel but not into the Canonical Gospel, shows him to be a man of grit, capable of resource, and not to be daunted by trifles. Besides loyally accepting the two Gods, Volckmar has manfully swallowed and digested the Christ that dropped from the sky, at the mature age of thirty, in the full costume of the period. This statement of Tertullian's was accepted by Volckmar without the least examination, for there is not a hint throughout his work that he had subjected it to historical criticism. I find no attempt made to corroborate the statement, which is taken absolutely on Tertullian's credit, who, it should be remembered, was not a contemporary of Marcion. Volckmar may perhaps have been ignorant that neither Justin nor Irenæus, who were contemporaries of Marcion, supports Tertullian, and that Eusebius is silent on the subject of the dropping from the sky, although he refers to a very considerable amount of contemporary literature on Marcion's heresy. Volckmar could not, however, have been ignorant of the fact that Epiphanius had no knowledge of the dropping from the sky. Now Epiphanius was a man of much learning; and the subject of heretics and heresies was his speciality. He was a most diligent collector of information, and wrote very largely on Marcion and his Gospel. He

does not say a word about the dropping from the sky, and it is obvious that he knew nothing of it. That fact was known to Volckmar, for it is simply impossible to conceive that he studied Epiphanius' dissertation without becoming aware of it. The fact should have given him pause. But it did not; and I think it will be a false and mistaken charity to excuse Volckmar from the consequences of his own unscholarly conduct. The alleged fact of the dropping from the sky suited Volckmar's purpose; it rendered Marcion ridiculous, and he cared not whether it was true or false. He made no investigation, but gave currency to it as true; and what concerns me most, introduced it not only into the interpretation of the text, but also practically into the text itself of the Marcionite Gospel, thereby rendering falsification inevitable. There is no doubt that Tertullian was desirous that his readers should believe that, according to Marcion, Christ dropped from the sky: but there he stopped. He nowhere states that he believed the statement himself; but on the contrary, I have quoted a passage in which he declares satirically that Marcion's view was either that Christ dropped from the sky, or had a phantasmal or visionary birth. (See p. 52.) Tertullian never attempted to force the dropping from the sky into the text of the Marcionite Gospel, and thus to support that view by falsifying the text. That breach of literary morality was reserved for the advanced theologians of the nineteenth century.

In the fourth chapter of our present Gospel of Luke are certain statements which do not accord with the view of the dropping from the sky at a mature age, which implies the absence of natural parents, of birth, and place of birth and country. An individual who dropped from the sky at a stage of maturity equivalent to thirty years of age, would naturally be without infancy and with no need to be brought up anywhere, and to be in the habit of attending the synagogue, nor to be any man's son, nor to possess a country. All these statements, however, are to be found in the present Canonical Gospel. In verse 16 of the fourth chapter, Jesus is said to have been brought up at Nazareth, and to have had the custom of going to the synagogue; in verse 22, he is said to be Joseph's son, and in verses 23 and 24 to have a country. The problem for the textual critic is to ascertain whether these clauses existed in the Marcionite Gospel and in the original Canonical Gospel. The textual critic is not justified in making a change without historical authority. Now there is no existing quotation of these passages or clauses by any writer of the second century; but the earliest representation of the text is in Tertullian's *Anti-Marcion*, iv. 8. This author, speaking of the Marcionite text, remarks that "it behoved the Christ of Marcion to have had

nothing to do with the domestic localities of the Christ of the Creator, when he had so many towns in Judæa not so given by the prophets to the Christ of the Creator."¹ Tertullian, further, is silent regarding any difference between the rival Gospels in this passage. Tertullian's remark makes it certain not only that Nazareth was mentioned in this passage in both Gospels, but also mentioned as a domestic locality. He further remarks that Jesus was said to be rejected by the villagers of Nazareth on account of one proverb: as the passage contains two proverbs, the identity of the proverb specially referred to cannot be made out. Epiphanius also, like Tertullian, points out no difference between the two Gospels in these clauses. He also, like Tertullian, makes a representation regarding the whole passage. He moreover quotes the clause regarding Nazareth "where he was brought up," quotes the proverb "Physician, heal thyself," and the clause "thy own country" (*Epiph.*, li. 35; *Pet.*, vol. i. 437). These are the historical reasons for retaining the clauses "where he was brought up" and "thy own country" in both Gospels. The other clauses regarding the attendance at the synagogue and the paternity of Joseph must be also retained on the negative ground that there are no historical reasons for removing them. Their existence, however, in the Marcionite and original Canonical Gospels is not guaranteed, as the other clauses are, by Tertullian and Epiphanius. (See *ante*, pp. 129 and 137.)

Volckmar summarily removes all the above clauses, simply because they are discordant with the dropping from the sky doctrine falsely attributed to Marcion, or, as he would perhaps express it, because the Zusammenhang or connection is against them. He says:—

"Dass die doketische Gnosis jenes Sprüchwort und selbst jede directe Bezeichnung Nazareth's als des Vaterlands oder des Orts wo Jesus erzogen sei nicht hat ertragen können, versteht sich ebenso von selbst, als dass *Tert.* schon durch sein Schweigen das Fehlen diser Momente (bei Luc. iv, 16, 23, 24) mindestens völlig bekräftigt" (p. 135).

That the docetic Gnosis could not have endured that proverb and even that direct description of Nazareth as the fatherland or the place where Jesus was brought up is as much understood of itself, as that Tertullian through his silence at least fully confirms the absence of these matters (in Luke iv. 16, 23, 24).

This is not following the historical method of criticism, which is the clear duty of the textual critic to apply when there are historical data available. It is unquestionable that Tertullian in his ch. iv. 8,

¹ Christum Marcionis oportuerat omne commercium egerasse etiam locorum familiarium Christi Creatoris, habentem tanta Judææ oppida non ita Christo Creatoris per Prophetas emancipata (*Ad. Marc.*, iv. 8).

makes a representation of that portion of the text of the Marcionite Gospel which corresponds to Luke iv. 16-30; but he does not go into minute detail. The representation guarantees the existence of the passage, but does not guarantee the exactitude of the text. Other historical sources must be searched to ascertain the latter—but Volckmar makes no attempt in this direction. As I have pointed out (see p. 129), Epiphanius gives us precise information regarding some details, viz., the existence of the clause “where he was brought up,” and of the proverb and text of verse 23, and Origen indicates the absence of the reading scene. Neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius informs us that there was the least difference in the text of this passage in either Gospel; so whatever can be ascertained to have been the text of one Gospel in this passage was the text of the other also. It is lamentable that Volckmar does not see that the remark of Tertullian regarding Nazareth as the family residence of Christ refers to the Marcionite Gospel on which he was commenting. Volckmar does not expressly make the statement, but he plainly implies that the clauses which he has summarily and wrongfully erased from the Marcionite Gospel existed in the Canonical Gospel: an implication which does not tally with the plain inference derived from Tertullian and Epiphanius that there was no difference in the two Gospels in this passage. If these clauses were absent in the one Gospel, they must also be regarded as absent in the other. They cannot be regarded as existing in one Gospel only, but as existing in both.

Volckmar devotes several pages of argument to the subject of the family residence of Christ, in order to demonstrate that the clause was wanting in the Marcionite Gospel, with the reservation that it existed in the Canonical Gospel! But there is no doubt that his only good reason is that the statement that Jesus was brought up at Nazareth is inconsistent with the dropping from the sky at a mature age. Within certain limits it may be justifiable for a textual critic to alter a text in accordance with what is known of the views of the writer. But it is indispensable that there should be no possibility of doubt regarding those views; and care should be taken to see that other writers support those views. The dropping from the sky with the alternative of a phantasmal birth, cannot reasonably be regarded as a historical view: these curious alternatives, further, being peculiar to Tertullian and Hippolytus, while all other writers, even a copious writer like Epiphanius, are silent about them. As Volckmar had not investigated the historical accuracy of the view attributed to Marcion by Tertullian, he was not justified in using this view in the textual criticism of the Marcionite Gospel. As a matter of fact, he has produced a falsified text of this part of the Marcionite Gospel.

In connection with the dropping from the sky, I should remark that Volckmar has not seriously falsified the commencement of the Marcionite Gospel, as Bishop Westcott has (see p. 138), by representing that God came down to Capernaum. He gives the text as "Jesus came down," which is practically the same as "he came down." He, however, points out that several early copies of the *Anti-Marcion*, iv. 7, had "*anno xv—proponit deum descendisse in civitatem Galilææ*," i.e. in the year xv—he laid down that God descended to the city of Galilee. This is hardly a justification for a scholar to put forward, as textual critics are unanimous that the authentic reading is *eum*, he, and not *deum*, god. Hahn and Hilgenfeld were not justified, as scholars, in using a corrupted reading of Tertullian to bolster up a falsification of the text of the Marcionite Gospel to suit their purpose. Volckmar is deserving of some credit for having resisted this great temptation to falsification; even though his ally, Hilgenfeld, maintained with considerable theological hardihood, "*dass die Data über das Evangelium Marcion's hier gerade ganz vollständig und zweifellos sind*" (p. 129), i.e. that the data regarding the Gospel of Marcion is exactly here wholly complete and without doubt! But, probably to show his personal grit and hardihood, Volckmar, while abandoning 'God' in the text, maintained the dropping from the sky, and the identity of Jesus with God in the following salient remarks, which display a strange admixture of learning with folly:—

"Die Art des Anfangs des marcionitischen Evangeliums ist zu eignen Art. Es liesse sich ja wohl denken, dass ein paulinisches Evangelium so begann 'In jener Zeit trat Jesus in Capernaum auf,' ja selbst so 'in jener Zeit kam Jesus nach Capernaum,' so dass der Verfasser nur sagen wollte, er sei dahin irgendwoher—von der Erde natürlich—gekommen, ohne dass dieser Punkt des Woher bei dem dann sofort göttlich Auftreten erheblich erschienen wäre, obwol dann dies Evangelium jedenfalls selbst sich als kein vollständiges erklären würde, da es etwas voraussetzte, was man durch es selbst nicht erfahre. Bei dem Anspruch aber, die ganze Erscheinung Christi zu geben, würde bei

The mode of beginning of the Marcionite Gospel is a very peculiar mode. It may well allow one to think that a Pauline Gospel began thus: "At that time Jesus went forth to Capernaum," or even thus: "At that time Jesus came to Capernaum," so that the author only desired to say that he came there from somewhere else—from the earth naturally, without that this point of from-where in the direct divine coming forth should seem important, though then this Gospel would at all events declare itself as not a complete one, as there was something presupposed which one did not learn from it itself. But by the pretence to give the whole coming of Christ, no other thought is possible from such a

einem solchen Anfang kein anderer Gedanke möglich sein als der, dass er dann überhaupt nicht von einem andern Ort der Erde, sondern irgend woher sonst *ohne irdische Vermittlung* gekommen sei.

“Der specielle Ausdruck aber ‘er kam *herab*’ nach Capernaum *im Anfang des Ganzen* hat gar keinen andern Sinn, als dass an ein *absolutes* Herabkommen, an ein Kommen vom Himmel gedacht werden soll, wenn ein sonstiger, vielleicht höher gelegener Ort auf der Erde, wenn die Erde selbst sonst nicht berührt war.

“Der Verfasser dieses Evangeliums ist also in der That nicht bloß über das Judenthum sondern über alles Irdische und alles Menschliche hinausgegangen, und die *Erklärer* des tertullianischen Textes haben also ganz Recht, zu supponiren, dass Jesus nach diesem Evangelium eine unmittelbare Erscheinung Gottes und als solche damals zuerst herabgekommen sei” (p. 129).

beginning than this, that he then came not at all from any place of the earth, but without earthly mediation from somewhere else.

But the special expression “he came down” to Capernaum *in the beginning of all*, has indeed no other meaning, than that it should be thought as an *absolute* coming-down, a coming from heaven, when another, perhaps higher place on the earth, when the earth itself is not mentioned.

Thus, in fact, the author of this Gospel surveys not only Jewrydom, but everything earthly and everything human, and the interpreter of the text of Tertullian has thus complete right to suppose that Jesus according to this Gospel is a direct manifestation (or apparition) of God, and as such he came down first at that time.

I shall leave Volckmar to his own and his fellow-theologians’ conscience, and to the judgment of the reader. The meaning of the beginning of the Marcionite Gospel is that Jesus went to Capernaum in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and there began his public career and ministration. The author did not say where he started from: but it is utterly unjustifiable to attribute to him the folly of insinuating that Jesus stepped down from the sky, when there is not a word or hint of such folly to be found in the whole Marcionite Gospel, and much against it. Volckmar’s translation of the Greek of this passage into un-idiomatic German is a resource to which few scholars would in ordinary circumstances resort. Κατήλθεν εἰς Καπερναὺμ is good idiomatic Greek, translated thus into good idiomatic English, “came down to Capernaum”: but Volckmar’s translation, “*Kam herab nach Capernaum*” is not good idiomatic German. Luther translated “*Kam gen Capernaum*”; the addition *herab* appears to me to be un-idiomatic and changes the meaning. *Kata* in composition, or ‘down,’ in Greek

and English, is mere idiom, and does not imply descent in this passage, but *herab*, the grammatical equivalent in German, does, and hence the Greek is falsified in thus translating it.

The above falsehoods of Tertullian are, as shown above, not in the text of the Marcionite Gospel, but have to be pumped into the interpretation. The same is the case with the next falsehood of Tertullian, the docetism attributed to Marcion. Volckmar swallowed this falsehood also without examination. But he distinctly admits that it is not to be found in the text of the Marcionite Gospel. He says :—

“ Auch die *doketische* Ansicht ist nirgends durch ausdrückliche Zusätze oder Aenderungen im Marcion-Evangelium unterstützt, sondern nur überall durch Interpretation gesucht worden ”
(p. 123).

Also the docetic view is never supported by implicit additions and alterations in the Marcion-Gospel, but had everywhere been introduced only through the interpretation.

I might remark merely in passing that the interpretation was an invention of Tertullian, Epiphanius, Volckmar and Co., long after Marcion's death. Marcion's contemporaries Justin, Irenæus, and other writers referred to by Eusebius do not attribute docetic views to Marcion : in fact, the terms *docete* and *docetism*, and the ideas they represent, were not known and are not mentioned in any Christian writings prior to the closing years of the second century, long after Marcion's death (see *ante*, p. 60). The docetic falsehood enabled Tertullian to win some easy triumphs over Marcion—in fact, to refute him out of his own Gospel ! Marcion held Jesus to be a phantom and no body, declared Tertullian. But in the incident at Nazareth, Jesus is represented in the Marcionite Gospel to have been seized, roughly handled and dragged to the brink of a precipice. He must have possessed a substantial body for all this to have occurred, argued Tertullian, and quoted Lucretius—

“ Tangere enim et tangi, nisi corpus, nulla potest res.”

For nothing can touch and be touched, but a body.

There can be no clearer refutation of docetism, if it existed ; but no clearer proof that Marcion had no design of docetism in his Gospel. Tertullian scored a few easy triumphs of this nature ; but Epiphanius carried on a long campaign of brilliant victories over Marcion by numerous refutations of docetism from passages in the Marcionite Gospel, where docetism plainly did not exist ! A woman touched the body or garment of Jesus and was healed : a glorious refutation of Marcion out of his own Gospel was achieved, for this story is related in the Marcionite Gospel. Jesus was roused from sleep, is an

incident related in the Marcionite Gospel: this was surely inconsistent with docetism, and hence another brilliant refutation, for how could a sleeping phantom be shaken by the shoulder! Both these valiant knights were agreed that though Marcion was a pronounced docete, his Gospel was not docetic: they could not find examples of the presence of docetism in it, but only of its absence. Hence Marcion's docetism was refuted out of his own Gospel! Tertullian failed in the requisite honesty, and Epiphanius in the requisite intelligence, to perceive and declare that the Marcionite Gospel was not docetic, because its framers held the view that Christ was a man, and possessed the constitution of a man only: they, on the contrary, utilised the Marcionite Gospel to refute alleged views which Marcion did not profess, and the Marcionite Gospel did not contain.

I do not know whether Volckmar should be regarded as more honest and more intelligent than these ancient theologians, because he does not quite hold by their docetic views. He does not think that the Marcionite Gospel was non-docetic. The affair of Nazareth was distinctly declared by Tertullian to be non-docetic, and Epiphanius scored no triumph off it; but Volckmar declares it to be strongly docetic. At the conclusion of the affair, when Jesus had been dragged to the brink of the precipice, the narrative in both Gospels relates the marvellous escape of Jesus in the same words: "But he passing through the midst of them, went his way" (Luke iv. 30). Tertullian explained the escape as due to the crowd yielding, as is usual, he says, *uti assolet*, or being broken through; but he distinctly repudiates any supernatural means, *non tamen per caliginem eluso*, but not eluded by blindness or darkness, or perhaps the idea would be best expressed by the word invisibleness; the translator in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library renders "by an impalpable disguise" (*Anti-Marcion*, iv. 8). Volckmar says of this passage:—

"Und wo im ganzen Evangelium des Lucas ist ein so positiver Fingerzeig auf die eigentlich pneumatische oder *doctische* Natur, die bloße scheinbare Fleischlichkeit seiner Erscheinung — vor seiner Auferstehung — gegeben als in diesem wunderbaren Entschwinden am Schluss?" (p. 144).

And where in the whole Gospel of Luke is one so positive an index given of the peculiar pneumatic or *docetic* nature, the mere apparent fleshliness of his appearance—before his resurrection—as in this wonderful vanishing at the end?

I think that I perceive in this passage a clear divergence in the ideas regarded as docetism entertained by Tertullian and Epiphanius, and by Volckmar. In the mind of the latter the idea of becoming invisible at

will is included in docetism. The ancient theologians had no idea of this sort. I believe a difference may be made out between Tertullian's and Epiphanius' conceptions of docetism from the circumstance that these two theologians, though tilting in the same tournament, achieved their triumphs off different windmills. But there can be no mistake that the conception of disappearance at will did not enter into their philosophy of docetism. Volckmar could not have obtained it from ancient theology. After considerable reflection, I am of opinion that Volckmar expanded his knowledge of docetism from the study of the Arabian Nights. The charming Princess Scheherazade supplied him with some, at any rate, of the ideas which he has brought to bear upon the interpretation of the Marcionite Gospel. I do not, however, accuse him of pumping the Arabian Nights also into the text of this Gospel. The entertaining story of Aladdin and the wonderful lamp details in an interesting manner how Aladdin made himself invisible at will—and not only himself, but his clothes also. This later Saracenic philosophy of personal and vestimentary invisibility is imported by Volckmar into the interpretation of the Marcionite Gospel, as I have already shown with reference to the incident at Nazareth. I have no recollection of any statement made by Tertullian, Hippolytus, or Epiphanius, who are writers who deal with the docetic heresy of Christian theology, that the garments of Jesus were regarded as docetic by these heretics. Volckmar, however, with his conception of docetism broadened by the more advanced ideas of the Princess Scheherazade, accuses Marcion of a designing reticence on the subject of the docetic clothing of Jesus, and congratulates him on his having escaped the vigilance of his opponents, who, however, it should be remembered, had no knowledge of Saracenic docetism. The clothes in which Jesus dropped from the sky, in Volckmar's estimation, were docetic, and hence it was that Marcion abstained from distributing these amongst the soldiers at the crucifixion (see *ante*, p. 224). He says, commenting on Luke xxiii. 34:—

“Aber auch von der A. T. lichen Parallele abgesehen, mit den Kleidern des unmittelbar vom Himmel gekommenen und sofort in einer Synagoge auftretenden Christus hatte es schon seine Schwierigkeit; woher waren die? auch aus Himmelsstoff? Es war für ihn gut, dass alle seine Gegner im Eifer dieses Moment irdischer Angehörigkeit übersehen haben (*selbst*, *Epiph.*, Ref.

But even apart from the Old Testament parallel, there was a difficulty with the clothes of the Christ who came down directly from Heaven and immediately entered into a synagogue; from whence were they? also of heavenly material? It was good for him, that all his opponents in the zeal of this matter of earthly belongings have overlooked *it* (*even Epiph.*, Ref. 14 to viii. 42)

14 zu viii. 42), wie er selbst; as he himself *did*: but a special
 aber eine besondere Reflexion reflection upon it as here, a wider
 darauf wie hier, ein weiterer use and a division of these
 Gebrauch und eine Vertheilung (docetic?) clothes was indeed too
 dieser (docketischen?) Kleider dubious.
 war doch zu misslich" (p. 91).

Volckmar was justified in gathering knowledge from every legitimate quarter, even from tales told by a Saracenic princess; but it was incumbent on him, if not from a sense of gallantry due to his charming source, certainly from a sense of literary honour, to indicate from whence he obtained his knowledge. The subject of docetism is historical, and the sources of all information relating to it should be declared. But it is questionable whether Volckmar was justified in applying comparatively modern information or philosophy to interpret the text of the Marcionite Gospel. It would further appear that Volckmar's conceptions of ancient docetism embraced not merely the docetism of clothing, or the invisibility of raiment at the will of the wearer, but also the annihilation of time and space. In remarking on the escape of Jesus from the hands of the enraged villagers of Nazareth, and, as he alleges, his immediate return to Capernaum, Volckmar says: "Dieser Uebergang konnte für ihn nur ein Beweis mehr dafür sein, dass der 'ihren Händen Entschwundene' überhaupt über Raum und Zeit hinaus war" (p. 147); this going over could be for him (*i.e.* for Marcion) only a proof the more that he who vanished from their hands was generally beyond space and time. This also is Saracenic docetism, and not the docetism of Christian heresy. Volckmar, in p. 169 of his work, explains docetism to be, not the denial of a body ($\tau\acute{o}$ σῶμα), and the attribution to the body of mere appearance ($\delta\acute{o}\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$): but only the fleshliness ($\tau\acute{o}$ σαρκικόν) of the body was mere appearance. The body was a pneumatic, heavenly body, not fleshly, earthly, and grossly material. It consisted of spiritual stuff, but was a real body, like the body attributed to the second Adam by Paul (1 Cor. xv. 44, 45). This body would walk about, wear clothes, sit down, have a voice and breath, touch and be touched. This elaborate account of docetism has certain drawbacks. It does not quite accord with what Volckmar himself says of the docetism of the Marcionite Gospel in the pages preceding; and it is altogether contrary to the ideas regarding docetism entertained by Tertullian and Epiphanius, especially the latter. We must take our ideas of what ancient docetism was, not from Volckmar, but rather from Tertullian and Epiphanius. Volckmar cannot demolish historical docetism by simply styling Epiphanius' conception of it as "armselig," wretched or miserable (*op. cit.*, p. 170).

Though these and other falsehoods of Tertullian, and his own errors, swayed Volckmar in his estimate of the meaning and, in some parts, of the text of the Marcionite Gospel, the real amount of textual falsification due to their influence was trifling compared with the great extent of the falsification which Volckmar justifies by capriciously explaining away what he calls the silence of Tertullian and Epiphanius. There are numerous passages in the rival Gospels, which Tertullian and Epiphanius in their reviews make no mention of. The question hence arises, did these unnoticed passages exist in the rival Gospels in the second century? The unpremeditated and natural reply is that they did not, because if they existed the natural expectation is that they would have been noticed. No mention being made of them, there is hence no proof of their existence; and nothing can be admitted to have existed unless proof be forthcoming. Further, there is no contemporary evidence of the existence of these passages in the Gospel of Luke: there is no mention of them, in connection with this Gospel, in the writings of the Fathers of the second and third centuries. With regard to two of these passages, there is good contemporary evidence, but of a negative character; and as these passages are of importance, the inferences derived regarding them may be reasonably applied to the other and less important passages. Tertullian is silent regarding the parables of the Prodigal Son and of the Good Samaritan in his review and comparison of the two rival Gospels. Did these parables exist in both Gospels, in one only or in neither? I have detailed the evidence in pp. 166 and 183. Irenæus omits both parables in his list of the contents of the Gospel according to Luke; but he elsewhere mentions accurate details of the Prodigal Son, and notices an incident in the life of Jesus which has some resemblance to the Good Samaritan. From these facts I infer that the Prodigal Son did not exist in the Gospel of Luke but in other writings, and that the Good Samaritan also was absent, but was contained in a crude form in another writing unknown to us. Epiphanius states that the Prodigal Son was cut out from the Marcionite Gospel, implying that it existed in the Canonical Gospel; but he is totally silent regarding the Good Samaritan. There is no ground whatever for distrusting the accuracy and truthfulness on these subjects of any of our witnesses, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius. We cannot take the later statement of Epiphanius as cancelling the earlier statement of Irenæus, and as correcting the silence of Tertullian. On the contrary, all three witnesses corroborate and support each other, and unanimously indicate that the two parables were absent in both the rival Gospels in the second century, but that in later years the Prodigal Son

was introduced into the Canonical Gospel, as Epiphanius testifies to its presence, but not cut out in the Marcionite Gospel. The Good Samaritan was still later introduced into the Canonical Gospel. Irenæus found the two parables wanting in the Gospel of Luke, and Tertullian found them wanting in both Gospels, hence their silence regarding them. Epiphanius found the Prodigal Son present in the Canonical Gospel only, and believing it to have been originally there, he considered that Marcion cut it out from his Gospel. He is silent regarding the Good Samaritan, and its presence or absence must be settled by the previous evidence, from which it is clear that it was absent. I do not think that there is any justification for admitting a passage in either Gospel, for whose existence there is no evidence. Excuses, pretexts, or ingenious argumentation cannot be accepted in lieu of evidence, direct or indirect. Volckmar is especially full of wiles on this subject. For evidence he substitutes possibilities of oversight, the Zusammenhang or connection and consistency of the passage with the theology or views of Marcion, analogies, Paulinism, and anything else his ingenuity can devise (*op. cit.*, p. 113); and the general drift of his procedure is to admit as many passages for which he can find pretences of this nature. Further, Volckmar has always the reservation or implication that passages non-existent in the Marcionite Gospel existed nevertheless in the Canonical Gospel in the hands of Tertullian. There is hardly ever any direct and positive statement made, but the above is invariably his underlying meaning. And hence it is that I have spontaneously acquired the feeling that Volckmar's chief and primary object was, not the restoration of the Marcionite Gospel, but the conservation at any cost of the text of the present Canonical Gospel. He makes the pretension of being able to assign Marcion's reasons for admitting or erasing a passage. For instance, he pretends to understand the evidence as indicating that Marcion erased the parable of the Prodigal Son, which, however, he implies was contained in the Canonical Gospel. He premises that Schwegeler, Ritschl, and Baur, the Tübingen professors, have found no reason why Marcion omitted the parable, and proceeds to say :—

“Aber gerade das, dass die Heiden hier nicht blos als nur gleichberechtigt mit den Juden erklärt werden, sondern auch ihnen gegenüber immerhin als ‘Verlorne’ und nur *wieder* Aufgenommene erklärt werden,

But just that, that the heathen are here declared not only as having an equal title with the Jews, but are also declared in contradistinction to them as always ‘lost’ and only *again* received, that God—for Marcion

dass Gott— für *Marcion* der höchste Gott— somit als Herr der Juden *und* der durch Christus geretteten Heiden, also die Identität des jüdischen und christlichen Gottes dargestellt, und jenen sogar ein Vorzug oder doch eine befreundete Stellung zu Gott eingeräumt wird, —dieser Gedanke ist zwar echt paulinisch, aber auch für *Marcion's* Scheidung der beiden Reiche so unerträglich, dass auch *Baur* jetzt nach meinen (S. 207) und *Hilgenfeld's* damit zusammen treffenden Bemerkungen (S. 455), anerkannt hat dass die Auslassung der Parabel als eine absichtliche von Seiten *Marcion's* völlig begreiflich ist (S. 193 f.)" (p. 66).

This explanation is unintelligible to anyone who is not acquainted with the singular theology, the invention of Tertullian, which Volckmar has pumped into the Marcionite Gospel. Every item of this theology is hypothetical, if not false; nothing of it is supported by the actual text of the Marcionite Gospel. The two unequal Gods, the Good God of Marcion, hostile to Jews but friendly to heathens, the two kingdoms of the Good and of the Just God, are brought in to explain the fact, which was no fact, that Marcion erased the parable of the Prodigal Son which did not exist in the Canonical Gospel! No one reading the parable can make out two Gods, a Jewish and a heathen people, two kingdoms and a preferential place given to God. This is the species of argumentation which Volckmar employs in substitution of historical and textual facts to conserve the present text of the Canonical Gospel, and to falsify the Marcionite text! The latter fares very badly in his hands.

Volckmar has not much to say on the parable of the Good Samaritan. He silently admits it into the Marcionite Gospel, and by implication into the Canonical also. The following is all that I have been able to find in his work about the parable:—

"Das Gleichniss vom barmherzigen Samariter [10,] v. 29-37, war ihm aus der Seele geschrieben und desshalb von T. übergangen" (p. 159.)

the highest God — is hence Lord of the Jews *and* of the heathen saved through Christ; thus the identity of the Jewish and Christian God is represented, and an advantage or even a friendly position is conceded to God. This thought is indeed purely Pauline, but also for Marcion's separation of the two kingdoms so insufferable, that even Baur has now accepted my observations which are in accord with Hilgenfeld's, that the omission of the parable is conceivable as intentional on the side of Marcion.

The parable of the merciful Samaritan, v. 29-37, was written by him out of his soul, and therefore was passed over by Tertullian.

The above are the ludicrous reasons which Volckmar, who poses as a textual critic, brings forward to justify what practically amounts to a deliberate and reasoned falsification of the Marcionite Gospel. The reasons generally assigned by Volckmar for the silence maintained by Tertullian regarding numerous passages are casual oversight, a sentimental regard for the feelings of Marcion, as in the case of the parable of the Good Samaritan, the absence of matter that he could attack, the avoidance of repetition, and such like. His mind was satisfied by these reasons, and wherever Epiphanius did not intervene with a direct statement to the contrary, such passages were admitted into the Marcionite Gospel; and it may be added that apparently there never arose a doubt in Volckmar's mind regarding the existence of all these passages in the ancient Canonical Gospel. Now these reasons are not such as should influence a textual critic: they are in themselves of no force whatever, they are merely caprices or fancies, and they cannot be accepted as equivalent to historical grounds. If the silence of a historian regarding an alleged fact cannot be supplemented by the testimony of another, the alleged fact has no authority. It would be simple folly to attribute the silence to oversight or other fanciful cause. The silence of Tertullian cannot by any contrivance be explained away: it must be understood to mean non-existence, unless the existence can be proved by other testimony. In no case has the silence of Tertullian been found to be due to other cause than non-existence of the passage. I have spoken already of the two finest parables in the Gospel of Luke, both of which were absent in these ancient Gospels. There are other examples. Tertullian is silent regarding the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem (Luke xix. 29-46); and Epiphanius tells us that Marcion cut out the passage (see p. 198). That is a direct confirmation of the meaning of Tertullian's silence; and a little reflection will show that it also indicates the absence of the passage in the original Canonical Gospel: thus further confirming the silence of Tertullian. Again, Tertullian is silent regarding Luke xiii. 1-9, which contains the story of the Galilæans slain by Pilate and the parable of the fig-tree; and Epiphanius tells us that this passage did not exist in the Marcionite Gospel, thus confirming the silence of Tertullian. The parable of the fig-tree, however, occurs in Irenæus' list of the contents of Luke: that circumstance, however, does not contradict Tertullian, because there are facts which show that Irenæus quoted from a later edition of the Gospel of Luke, while Tertullian used the first. Again, Tertullian is silent regarding Luke xxii. 35-38; and Epiphanius tells us that Marcion cut out the passage (see p. 218). Tertullian is silent regarding the colloquy

of the crucified malefactors (Luke xxiii. 30-43); and Epiphanius tells us that Marcion cut out verse 43. The remark may have been intended to include the preceding verses; but this conclusion is hypothetical and not necessary, for the later Marcionite Gospel may have been interpolated with the colloquy, so that the meaning of Tertullian's silence is unchanged. Tertullian takes no notice of the agony on the Mount of Olives (Luke xxii. 39-46); and I have felt justified in consequence in denying admission to the passage in both the ancient Gospels. Epiphanius quotes verse 41, but he does not say that the Marcionite Gospel had or had not the verse or the passage: hence I do not think he disturbs Tertullian's record and silence. (See *ante*, p. 219.) Volckmar admits the whole passage into the Marcionite Gospel, and by implication into the Canonical Gospel also. His reasons are the following:—

“‘Betet, dass ihr nicht in Anfechtung fallet’ — das Thema dieses Abschnittes — und zwar ‘betet mit Christus, dass nicht der eigne, sondern Gottes wille geschehe,’ dies war für die Erweckung jedes Christen zum Leben im Geist so unumgänglich, dass der Zug der Vermenschlichung Jesu, dass er seinen und Gottes Willen scheidet und dass er zagt und bangt, von M. wie von jeder andern Dogmatik des 2. Jahrhunderts hingenommen werden musste” (p. 167).

“Pray, that ye fall not into temptation”—the theme of this section—and indeed, “pray with Christ, that not one's own but God's will be done.” This was so indispensable for the awakening of every Christian to the spiritual life, that the course of the humanising of Jesus, that he should separate his own and God's will and be susceptible of fear and anxiety, must have been accepted by Marcion, as by every other Dogmatic of the second century.

These reasons are doubtless edifying to a village parson, but they are utterly inappropriate to be put forward by a textual critic as grounds for the admission of a long passage into an ancient writing. I find it difficult to think that a scholar like Volckmar could placidly accept such reasons as all those above mentioned and act upon them, otherwise than in the capacity of an advocate pledged to establish a cause, independent of its claim to veracity. The only one of these reasons that can have any claim to attention is that derived from the Zusammenhang or connection of the text with the acknowledged views of the author, *i.e.* its consistency. It is natural to expect that an author would write in agreement with his own views. This mode of determining the text should, however, be very cautiously applied; and it can never be suffered to supersede the historical method, which, wherever available, should always be preferred. The method from connection ought only to be resorted

to when historical data are wanting. I was obliged to use it in restoring the original writing of Cerinthus, simply from the dearth of historical data. But as I have stated in my former work on the Fourth Gospel, pp. 126, 127, the ground is unstable, and the results conjectural and uncertain. For the admission of a number of passages, amounting in the aggregate to a very appreciable portion of the Marcionite Gospel, Volckmar has only fanciful reasons such as the following :—

“In Betreff der ganzen Abschnitte aber, die *Tert.* übergeht, da sie nichts marcionwidriges enthielten, erklärt sich dies nicht bloß vollständig aus der Natur der Sache und der ausgesprochenen Tendenz beider Gegner, sondern auch aus der Analogie des Verfahrens von *Tert.* innerhalb der einzelnen Abschnitte. Er berührt davon oft auch nur die Theile, die ihm gerade angreifbar schienen, aber doch so, dass er das Andere dafür mehr direct oder mehr als sich von selbst verstehend voraussetzt” (p. 118).

But with regard to all the passages, which Tertullian passes over, as they contained nothing contrary to Marcion, this is fully explained not only from the nature of the thing, and from the expressed tendency of both the opponents,¹ but also from the analogy of the conduct of Tertullian within the individual passages. He often mentions of them only the parts which seem assailable by him, but yet so, that he presupposes the other *part* to be more direct for this purpose or more as self understood.

That Volckmar was conscious of the weakness of his position is apparent to me from the fact above manifest that he was driven to make an erroneous statement to support his unhistorical procedure. As I have pointed out in p. 91, we have to be content with very little proof of the existence of some passages. Sometimes a bare allusion to their contents, or a clause or a few words quoted by Tertullian, is all the proof that we have. In researches of this nature this is inevitable, and it is by no means erroneous to infer the presence of the whole from the proof afforded by a fragment. If a man's hand be found projecting from a carriage window, it is a proof that a man is in the carriage. A single bone of an animal found in ancient geological strata affords satisfactory proof of the existence of the entire animal. As I have simply expressed it, the chip is taken as proof of the entire block. This, I suppose, is Tertullian's conduct referred to by Volckmar in individual passages which are recognised as having existed in the Marcionite Gospel, because he quotes a few words or a clause in them. But there is no conduct of this sort, which Volckmar wrongfully implies, in the passages which Tertullian has passed over, or is silent upon. There is not the slightest allusion to

¹ That is, Tertullian and Epiphanius.

or quotation of a single clause, or a fragment of one, or of a single salient word, or any other indication whatever of the existence of these passed-over passages. In the footnote to the passage which I have last quoted, Volckmar gives a long list of passages which have been passed over by Tertullian, but which, however, he has introduced into the Marcionite Gospel. I think it worth while to tabulate these passages, and to count up the number of verses they amount to in our present Canonical Gospel.

PASSAGES not mentioned by Tertullian, introduced into the Marcionite and Canonical Gospels by Volckmar.

	Verses.
1. Luke v. 38 and 39. New wine and old bottles	2
2. vii. 29-35. The behaviour of contemporaries towards John and Jesus	7
3. viii. 40-42, 49-56. The raising of the daughter of Jairus	11
4. ix. 49-50. Not to forbid casting out of devils by others	2
5. x. 29-37. The good Samaritan	9
6. x. 38-42. Anecdote of Mary and Martha	5
7. xiv. 1-11. The man with dropsy; and topmost seats	11
8. xiv. 25-35. Hating father and mother; war without counting cost; salt, etc.	11
9. xvii. 5-9. Faith	5
10. xvii. 33-37. Of two men and women, one of each taken	5
11. xviii. 15-17. Suffer little children	3
12. xx. 45-47. Beware of the scribes	3
13. xxi. 1-4. The widow's mite	4
14. xxii. 24-27. Strife amongst the apostles	4
15. xxii. 39-46. The agony on the Mount of Olives	8
16. xxii. 49. Shall we smite with the sword?	1
17. xxiii. 27-31. Lament of Jesus regarding Jerusalem	5
18. xxiii. 39-42. Colloquy of the crucified malefactors	4
19. xxiii. 47-49. The adoration of the centurion, etc.	3
20. xxiv. Parts of verse 44, of 46, and of 47, verse 48, part of verse 49, and verses 50 and 51 (see page 231, footnote)	7

110

These 110 verses are foreign matter introduced by Volckmar into the ancient Marcionite Gospel. They are, in fact, interpolations made in the various editions of the Canonical Gospel after its first publication. By implication Volckmar also introduces these later interpolations into the text of the original Canonical Gospel. The historical fact indicated by Tertullian's silence is that these verses were absent both in the Marcionite as well as in the original Canonical Gospel; because if they were present in one and absent in the other Gospel, Tertullian would have stated the fact, as he does in passages where the Gospels differed

from each other. That Epiphanius is also silent regarding these verses is corroborative of Tertullian's silence and of its significance that they were absent in both Gospels; or in some instances, such as the incident of the agony on the Mount of Olives, interpolated in the Canonical Gospel, since he does not state that the incident was also contained in the Marcionite Gospel.

There is another group of verses regarding which Tertullian is silent, and his silence bears the same historical significance, viz., that these verses were absent in both the rival Gospels. Regarding these verses, Epiphanius informs us that they existed in the Canonical Gospel, but were absent in the Marcionite Gospel. The significance of the statement of Epiphanius is, however, not corrective but corroborative of Tertullian's silence. Epiphanius, finding these verses in his copy of the Canonical Gospel, believed that they were originally there, and hence he concluded that Marcion had cut them out. This was an erroneous inference, and inconsistent with Tertullian's silence. The real fact was consistent with Tertullian's silence, viz. the verses were absent both in the original Canonical and Marcionite Gospels, but were subsequently interpolated in the former in the long interval of nearly two centuries which intervened between the original publication and the date of Epiphanius. A further corroboration of the significance of Tertullian's silence is that there is no collateral proof that these verses existed in the Gospel of Luke in the second and third centuries, but clear collateral proof in at least two important passages, the parables of the Prodigal Son and Good Samaritan, of their non-existence. Volckmar was justified in excluding these verses from the Marcionite Gospel, but his implication that they existed in the original Canonical Gospel was an error. This group of verses is the following:—

PASSAGES not mentioned by Tertullian, removed from the Marcionite Gospel, but retained in the Canonical Gospel by Volckmar.

	Verses.
1. Luke xi. 30-32. The sign of Jonas . . .	3
2. xi. 49-51. The blood of Abel and Zacharias . . .	3
3. xii. 6, 7. Sparrows and hairs of the head . . .	2
4. xiii. 1-5. Galilæans slain by Pilate . . .	5
5. xiii. 6-9. The parable of the barren fig-tree . . .	4
6. xiii. 29-35. Warning against Herod, etc. . .	7
7. xv. 11-32. The parable of the Prodigal Son . . .	22
8. xvii. 10. Unprofitable servants ¹ . . .	1
Carry forward,	47

¹ Volckmar retains Luke xvii. 10-19 in the Marcionite Gospel (*op. cit.*, p. 163). I think, however, that 10 was a misprint for 11.

	Verses.
Brought forward,	47
9. Luke xviii. 31-34. Jesus foretold his sufferings and death	4
10. xix. 29-46. Triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and the purification of the temple ¹	18
11. xx. 9-19. Parable of the vineyard	11
12. xx. 37-38. Proof of resurrection from Moses	2
13. xxi. 21-22. Flight from the destruction of Jerusalem	2
14. xxii. 16-18. The Eucharist	3
15. xvii. 28-30. Apostles appointed to a kingdom	3
16. xxii. 35-38. Provision of swords by the apostles	4
17. xxii. 50-51. The cutting of the high priest's servant's ear	2
18. xxiv. 43. Jesus' words to the malefactor on the cross	1
	97

The first of these two groups, numbering 110 verses, represents the amount of falsification of the Marcionite Gospel due to misunderstanding of Tertullian's silence. The total of the two groups, aggregating 207 verses, represents the amount of falsification of the Canonical Gospel, due to the same cause. The misunderstanding of the silence of Tertullian was thus the most prolific source of falsification. Volckmar does not appear to me to have given fair consideration to the significance of Tertullian's silence; but he strenuously occupied himself in explaining it away. As an advocate and special pleader, this was the line of conduct that was most conducive to his purpose. The conservation of the present text of the Canonical Gospel urgently demanded that the silence of Tertullian should be counted as nothing: for his silence, if it acquired significance, endangered the safety of a very appreciable portion of the Canonical text. The solicitude of Volckmar for the Canonical text is very markedly displayed in the ingenious manner in which he explains away the verses which Marcion is charged by Tertullian with removing from the Canonical Gospel. Tertullian barely or only generally accuses Marcion of removing the preliminary chapters of the Gospel, but rather states that he made a beginning from a certain place in the Canonical Gospel. But he specially and very plumply charges him with removing certain verses, clauses, and words from the Gospel of Luke. And it ought to be remarked that the erasures or omissions and alterations charged by Tertullian against Marcion are not those charged by Epiphanius. Tertullian apparently does not support Epiphanius so far as these erasures are concerned, and *vice versâ*. The erasures charged by Epiphanius against Marcion

¹ I think Volckmar added verses 47 and 48 to the absent passage by oversight; as Epiphanius clearly indicates the lower limit, "Ye have made it a cave of thieves," which is verse 46. (See *ante*, p. 198.)

were not in existence in Tertullian's copies of the Marcionite and Canonical Gospel, but came into being in subsequent editions. The erasures charged by Tertullian against Marcion were removed and ceased to be in existence in Epiphanius' copies of the two Gospels, which were nearly two centuries later. The erasures specially charged by Tertullian against Marcion were the following: "I came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but rather to fulfil them: I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel: it is not *meet* to take the bread from children, and to give it to dogs." These verses I have inserted in the original Canonical Gospel after Luke iv. 31. Also the clause, "raining on the just and unjust, and making the sun to rise on the evil and on the good," which I have added to Luke vi. 35. Also the word 'eternal' before 'life' in Luke x. 25; the word 'sword' in Luke xii. 51, for which 'division' was substituted in the Marcionite Gospel, and the clause "and they parted his raiment and cast lots," in Luke xxiii. 34. These are all the erasures or variations which Tertullian charges against Marcion; and it is difficult to think that Tertullian only mentioned these comparatively insignificant erasures or variations, and passed over the considerable erasures, amounting to 97 verses, which Epiphanius two centuries after charged against Marcion. Now, with the exception of the parting of the raiment, all the other erasures mentioned by Tertullian are not to be found in our present Canonical text: they have all disappeared, and their disappearance can only be accounted for on the ground that the Canonical text had been altered since the days of Tertullian. This explanation, however, is distasteful to theologians, who will not admit that the Gospels have been tampered with, in spite of the strongest historical evidence to the contrary. Here there was a suitable occasion for an advocate or special pleader to display his talent in substituting a false for the true explanation, thereby removing a serious difficulty of orthodoxy. And here, in my judgment, has Volckmar indeed displayed considerable theological aptitude for meeting a textual difficulty, and thereby conserving the Canonical text. Our theologian, who, as I have already remarked, has a mental and moral constitution of grit, meets the difficulty by boldly asserting that Tertullian does not deal with the Gospel of Luke at all, but with the general Gospel, or rather with the Gospel according to Matthew, with which Tertullian was more familiar than with any of the other Gospels. Here are his courageous words:—

"Um so sicherer aber zeugen seine Angaben von dem, was er als Text des Evangeliums in seiner Bestreitung hervorhebt,

But so much more surely his (*i.e.* Tertullian's) statements testify that what he in his discussion prominently sets forth as

dafür, dass dies überall speciell der text des *marcionitischen* Evangeliums ist, den er bei seiner Polemik vor sich hatte, und auf keiner Verwechslung mit unserm *Lucas*-Evangelium beruht, als aus seinem ganzen Werk zwererlei, wie ich finde, mit aller Sicherheit hervorgeht, 1) dass er das kanonische *Lucas*-Evangelium *nicht auch* vor sich gehabt, ja dies absichtlich vermieden hat, und 2) dass er gleich allen Kirchenlehrern vom dritten Jahrhundert an unter den Synoptikern das umfangreichste, das dem Apostel *Matthäus* unmittelbar zugeschriebene (iv. 5), und zuerst gestellte Evangelium so entschieden bevorzugt hat, dass er es vor Allem, ja eigentlich *allein* völlig kennt und überall, wo er vom Evangelium überhaupt redet, im Sinn, und *allein* im Sinn, das *Lucas*- (und *Marcus*-) Evangelium aber nur so weit hinreichend im Gedächtniss hat, als es mit *Matthäus* stimmt oder damit für ihn zu stimmen scheint. Dies bewährt sich an den sämtlichen Stellen, in denen er ausnahmsweise direct die Abweichung des *Marcion*-Textes vom 'Evangelium der Wahrheit,' zu bemerken sich gedrungen fühlt" (pp. 30, 31).

the text of the Gospel is everywhere specially the text of the Marcionite Gospel, which he had before him in his controversy, and rests upon no confusion with our Luke-Gospel. This comes forth in his whole work with all certainty, as I find, in two ways: 1st, that he had *not also* before him the canonical Luke-Gospel, indeed he intentionally avoided it; and 2nd, that he, like all the Fathers of the Church of the third century, had, amongst the Synoptics, so decided a preference for the Gospel, which was the most comprehensive, placed first in order, and directly ascribed to the apostle Matthew, that he thoroughly knew peculiarly it *alone*, before everything; and wherever he speaks generally of the Gospel, he had in his remembrance, in thought and in thought *alone*, the Luke- (and Mark-) Gospel, but only sufficiently so far as it agrees with Matthew, or for him seems to agree with it. This proves good all those passages in which he feels himself constrained exceptionally to remark directly the changes of the Marcion text from the "Gospel of Truth."

Volckmar proceeds to state that the word *eternal* is found in Matthew, as well as the partition of the clothes at the crucifixion, and the word *sword*. But it was hardly on account of these differences that he invented his explanation. It is remarkable that he makes no mention whatever of the three verses which I have added to Luke iv. 31. It is the difficulty caused by these verses, which Tertullian tells us were cut out of the Gospel, without specially naming the Gospel, that, I suspect, was the *fons et origo* of Volckmar's ingenious explanation.¹ It is to these verses that the explanation applies, not to the others, which do not raise any necessity for the explanation. The explana-

¹ In writing the above I omitted to mention the large excisions that Tertullian charges Marcion with making in the earlier chapters of the Gospel of Luke.

tion is not lucid, but may be taken to mean that when Tertullian remarks the changes of the Marcionite Gospel from the Gospel, he has indeed the Gospel of Luke in his mind, but only so far as this Gospel agreed with Matthew, or Tertullian thought that it agreed with it! I must add that it never entered my mind while reading *Anti-Marcion* that Tertullian had not the Gospel of Luke before him as well as the Marcionite Gospel. I have not been able to perceive that Tertullian and his contemporaries had any special preference for the Gospel of Matthew. I am of opinion, on the contrary, that the Gospel of Luke was the favourite Synoptic of the Alexandrian Masters in the third century and later; and hence it is that, while it was originally a good composition, it was improved by the addition of excellent parables and anecdotes. Matthew's Gospel was deprived of the Prodigal Son (which was transferred to Luke), and it appears to have been used in general as a *fourre-tout*, or general receptacle in which scraps were preserved which were not thought good enough to place in Luke. I have found no reason to think that Tertullian in *Anti-Marcion* contrasted the Marcionite Gospel with Matthew or any other Gospel but the Gospel of Luke. He expressly tells us that Marcion singled out Luke for his mutilating process (iv. 2, and *passim*).

Throughout Volckmar's work I have remarked an undercurrent of effort to preserve the present text of the Canonical Gospel. In a footnote to the passage last quoted I observe a reference to Luke xx. 35, in which the Canonical Gospel and the Marcionite Gospel, though agreeing between themselves, differ from our present text. But Volckmar has, as shown above (p. 559), falsified the passage in the Marcionite Gospel. In the footnote (*op. cit.*, p. 30) he remarks: "Ein Blick in seinem Lucas-Text hätte ihm die wesentliche Wort-Abweichung bei *M.* zeigen können." A glance into his Luke-text could have shown him the real word-change in Marcion. Here is the pretence made that the text of the Gospel in the hands of Tertullian was the same as our present text. Such innocence of belief, or ignorance, is hardly conceivable in a hardened theologian. It reminds me of the anecdote of the French princess who, when told that the people were starving from want of bread, innocently remarked, "Why don't they eat cake?"

Volckmar has adopted all the falsehoods that Tertullian invented regarding Marcion's theology, which I cautioned my readers in Chapter II. to reject. I forgot to include the exaggerations regarding Marcion's views on matrimony; these also have been gathered up by Volckmar. Tertullian's sexual libels are perhaps the most offensive and objectionable of those that he levelled against Marcion. The

foolish argument, which I have declined to adopt (see p. 393), that the changes alleged to be made by Marcion can be explained by the requirements of the theology of the latter, is employed by Volckmar. He says, speaking of these changes :—

“Die meisten und bedeutendsten derselben sind aus einem gnostischen und speciell marcionitischen Interesse erklärbar, und zwar ist der grösste Theil davon sogar mit Nothwendigkeit von Marcion's System verlangt” (p. 54).

The majority and most important of them are explainable from a gnostic and special Marcionite interest, and indeed the greatest part of them is demanded of necessity by Marcion's System.

He appears to be utterly oblivious of the better use that can be made of the reverse argument that the additions and changes made in the Canonical Gospel can be explained on dogmatic grounds, and were, in fact, necessitated and demanded for this reason by the orthodox religious system, and that to this rule no exceptions, except in the case of ornamental additions, will be found. Whereas, in the case of the Marcionite Gospel, Volckmar is compelled to admit that there are changes that cannot be explained by the dogmatic argument. Amongst others it appears that the question whether the cutting off of a man's ear by an apostle is agreeable or not to Marcion's theology is one that has been wrangled over by theologians of the first rank! (*op. cit.*, p. 70). It is a waste of time to deal with this silly argument, which appears to have an extraordinary attraction for a certain set of German theologians. A great part of Volckmar's work is devoted to the elaboration and application of the dogmatic argument.

The preliminary difficulties being cleared away, we now come to the climax and culmination of Volckmar's critical labours, the restored text of the Marcionite Gospel. The conception that I had formed that this ancient writing was a simple stream of uncial letters from beginning to end, without separation of words and sentences, and perhaps also of paragraphs, and without title and author's name, was rudely shaken by the sight of Volckmar's restored text. He represents it not only with a title but with what I might call a title-page, similar to the publications of the Religious Tract Society. I was struck breathless when I saw the Marcionite Gospel divided into Parts, and Chapters, many of them with appropriate headings, and Sections. With the exception of the first chapter, a short passage or two in the middle, and the conclusion, which are given in Greek, the text is represented by figures which refer to the corresponding passages in the Gospel according to Luke. The title-page is so like that of a modern book that the eye misses the usual name of the author with his decorations. In giving the following facsimile of the

Marcionite Gospel according to Volckmar, I shall supply this omission, in order not to disappoint the modern eye. My insertion of the name of the author will be no greater breach of historical exactitude than Volckmar's introduction of the title which he invented. In fact, my act is less culpable, for the name, and all its appurtenances, as I have put them, are genuine historical facts, whereas Volckmar's title is unhistorical and unjustifiable. Writings of this nature were not styled 'Gospels' in the first half of the second century; Justin called them 'Memoirs of the Apostles.' There is only one real historical sin, the letters o. ö. k. k., which the recording angel and the indulgent reader will I trust smilingly pardon. With these preliminary remarks I shall give Volckmar's title-page, and his divisions of the Marcionite Gospel.

Tò Εὐαγγέλιον.

Die frohe Botschaf von dem Reich des guten Gottes.

[Herausgegeben von Marcion, Schiffspatron,
dem Schlange, Wolf, Hunde, Schwein,¹ Tintenfische,
Landläufer, Pharaon, und andere Dinge der alten Vätern,
o. ö. k. k. Hauptlehrer von Ketzerei, zu Pontus.]

Erster Theil.

Die Erscheinung Christi in Galiläa.

Cap. I. [4 Abschnitte] Cap. VI.

Zweiter Theil.

Die Wirksamkeit Christi durch Samarien hin.

Cap. VII.-XIII.

Dritter Theil.

Der Kampf and Triumph in Judäa.

Cap. XIV.-XV.

Cap. XVI.-XVII.

Die Leidensgeschichte.

Cap. XVIII.

Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt.

THE GOSPEL.

The joyful message of the kingdom of the good God.

[Published by Marcion, Shipmaster, the Snake, Wolf, Hound,

¹ All these literary decorations of Marcion were publicly bestowed upon him by the Fathers of the Church. The title *beast*, *κηνώδης*, bestowed by Epiphanius, Ref. lxiii., I have rendered Schwein in German, as the nearest in meaning, just as *animal* is the nearest in French.

Beast, Cuttle-fish, Vagabond, Pharaoh, and other things of the old Fathers, o. p. i. r.¹ Head Master of Heresy in Pontus.]

First part: The appearance of Christ in Galilee (ch. I. [4 sections] to VI.). *Second part*: The activity of Christ throughout Samaria (ch. VII.-XII.). *Third part*: The conflict and triumph in Judæa (ch. XIV., XV.). Ch. XVI., XVII.: The Story of the Passion. Ch. XVII.: The Resurrection and Ascension.

Volckmar did not consider that it was necessary to give the Marcionite text in full, as it is readily ascertained, he says, from the Canonical text. What he regarded, however, as necessary and important were the new connection arising from passages omitted, and especially the "marcionitische Auffassung von dem Bewahrten," i.e. the Marcionite mode of comprehending that which was retained. This, he says, is all that is necessary to produce "ein vollkommen klares Bild von diesem Evangelium" (*op. cit.*, p. 153), i.e. a completely clear picture of this Gospel. He could not safely trust the pure unsophisticated text of the Marcionite Gospel to his readers, but he preferred to keep it out of sight and in its place to supply an explication of the text in the supposed or assumed Marcionite sense. This of course involved a change of function, from textual critic to wet-nurse to the readers of the restored Marcionite text. Volckmar has bravely accomplished this new office, which textual critics do not usually undertake. The blank spaces in the cadre of the restored Marcionite Gospel, where the text should be, are occupied with reservoirs of explanatory milk from the inexhaustible fountains of the learned wet-nurse. These outpourings occupy areas of various magnitude, from three or four lines to as many pages. As examples I shall select a few of the shorter exploits of wet-nursing.

In Luke v. 12 ff. is an account of the healing of the man full of leprosy. The narrative is exactly the same in both the rival Gospels, but is thus exploited in the supposed Marcionite sense:—

"Cap. ii. 6, 5, 12-16. (T. c. 9: v. 13 f., *Epiaph.*, Sch. I. v. 14. *Dialog* p. 812: v. 13 z. Th. w.): Er heilt den Aussätzigen durch ein Wort (nicht wie der Prophet des Demiurgen, Elisa, durch siebenmalige Untertauchung) und hebt durch dessen Berührung das Gesetz auf, welches diese verbot. (T.)" (p. 155).

Ch. ii. 6. [Luke] v. 12-16 etc. He heals the leper by a word (not like the Prophet of the Demiurge, Elisha, by seven immersions); and annuls the law by touching him, which the latter prohibited.

¹ The letters o. ö. k. k., one or more of which are sported by every theological and academical author in Germany, stand for ordentlichem, öffentlichem, kaiserlichem, königlichem, which mean ordinary, public, imperial, and royal.

The narrative of the healing of the man with the palsy (Luke v. 18-26) is related in exactly the same words in both Gospels; but the Marcionite passage is thus wet-nursed.

"Cap. ii. 7. 5, 17-26 (T. c. 10: v. 17 ff. v. 21. w. v. 24. w. *Epiph.* 2: v. 24 w. *Dial.* p. 815. v. 22). Er vergiebt dem Gichtbrüchigen die Sünde, hebt so das Werk des *sævus deus* auf, und indem er ihre Gedanken erkennt steht er hoch über demselben, der (1 Mos. 3, 9 z. B.) nicht wusste, wo Adam war (cf. Tert., ii. 25 u. *Dial.* p. 815)." (p. 155).

Ch. ii. 7. [Luke] v. 17-26. He forgives the man with palsy his sins, so annuls the work of the *cruel god*, and since he knows their thoughts, he stands high above him who did not know where Adam was. (Gen. iii. 9, for example.)

The beautiful passage (Luke xviii. 15-17) in which Jesus invites children with the words "Suffer little children to come unto me," etc., was a late interpolation of the Canonical Gospel, and is not mentioned by either Tertullian or Epiphanius (see p. 195), and is not quoted by any Father of the second or third century. Volckmar, however, erroneously introduces it into both Gospels, and thus rather comically develops the supposed Marcionite meaning:—

"Cap. xiii. 33. 18, 15-17. (*Dialog* p. 814: v. 16). Die Kinder liebte *M.* wie Christus und fand darin jene Antithesen gegen die Kinder fressenden Bären des Demiurgen" (p. 163).

Ch. xiii. 33 [Luke] xviii. 15-17, etc. Marcion, like Christ, loved children, and found in it that antithesis against the child-eating bears of the Demiurge.

I am unaware of any writing in the annals of literature, from the earliest ages to the present time, that has been subjected to the unfair treatment that the Marcionite Gospel has received at the hands of Christian theologians. I have already recounted the many falsehoods that were directed against this Gospel and its patron, Marcion; to these misdeeds has been added what I may justly describe as a literary outrage, the imputing a meaning to the Marcionite Gospel which its text does not contain. The literary immorality perpetrated by Tertullian in the beginning of the third century—an immorality silently rejected by contemporary writers, also by Eusebius and partially even by Epiphanius—has been adopted by modern theologians as a congenial implement for the disparagement and discrediting of the Marcionite Gospel. Deliberately to impute views to a writer which are not expressed in his writings is unjust, unjustifiable, and amounts to falsehood. The remarkable thing is that Volckmar is apparently utterly unconscious that his "completely

clear picture" of the Marcionite Gospel with its invented interpretation of the meaning of this work is unjust and immoral. It is a renewal and refurbishing in the nineteenth century of the literary immorality of a specially unscrupulous Christian Father of the beginning of the third century. Volckmar modestly describes himself as an interpreter of the text of Tertullian (*op. cit.*, p. 129). I should suggest a more suitable title for him—the *Sartor resartus*¹ of Tertullian's breaches of veracity and literary morality.

The restoration of an ancient writing may be fittingly compared to a shut box that has to be opened. There are two ways in which this task may be accomplished: the right way, *i.e.* by the use of the key, by which method no injury is inflicted on the box; or by force, that is, by the use of other instruments, in which case the box sustains more or less injury. We shall imagine a locksmith who is called upon to open such a box. He possesses the key of it in his waistcoat pocket; but instead of using it, he proceeds to force open the box by the use of a hammer, chisel, wedges, wire, a corkscrew, and other tools. In such a case the spectator may justly accuse the locksmith of a sinister motive in damaging the box, which he could have safely opened with the key in his possession. Volckmar is the locksmith of my parable. He possessed the key to the Marcionite Gospel: *i.e.* he had the knowledge of the principles of textual criticism which ought to be applied to the task of textual restoration. It is impossible to think that he was ignorant of the value and sole efficiency of the historical method. But instead of using the historical method, he resorts to the use of sophistical arguments founded on the *Zusammenhang*, or connection and consistency with a curious theology falsely attributed to Marcion, to probabilities of oversight, to fanciful suppositions and similar devices. The critic is justified in regarding his conduct as not aboveboard, and as actuated by some sinister motive. That motive I take to be the desire to preserve the present text of the Canonical Gospel of Luke, which is a wide departure from the text of its first edition.

These aberrations, however, viz. the pumping into the Marcionite Gospel of meanings which its text does not contain, the employment of false or inferior methods of textual restoration, sophistical arguments, and the rest, are not to be regarded as symptoms of intellectual defect or of softening of the brain. The reader of Volckmar will on the contrary be much impressed by the vigour of his argumentation and the brilliancy and aptness of his ingenuity. There is no mental shortcoming to be remarked in Volckmar's treatise; and his great

¹ This is the title of one of Carlyle's writings. I translate it, The tailor reinstated or restored.

admirer, the logical Archbishop of York, the late Dr Wm. Thompson, had some grounds for his exalted estimate of Volckmar's logic, which he says, nevertheless, fell flat against the 'indurated integument' of the author of *Supernatural Religion*. The screws that were loose in Volckmar were not intellectual but moral. The methods and arguments which he employed upon the Marcionite Gospel are not such as he would use in the textual restoration of any other ancient writing which is not connected with Christian theology and history. Volckmar was an advocate or special pleader, and the methods and the processes of ratiocination which he had recourse to were within the very broad limits of license permissible in the theological arena. Volckmar had no facts to suit his purposes; in fact, the facts were all antagonistic to his primary design, the preservation of the present text of the Canonical Gospel of Luke; and hence he created the necessary facts with means which I suppose must be regarded as within the limits of the license permissible to the theological advocate or special pleader, and exercised his prolific ability in suppressing and explaining away hostile actualities.

So much for the text of the Marcionite Gospel: I now come to Volckmar's exposition of its history in its relations to the Canonical Gospel. He takes a very early opportunity, in p. 5 of his Introduction, of stating his belief that the Canonical Gospel was in existence before Marcion, viz. at the close of the first century. He says:—

“Aber eben von diesem Standpunkte rein geschichtlicher und nicht an Aeusserlichkeiten stehender Betrachtung fand ich beim nähern Eingehen auf Alles, was Baur hervorgehoben hatte, als evident, dass die Abtheilung des Lucas-Evangeliums in zwei Theile von wesentlich verschiedenem Charakter sich ebenso wenig bestätige als die Annahme, der Bestand des marcionischen Evangeliums mache die Grundlage unseres *Lucas* aus, dass vielmehr eben dieses, wie wir es *im Grossen und Ganzen* noch haben, den speciellen Text biete, welchen *Marcion* oder schon ein früherer Gnostiker gleicher Art (wie *Cerdon*) wesentlich im Interesse dieser Dogmatik verkürzt und umgeändert habe.

But even from this standpoint of pure historical consideration not resting on external appearances, I found it evident, on going closer into all that Baur has brought forward, that the separation of the Gospel of Luke into two portions of essentially different character is as little confirmed as the view that the text of the Marcionite Gospel constitutes the basis of our Luke; much rather that this Gospel, as we have it in the block, presents the special text, which Marcion, or perhaps an earlier gnostic of the same sort - (like *Cerdo*), has essentially curtailed and changed in the interests of this dogmatic theology. And so I found not only the hypothesis of a primeval Luke essentially baseless, but

Doch fand ich so nicht blos die Urlucas-Hypothese wesentlich unbegründet, sondern auch die frühere Ansicht von einer *bloßen* Verstümmlung und von einer Verfälschung unseres *Lucas* durch den Häretiker ebenso ungerecht als in dieser Gestalt ganz haltlos. Habe doch *Marcion* am Ende nichts Anderes gethan als der Verfasser unseres *Lucas - Evangeliums* selbst, der auch nur ein früheres Evangelium, sei es nun das nach *Matthäus* oder *Marcus* genannte, wesentlich aus gleichem dogmatischen Interesse nur nicht in jenem ultrapaulinischen, sondern in einem reinen paulinischen Sinn, theils abgekürzt, theils umgebildet und vermehrt, kurz verändert habe, so dass von Fälschung entweder bei beiden oder vielmehr bei keinem von beiden die Rede sein könne. Obendrein beruhten offenbar mehrere Auslassungen oder Textverschiedenheiten bei *Marcion* keineswegs auf einer solchen Partei-Tendenz, vielmehr könne das, was wir in dieser Hinsicht bei *Marcion* finden, das Ursprünglichere sein oder constatare geradezu einen ältern Text, als der uns für *Lucas* in unsern so veil spätern Codd. enthalten sei, so dass also das *Marcion-Evangelium* in jeder Beziehung für die Kritik die grösste Bedeutung behalte. Im Besondern würden ausser mehrern Lesarten, die mehr in die Reihe der Varianten fallen, das ganze Stück xiii. 1-5 sowie die Verse xii. 6, 7 und xxi. 18 vielleicht schon ursprünglich bei *Lucas* gefehlt haben. In jedem Falle aber ergebe sich unser *Lucas-Evangelium* zwar im Ganzen

also the earlier view of a mere mutilation and falsification of our *Luke* by the heretic as unjust as in this form it was altogether without support. But after all, *Marcion* has done nothing different than the author of our *Luke-Gospel* himself, who also has in part abridged, in part transformed and enlarged, in short changed an earlier Gospel, be it now named after *Matthew* or *Mark*, essentially from the same dogmatic interest, only not in that ultra-Pauline sense, but in a pure Pauline sense. So that there can be no talk of falsification in the case of both, or rather in neither of the two. Moreover, obviously many omissions and text-differences in *Marcion* depend in no way on such party-tendency; much rather can that which we in this respect find in *Marcion* be more original, or prove directly an older text, than that so many later codices of *Luke* contain. So that thus the *Marcion Gospel* in every respect possesses the greatest importance in criticism. In particular, besides many readings, which fall more in the class of variants, perhaps the whole passage, xiii. 1-5, as well as the verses xii. 6, 7 and xxi. 18, was originally wanting in *Luke*. But in every case our *Luke-Gospel* shows itself indeed on the whole, but also *only on the whole*, as existing before *Marcion*, as its genuine Pauline character points to the end of the first century.

aber auch *nur im Ganzen* als schon vor *Marcion* bestehend, wie es denn sein echt paulinischer Charakter dem Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts zuweise" (pp. 4 and 5).

The above long quotation gives the clue to Volckmar's historical views; an early Gospel existed before Marcion and the hypothetical Luke; both compilers, *i.e.* Marcion and Luke, used this previously existing writing, which they manipulated, the one in a pure Pauline and the other in an ultra-Pauline sense; but Volckmar abstains from saying that one was a crib of the other. The previous writing used by the two independent compilers is said to be either the Gospel according to Matthew or that according to Mark; further on, Volckmar gives the preference to Mark; and this Gospel he appears to regard, though doubtfully, and without certainty, as identical with the Gospel of Peter. (See footnote in pp. 182 and 184 of Volckmar's work.) The main point in this enquiry is the relative chronology of the rival Gospels. The remark at the conclusion of the quotation that the genuine Pauline character of the Canonical Gospel points to the end of the first century, is a *non-sequitur* which will only raise a smile. To my mind, it appears as a respectable method of asserting an untruth. I am decidedly of opinion that the Canonical Gospel cannot be regarded as Pauline: the miraculous conceptions of Jesus and John the Baptist, the ascension, and many other points, are certainly not Pauline, as Paul was ignorant of them; and I have very serious doubts, as already expressed (see p. 67), of the genuineness of the passages on the subject of the alleged prophecies regarding Christ which are now found in Paul's writings. This is a most audacious statement that Volckmar repeatedly makes, and he appears to think that his much repetition of it is sufficient proof of its veracity, as he never proceeds beyond the mere assertion. The Third Gospel has decided anti-Pauline characteristics; while the Marcionite Gospel has none, but is purely Pauline. The falsely-asserted Pauline character of the Third Gospel is not all the proof that Volckmar has of its greater antiquity. Further proof, according to him, is derived from Justin's account of Marcion:—

"Hat hiernach schon vor *Justinus* nicht blos *Marcion* überhaupt seine Blüthezeit gehabt, sondern auch schon desshalb ohne Frage dessen Evangelium

According to this, not only had Marcion his prime or springtime altogether before Justin, but also therefore without question his Gospel existed, because prior to

bestanden, weil er eben diesem sein Hauptwerk, das so bedeutend einwirkte, die Antithesenvorangestellt hatte, und wissen wir nunmehr auf kritischen Wege, dass das Evangelium *M's* wesentlich ein Auszug der Lucas-Evangelium's war, wie wir es seinen wesentlichen Eigenthümlichkeiten nach noch haben, so haben wir nun *den* festen Punkt wenigstens, dass schon *längst vor Justinus* nicht etwa, wie *Ritschl* und auf dessen Schlüsse bauend auch *Zeller* annahm, ein Urlucas, wie ihn *Marcion* gehabt habe, sondern eben dies *unser* Lucas-Evangelium bestanden, und dass dieser es sicher eben so gut *gekannt* hat als *Marcion* selbst. Der ganze Streit kann sich also soweit nur darum handeln, ob er es auch *gebraucht* hat, ob seine mit unserm *Lucas* specifisch zusammentreffenden Citate wirklich daraus oder aus einem mit *Lucas* soweit zusammentreffenden Evangelium, sei dies nun Mitquelle für *Lucas* oder Ausfluss daraus, entlehnt sind" (p. 179).

this he had put forth the Antitheses, his chief work, that exercised so important an influence; and we know by this time in the critical way that that Gospel was an extract from the Luke-Gospel, as we still have it in its essential characteristics. So we have now at least, *the firm point* that long before Justin, not some sort of primeval Luke, as *Ritschl*, and even *Zeller*, building upon his conclusions, supposed, as *Marcion* had it, but this *our* very Luke-Gospel existed, and that *Justin* was as well acquainted with it as *Marcion* himself. The whole dispute can thus so far deal only with this *point*, whether he [*i.e.* Justin] also had used it, whether his citations, which specifically correspond with our Luke, were really borrowed from him, or out of a Gospel which largely agreed with Luke, whether this be only a common source with Luke, or an outcome from him.

Although Justin does not speak in so many words of any Marcionite writing, it is a fair historical inference to make from what he says of the teaching of Marcion regarding two Gods and two Sons, that he had before him the writings bearing upon these two subjects, namely, the Antitheses and the Marcionite Gospel. (See *ante*, p. 43.) But beyond this it is not safe nor justifiable to go. Volckmar's criticisms do not at all demonstrate that the Marcionite Gospel was an extract or derivative from the Canonical Gospel. This is carrying audacity, effrontery, advocacy, and special pleading too far. There is no historical proof, direct or indirect, that the Canonical Gospel of Luke or any Canonical Gospel existed in Justin's days.¹ Volckmar has produced none, and he cannot be permitted to manufacture one out of

¹ Professor Sanday was also obliged to overcome this unfortunate absence of historical proof by the argument from style and diction (see *ante*, p. 393), by the help of which he made the assumption "that there is definite proof that the Gospel used by Marcion presupposes our present St Luke. . . . If Marcion's Gospel was an extract from a manuscript containing our present St Luke, then not only is it certain that that Gospel was already in existence," etc. (*Gospels in the Second*

his false criticisms on the Marcionite text. The paragraph quoted is another example, in Volckmar's advocacy, of a respectable mode of asserting an untruth which is incapable of proof. The relative chronology of the two Gospels is of primary importance in this question. Tertullian was fully aware of its great value in determining the dispute between him and Marcion. *Quis inter nos determinabit*, he says, *nisi temporis ratio, ei præscribens auctoritatem, quod antiquius reperiatur* (*Anti-Marc.*, iv. 4). What will decide between us, but the ratio or principle of time which prescribes authority to that which is found the more ancient? Had Tertullian followed his own rule of common-sense, and given us a few facts proving the respective dates of the rival Gospels, instead of the pretence and sham which he does give, there would have been no dispute. Volckmar does not say a word on the subject of the importance of the question of time: but it occupied a secret corner in his learned mind; and he surreptitiously, as it were, endeavoured to give a priority to the Canonical Gospel by isolated statements. The Pauline character of an unknown and unhistorical writing, vaguely assumed to be the original of the Gospel of Luke, is alleged to indicate a date towards the close of the first century, when of course the Marcionite Gospel did not exist; and the utterly unjustifiable statement that Volckmar's criticisms prove that the Marcionite Gospel was constructed from the Canonical Gospel are two mistaken statements, due to personal caprice and self-satisfaction, which cannot be accepted as historical proofs of the priority of the Canonical Gospel.

Volckmar devotes nearly seventy pages of his work to the subject of "Die Bestimmung des ursprünglichen Lucas-Textes auf Grund der ältesten Zeugen und des innern Zusammenhangs," *i.e.* the determination of the original text of Luke on the basis of the oldest witnesses and of the inner connection, pp. 187-255. It would have been better for the original text if its determination had been settled without regard to its inner connection, which really means that the theologian who decides on the connection determines the original text according to his caprice or fancy or his own wishes. For practical and historical needs the oldest witnesses suffice, and where their testimony exists there is no need of supplementary aid from inner connection; and where their testimony fails, the inner connection is unreliable, as each critic can devise a different inner connection. The followers of Bishop Westcott and of the late Dr Hort, who constructed the original text of Luke in *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, will be aghast to find that the

Century, p. 230). History, however, cannot be constructed out of arguments; facts that are testified by contemporary witnesses are essential.

oldest witnesses of the Text referred to by Volckmar do not include the Codex Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and the other great codices, which these text-critics followed in arranging the original text. On the contrary, Volckmar selects his oldest witnesses from the purveyors of the Western Text, whom the former text-critics condemn and reject as corrupt and unreliable. Volckmar's oldest witnesses are not the derelict codices above referred to, but the old Fathers, such as Tertullian and Irenæus, and I regret to say that he adds to them Justin and the Clementines, but I do not think he has been seriously misled by the latter. In this, the second section of his work, Volckmar shows a due consciousness of the importance of the Marcionite Gospel, an importance, however, which was not agreeable to him. In page 189 he speaks of the heretical Gospel as "dem Luc.-Codex *M's*, dem für uns ältesten," *i.e.* Marcion's Luke-Codex, which is the oldest for us. And again in p. 199: "Steht es so nach alten Seiten hin fest, dass der Text *Marcions* mehrfach noch die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Lucas-Evangel. bietet," *i.e.* it stands firm from all sides that the text of Marcion offers in many ways the original form of the Gospel of Luke. To this consciousness, I believe, must be attributed his persistent efforts to falsify the Marcionite Gospel, especially to make it contain many more verses than it in fact possessed. How Volckmar failed to see that the 'cuttings' of Marcion noted by Epiphanius were in fact interpolations made in the Canonical Gospel passes my comprehension; and perhaps his failure can be accounted for on the ground that he had no desire to perceive this unpleasant fact. None so blind as those who will not see. I do not remember any statement made by him that any previous critic had remarked the fact. The very considerable number of verses added by Volckmar to the present Canonical text which the original did not possess is his greatest error in the determination of the original text. These additions constitute the bulk of the 'abweichungen' or variations between the Marcionite Gospel and the Canonical Gospel; and when removed the difference between the two rival Gospels, apart from the preliminary chapters, will be seen to be remarkably little. It is really wonderful how microscopic in amount the corruptions in the Canonical Gospel appear to the pious vision of learned ecclesiastics. To Bishop Westcott and the late Dr Hort's scrutiny, only two verses are corrupt in Luke. (See *ante*, p. 284.) According to Volckmar, corruptions are found in six verses, which he specifies, and only in these! (*op. cit.*, p. 256). Still more remarkable is the fact that the six corruptions of Volckmar do not include the two corruptions of Westcott and Hort!

I have already quoted and translated on p. 590 a passage from Volckmar's Introduction, in which he expresses his historical views regarding the relation to each other of the rival Gospels. His opinion therein expressed is that the text of the Marcionite Gospel was not the basis of our Luke; but that the Canonical Gospel as we have it in the block was the special text which Marcion or some other Gnostic (and he names Cerdo, but not Luke the Marcionite) had manipulated in the sense of his own theology. But the Marcionite and Canonical writers were nevertheless on an equal footing—that is, each in the literary way did the very same thing: each partly abridged, partly transformed, and partly enlarged an earlier Gospel. So that neither, in Volckmar's judgment, could be accused of falsification! This is evidently a mistaken judgment: what Volckmar ought to have said is that both were equally guilty of falsification: for abridgment, transformation, and enlargement can, in the textual critic's sense, be regarded only as falsification. The ancient Gospel thus manipulated by both of the rival writers was not an *Urlucas* or primeval Gospel of Luke, but it was the Gospel of Matthew, or perhaps of Mark, one or the other. But notwithstanding this fact, the Gospel of Luke, as we have it now, was the special text which the Marcionite writer operated upon! I find my mind is not prehensile enough to be able to seize and realise the full splendour of this explanation here set forth of the relations towards each of the two rival Gospels. The charges made by Irenæus and Tertullian against Marcion of mutilation and falsification are thus false and unjust, a statement which corresponds with my own conclusions on this subject. I also concur in Volckmar's remark, and I would even extend its scope, that many omissions and text-differences in the Marcionite Gospel are more original, and prove that this Gospel was an older text than codices of the Gospel of Luke. But the weakness of my mental vision does not enable me to see that in every case, including those just mentioned, the Gospel of Luke shows itself, whether in the whole or even in part, as existing before Marcion, although Volckmar illuminates the subject with the brilliant observation that the Pauline character of the Canonical Gospel points to the end of the first century! or the beginning of the second, as he adds in another passage.

If Volckmar's expressions of opinion in the above quotation from his Introduction or Einleitung, which I have copied on p. 590, be compared with the final result stated in his Conclusion, or Schluss, in p. 255 of his work, it will be seen that the two statements do not square with each other—in fact, do not admit of comparison with each other, but

are as dissonant as would be the results of an investigation of a potato plot and of a hop garden. In his Conclusion Volckmar states the following result of his investigations :—

“Die Revision der ganzen Marcion-Frage führt also zu dem Resultat, dass sich nicht bloß die frühere Ansicht *Ritschl's* und *F. Ch. Baur's* als sei das Evangelium *Marcion's* der Ur Lucas, sondern auch die neuere, von Letzterem meinen und *Hilgenfeld's* Entgegnungen gegenüber geltend gemachte Modification, als sei mindestens unserm Lucas-Evangelium erst nach c. 150 u. Z. sehr Vieles und Wichtiges, was obendrein einen gemeinsamen Tendenz-Character trage, zugesetzt, so das immerhin zwei Verfasser davon anzunehmen seien, ein rein paulinischer und ein judaistisch- und antignostisch-irensirender, und Marcion's Evangelium verhalte sich dazu wenigstens als ein älteres Lucas-Evangelium, wenn auch nicht als das ursprüngliche selbst, *sich völlig aufhebt*. Alle diese wichtigen Abschnitte zeigen sich als ursprünglich dem Luc.-Ev. angehörig und nur von *Marcion* seiner bestimmten Tendenz nach ausgegeben; von einem zweiten Verfasser aber, von einer Zweitheilung des Lucas-Evangeliums überhaupt auch in dieser modificirten Form kann so wenig ja noch die Rede sein, als man das Marcion-Evangelium irgendwie ein *älteres Lucas-Evangelium* nennen darf, da es nur eine gnostische Bearbeitung des Lucas-Evangeliums ist wie wir es wesentlich noch haben, nur nach dem für uns ältesten Codex davon” (p. 255).

The revision of the whole Marcionite question thus leads to the result, that not only the earlier view of Ritschl and F. Ch. Baur that the Gospel of Marcion was the primeval Luke, *is completely abolished*, but also the later modification made by the latter due to mine and Hilgenfeld's rejoinders, that at least first after about 150 of our era very many and important additions, which besides bore a uniform tendency-character, were made, so that always two authors of it are to be recognised, one purely Pauline and the other Jewish and antignostic peace-seeking, and the Gospel of Marcion has a relation to it at least as an older Gospel of Luke, although not the original itself. All these important sections show themselves as belonging originally to the Gospel of Luke and only abandoned by Marcion in accordance with his precise tendency; but one should as little speak of a second author or even of a division of the Gospel of Luke generally in this modified form, as of the Gospel of Marcion in any way as an *older Gospel of Luke*, since it is only a gnostic manipulation of the Gospel of Luke as we still essentially have it, only according to the, for us, oldest codex of it.

Volckmar proceeds to add (p. 256): “Kurz unser Lucas-Evangelium zeigt sich für eine geschichtliche, . . . als das ursprüngliche, so schon

von *Marcion* vorgefunden und von ihm nur nach seiner speciellen Tendenz verkürzt u. verändert," i.e. "In short, our Gospel of Luke shows itself as historical, as the original, so found by Marcion, and shortened and changed by him according to his special tendency." This final opinion is a *non-sequitur* from such sparse facts as Volckmar states in his work ; indeed, his reliance is on argument, and I do not remember any facts which he mentions. Apart from the circumstance that Volckmar does not produce historical facts to support his conclusions, and that such matters as the German theologians have introduced into the Marcionite question are utterly irrelevant and worthless, I confess I am unable to reconcile the opinion expressed in his Introduction with the ultimate result of his investigations declared in his Conclusion. There is a confusion and a conflict of ideas, as if the right hemisphere of Volckmar's learned brain was in rebellion against the left hemisphere. The reader has Volckmar's remarks before him, and he can form his own judgment of their value. Our German friends have a good-natured, homely way of saying of a man who has not arrived at a proper conclusion in a controversy, that he has thrown the baby out with the water of the bath. Volckmar has not done this ; but he has thrown the baby out, and kept the dirty water of the bath. He has preserved the dishonest subterfuges which Tertullian had employed to prove the false to be the truth.

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